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THE ASIATIC JOURNAL

AND

MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER—APRIL, 1844.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. I.

UNDER this title, we propose to appropriate henceforward a few pages of each month's Journal to a review of the political transactions and domestic occurrences of British India and the East. The present mode of communication between Europe and those distant countries,—which, instead of an irregular succession of minute portions of intelligence, interchanges at fixed periods a considerable mass,—offers facilities for such a survey, and it is essential to a correct knowledge of the passing events in the East that each large periodical supply of materials should be deliberately examined and analyzed. This office will be conveniently performed by means of the proposed series of papers, which shall embody all the important transactions, political, commercial, and domestic, in a clear and connected narrative. This Review is termed "Historical," because it will be a faithful and authentic record of facts; and "Critical," because we shall exercise the privilege of expressing cursorily an impartial opinion upon those facts, and upon any public questions that may arise out of them.

We commence our Review with a brief retrospect of the state of affairs in India on the retreat of our army from Afghanistan, the overthrow of the Talpoor dynasty of Scinde, and the annexation of that country to the Anglo-Indian dominions. It is unnecessary, and we therefore forbear, to enter, in this place, upon a discussion of the wisdom and justice of invading Afghanistan, the prudence of withdrawing from that country, or the policy of taking possession of Scinde after a solemn declaration by the Government of India

that it was "content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire." We may, however, in a few words, observe, that the expedition into Affghanistan was undertaken under an honest, though mistaken, impression that it was a measure called for by the dangers which, it was imagined, threatened our Indian empire; that the abandonment of that country, after our military honour had been vindicated from the partial temporary disgrace with which accident and mismanagement had clouded it, was a right as well as an unavoidable course; and that, in dealing with Scinde, which its sovereigns surrendered to him, as a conquered territory, the present Governor-General has not attempted "to force a sovereign upon a reluctant people," but has disposed of a country, unexpectedly thrown upon his hands, under embarrassing circumstances, in a manner best calculated to reconcile the wishes of the inhabitants with the interests of the conquering state, and even of the whole civilized world. It must be remembered that if Lord Ellenborough, in his proclamation of the 1st October, 1842, disclaimed all desire of enlarging the limits of the British empire in the East, he concluded it with these emphatic words: "Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British Government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed."

Much apprehension was very naturally entertained of the effects likely to be produced by the Affghan disasters upon the native princes of India, and even upon the Mahomedan population of our territories. Happily, those fears, however reasonable, proved groundless. With the exception of the Ameers of Scinde, no native chief, whether dependent or independent, not even the restless Nepaulese, or the ambitious ruler of Burmah, took advantage of our supposed distress, and no public manifestation of sympathy towards their co-religionists in Affghanistan was exhibited by the Musulmans of British India. The calamities sustained by our army at Cabul have, therefore, tested and proved the stability of our power, which has been further corroborated by our triumphant re-entry into that country, and the signal punishment of its treachery by the destruction of its fortresses. The British authority in Hindustan never, perhaps, stood upon a firmer basis than at present, immediately after a crisis in which many cool-headed and judicious politicians foresaw a long train of disastrous consequences.

We shall now take a survey of the principal states, and of their relations with our Government.

The only state which evinced an ungenerous desire to profit by our misfortunes at Cabul, was Scinde. We have recently,* with the help of the Parliamentary Papers, traced the history of our relations with the rulers of that country, whence it appears that deceit and weakness on one side, and jealousy and power on the other, gradually converted the relations between the two Governments into those which denote a supreme and a dependent state. At this point, when the Ameers had bound themselves by a treaty to become subordinate tributaries to the British Government, to whom they surrendered the right of protecting their own territories, and to receive a British force, they imprudently determined upon resistance, and ventured their remaining power and their liberty upon a desperate chance, for no higher object than the preservation of their *shikargahs*, or hunting preserves. They lost the stake they played for; their country fell into the possession of their conquerors, and they became prisoners or fugitives.

After the decisive victory at Meeanee, on the 17th February, 1843, six of the principal Ameers (three of Hyderabad and three of Khyrpore) surrendered prisoners of war, and the British troops, three days after, occupied the city of Hyderabad. "Thus," as the Governor-General stated in his Notification, "victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both sides the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea." One of the principal Ameers, Ali Moorad, of Khyrpore, who had succeeded by our means in obtaining "the turban of the Talpoors," and was the most powerful chief in Upper Scinde, remained faithful to his engagements. On the other hand, the chief of Meerpore, Sher Mahomed, who, in June, 1841, for the first time, voluntarily entered into the same engagement as the Hyderabad Ameers, like them receded from it. This chief is described by Major Outram† as "a very intelligent, sensible, and strong-minded man, though totally uneducated, and unable either to write or speak Persian."

This individual has been the cause of hostilities being prolonged. His influence enabled him to collect, after the battle of Meeanee, an army of 20,000 Belooches, with which he occupied a strong and difficult position a few miles from Hyderabad. He was attacked, by Sir C. Napier, on the 24th March, and totally defeated, with great loss, including several chiefs, the Ameer himself flying to the desert. The British troops immediately took possession of Meerpore, as well as the important fortress of Omerecote, and blow up that of Emaumghur. In announcing these results, the

* Vol. i. p. 460.

† Scinde Papers, p. 295.

general concluded that the contest was over, and that "Scinde was now subdued." In this expectation, however, he was deceived.

Ameer Shere Mahomed being engaged in further preparations for annoyance, Sir C. Napier disposed his forces for the purpose of surrounding him. The result was, that the Ameer, finding himself beset by three several bodies, determined to attack the weakest, under Capt. Jacob, who, however, on the 14th June, defeated and dispersed his 4,000 Belooches, the Ameer, with ten followers, again taking refuge in the desert. Another of the Ameers, Shah Mahomed, a few days previously (8th June), was captured, and his force of 2,000 men dispersed, by Col. Roberts, in command of one of the detachments moving against Shere Mahomed. In the course of these marches, the troops suffered much from the heat, several men and one European officer having been struck down with *coups de soleil*.

Shere Mahomed, by the last accounts, was still persevering in his resistance, and was reported to be recruiting his force with Murrees, Boogties, and Affghans.* Ali Moorad, the Khyrpore Ameer, still remained friendly to us, but the increase of territory he had acquired by his adherence appears to have rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the Belooches, and it would seem that Sir Charles Napier has been compelled to send a detachment to the succour of this ally. Meanwhile, the administration of the British gives great satisfaction to the Scindians, and the inferior chiefs, finding that they can be protected, are cheerfully submitting to our rule.

Our relations with the ruler of the Punjab remain upon the most cordial footing, but the internal condition of that state augurs ill for its tranquillity, and disorders there must lead to some kind of interference on the part of the general government of British India.

During the life of Runjeet Singh, our Government employed every means to strengthen our friendly connection with the court of Lahore, and one of the most powerful reasons assigned by Lord Auckland for rejecting the overtures of Dost Mahomed Khan, when in power at Cabul, was, that the conditions he proposed would have affected the cordiality of our alliance with Runjeet, "the most powerful and valuable of our friends,"† whose "undeviating friendship towards the British Government" is acknowledged in the Simla Declaration of 1838. The succession of Shere Singh to the throne of the Punjab placed him in the same relative position towards us as his predecessors, and up to the present moment he has

* *Indian Mail*, Oct. 24, p. 161.

† *Minute*, 12th May, 1838. *Indian Papers*, 1839. No. 4.

not manifested the slightest desire to swerve from his engagements. Indeed, his peaceable accession, as well as that of his short-lived predecessor, Kurruk Singh, may be attributed to the influence of the British power, by which both were acknowledged as rightful sovereigns.

Shere Singh, who is described* as a fine manly-looking personage, is a supposed son of Runjeet Singh. In 1807, on the Maharajah's return to Lahore, after an absence of some duration, one of his wives (Mehtab Koonwur) presented him with two twin boys, Shere Singh and Tara Singh. The lady's conjugal fidelity had been suspected, and Runjeet would not own them; but subsequently he, to a certain extent, acknowledged Shere Singh, by granting him the privilege of a chair in his presence, as well as Kurruk Singh, the recognized heir-apparent. It may be mentioned here, as facts of some moment in considering the politics of the court of Lahore, that Shere Singh is much attached to Europeans, their manners, and customs,—so much, indeed, as to have given offence to his putative father,—and inherits that great personage's fondness for strong drinks.

The disorders in this principality are apprehended from the machinations of Dhian Singh, the powerful vizir or prime minister of the Maharajah. We subjoin the Hon. Mr. Osborne's description of this individual:—

Rajah Dhecan Sing is a noble specimen of the human race; rather above the usual height of natives, with a quick and intelligent eye, high handsome forehead, and aquiline features; dressed in a magnificent helmet and cuirass of polished steel, embossed with gold, a present from King Louis Philippe of France, he looked a model of manly beauty and intelligence. He is about thirty years of age, and is very high, and by all accounts justly so, in his master's confidence. He is clever, active, and intelligent; possessed of great influence over the Sikh people, and in all probability will be one, and not the least powerful or deserving, candidate for the throne of the Punjab on Runjeet's decease. With enormous wealth and property, and a large tract of country, which he rules with mildness and justice, he presents a singular instance of a favourite and a man in power, whose talents and virtues are more appreciated than his power and influence are envied. Gentleman-like, manly, and unassuming in his manners, he is still cold and repulsive to Europeans, whom he both fears and hates with more than common rancour, and against whom he loses no opportunity of exerting his influence with the maharajah.

This powerful minister, who swore to Runjeet's principal wife,

* Hon. W. G. Osborne's "Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh," p. 64.

when she was on the funeral pile, that he would bear true allegiance to Kurruk Singh, soon conspired against him. Since the elevation of Shere Singh, he has exercised a commanding influence at his durbar; but latterly, symptoms of disunion have appeared between them. Dhian Singh is the lord of very considerable estates in the hills near Little Tibet, and it appears that he withdrew from the court, without the Maharajah's sanction, upon the pretext of visiting his estates, and of family concerns. Upon his return, he was called upon by his sovereign to explain his conduct, and to account for some alleged malversations, when he had the virtue or the audacity to reproach him for his dissipated habits. "He represented," says the Lahore *Ukhbar*, "that his Highness's constant devotion to the chace and the bottle, during the greater part of the day, had a baneful effect on the state, and reflected disgrace on the minister as well as the monarch."* It is plain that a minister who can thus expostulate with an Eastern prince, clothed with absolute power, must possess something of the character of a viceroy over him. It further appears that Heera Singh, the son of Dhian Singh, has been placed in command of the Sikh army, upon the fidelity of which Shere Singh can probably place but little reliance. The latest accounts represent the court of Lahore as divided into factions, and that the prince is striving to undermine the power of his minister, which he dare not subvert by force.

The Mahratta state of Gwalior, the relics of those vast possessions which once gave the family of Scindiah a voice potential in the politics of India, appears to be on the eve of dissolution, or of being transferred to that power which, less than forty years ago, its ruler could almost defy. Since the death of Jankojee Scindiah, in February last, and the adoption by his widow (a child of twelve years of age) of an heir in a boy of nine, the court has been the scene of intrigue, and the capital of tumult and mutiny. Mama Sahib, the uncle of the late rajah, seems to have been recognized by the British authorities as the adviser of the Bacc, and consequently as the virtual regent of the state; but an evil spirit, in the person of Dada Khasjee, the chief minister of the late rajah, embroiled every thing. This man, it was discovered on the death of Jankojee, had embezzled from the treasury immense sums, which he probably employed in corrupting the army. By the agency of his partizans, he has ejected Mama Sahib, obtained a complete influence over the young Bacc, and, in fact, usurped the sovereign power. The British resident has retired from Gwalior; the Christian officers

in the army have been removed and ill-treated, and the usurper disowns all subordination to British supremacy, declaring his determination to resist its interference by force.

In order to meet this emergency, and to be prepared for any call for our aid in the Punjab, the last accounts state that a British army of observation is to be assembled in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and another on the Sutlej.

The kingdom of Oude is another native state which has been long ripening into that maturity of disorder that shall cause it to drop into our hands. The people are plundered by the farmers of the revenue, who cheat the collectors, with whom the ministers conspire to rob the prince, who is too weak to do either himself or his subjects justice. Both people and king are, in fact, oppressed; the wretched condition of the country offers a glaring contrast to those adjoining districts which are under British administration, and it is the scene of constant disturbances, in which zemindars on one side, and aumils on the other, carry on warfare upon a large scale, without reference to the king or his ministers.

Adjoining Scindiah's territories are the petty chieftainships of Bundelkhand, which have been for some time the theatre of disorders the source and object of which are not easily divined. The Boondela states are under British protection (as it is termed), that is, they owe a qualified obedience to our authority; some of them (Saugor and the districts in the valley of the Nerbudda) have been incorporated with the British dominions. The Boondela country is not of small extent (about 12,000 square miles), and the population exceeds one million. The chiefs are, with one exception, Hindus, and the five principal are Rajpoots. Political alliances between them are forbidden by the paramount power, but most of them are connected by blood, and they are not disunited by caste. They are supposed to have at least 30,000 men in arms, and the aggregate revenue of the province is about £750,000. The British troops have suffered some loss in their operations against the rebels, but most of the insurgent leaders have either submitted or been captured; a system of military police has been introduced into the disturbed districts, as better adapted both to the nature of the country (abounding in hills and jungles) and to the species of warfare which it is necessary to carry on, and Colonel Sleeman, to whom is confided the application of this new force, is said to possess qualities of character, conciliatory as well as vigorous, peculiarly fitted for dealing with men who, as some statements allege, complain of grievances which ought to be listened to, if they cannot be re-

dressed. Since the appointment of that officer, the disturbances in Bundelkhand appear to have subsided, the "obstinate marauders" having withdrawn into Saugor. In this district, however, according to the Delhi paper,* the spirit of disaffection still prevails, and will again break out in the cold weather.

Marwar, or Joudpore, one of the Rajpoot states, which is governed by Maun Singh,—a man of very eccentric character, whom some think a maniac, and others a crafty and astute politician,—continues to cause trouble to the British functionary who exercises immediate control over these "protected" principalities. The source of disorder was a party of powerful, unruly, and intriguing nobles, called Naths, whose expulsion from the capital was insisted upon, to the great dissatisfaction and even anger of the rajah, who, it would appear, withdrew from the government, as he had done upon a former occasion. But he has again resumed it, and demands the return of the Naths. The peculiar and equivocal character of Rajah Maun Singh, of Marwar, is drawn with a masterly pen by the late Colonel Tod, in his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

Another potentate, with whom the Anglo-Indian Government is upon unfriendly terms, is the poor old King of Delhi, the descendant of the Mogul emperors of Hindustan, the remnant of whose power has dwindled, in the feeble custody of their successors, into the mere external marks and symbols of sovereignty, amongst which is the receipt of nuzzurs, whereby the king obtains substantial gold mohurs in return for pieces of flimsy muslin. This source of gain the present Governor-General has interfered with, probably to mark his resentment at certain indications of ill-will on the part of the king towards the British, upon the news of our disasters at Cabul. His majesty has no army wherewith to commence hostilities; he has, therefore, determined to send an embassy to the Queen of England, to complain of the conduct of her Majesty's vicergerent. The person chosen by the king to be the expounder of his griefs and injuries is Mr. George Thompson, a gentleman who went to India in order to learn its circumstances and the condition of its people on the spot; but who, after only five months' residence there, has accepted the office of vakeel to the King of Delhi, with an allowance of £1,200 a year, for which he is "unspeakably thankful to Providence!" Mr. Thompson's conduct has caused surprise even to some of his friends.

In a survey of British Indian relations, China must not be excluded; for, although our diplomatic intercourse with that empire

* *Indian Mail*, Oct. 24, p. 162.

falls within the department of the Home Foreign Secretary, its politics materially concern the welfare of Anglo-India. By the skill and prudence of Sir Henry Pottinger, the difficult negotiations with China have been brought to a successful issue; the treaty of peace has been ratified by the emperor; a tariff, highly advantageous to European commerce, has been agreed upon, the duties being extremely moderate, and regulations have been laid down for the conduct of British trade at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Fuchow, and Shanghai, which are clear, simple, and equitable.

A brief notice of the principal domestic incidents which have recently occurred in British India must suffice in our present Review.

Since the clamour raised against the present Governor General of India has subsided,—a clamour which, originating in party rancour, was kept alive by his injudicious proclamation respecting the terrible gates of Somnath,—public attention, in England as well as India, has rested with satisfaction upon the acts of his government. His task was a more difficult one than ever fell to the lot of a ruler of British India, and he has fulfilled it admirably. In the short period of his administration, he has extricated the country from a disastrous foreign war, with no sacrifice of the national honour; he has promptly crushed a treacherous enemy seated upon the borders of our territory; his vigorous and energetic measures have secured the peace of the vast territories under his rule, and he has assumed an attitude which must overawe both foreign and intestine malcontents, with an army “standing in unassailable strength upon its own soil.” His domestic government has been marked by measures of less obtrusive but not less permanent utility. Slavery has been abolished by an Act of his Council throughout British India; the judicial department of government, that which most needed improvement, but in which change was most hazardous, has undergone wise and prudent reforms, by the regulation of the Sudder Courts, a better apportionment of the business, and a more extensive employment of uncovenanted agency; he has separated the government of Bengal from the general government of India, and introduced a distribution of the secretarial duties under the latter, analogous to the Home system, changing the “Secret and Political” department into the “Foreign,” the “General” into the “Home,” and instituting a new secretaryship of “Finance.” These and other minor reforms, though bearing upon the face of them nothing to fascinate vulgar admiration or attract popular applause, possess an intrinsic value, which is honestly acknowledged by those on the spot by whom they

can be best appreciated. Some of them must interfere with the private interests or the obstinate prejudices of individuals, and all may not have been carried into effect with such a degree of tenderness as will sometimes disarm anger. This will affect the popularity of Lord Ellenborough. By the last accounts, it appears that his Lordship has officially announced that no more private audiences are to be granted to gentlemen on matters relating to their private interests, a regulation that will, perhaps, prove as beneficial as it will be distasteful.

We may record that the public works which the limited means of the Indian government can at present aid or undertake, are advancing, in which we include the Doonab canal, the deepening of the Paumbaun channel (which has already quadrupled the commerce of the coast), the improvement of the roads and facilities for intercourse between different parts of India.

We may appropriately conclude this Review by a short summary of the external commerce of the principal Presidency of British India, during the year 1842-43, as extracted in the *Friend of India*,* from Mr. Wilkinson's work, published at Calcutta:—

The entire value of the imports during the past year in the Port of Calcutta, exhibits an increase over the preceding year of nearly *thirty* lakhs of rupees; the imports in 1841-42, having been, in round figures, Rs. 5,42,00,000; and in 1842-43, Rs. 5,71,00,000. In the exports there is a decrease of *seventy-four* lakhs of rupees, the value in 1841-42 having been Rs. 8,39,00,000, and in 1842-43, Rs. 7,65,00,000. This is accounted for by the diminished export of the single article of indigo, of which the quantity sent abroad in the last year was *seventy-five* lakhs less than in the preceding period. In fact, our exports are always liable to great fluctuations, owing to the variation in the produce and price of indigo, and the unsteady value of opium; two articles which form nearly one-half of our entire exports. It is quite possible, therefore, that the result of one year may appear more unfavourable than of the year which preceded it, though in every other article of export, except these two staples, there may in reality be a general increase. To ascertain the strength of commercial improvement, it is necessary, therefore, to take a wider field of comparison than that of any two consecutive years; and in this view of the case we shall find that there has been a steady and most gratifying increase both of imports and exports. Thus, the average of *imports* in the six years ending April 1838, was Rs. 3,23,00,000; the average of the five succeeding years, ending with April last, was Rs. 5,24,00,000. In the first-named period, the average of our *exports* was Rs. 5,49,00,000; in the last-mentioned period, Rs. 7,58,00,000.

* August 10th, 1843.

OFFICIAL LIFE IN INDIA.—No. VI.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

Peer Khan had still continued to be in command of my escort, and, removed from European society, I saw more of him than I otherwise should have done. He was very entertaining, had a fund of anecdote and stories, and was in his old age by no means garrulous or fond of speaking of his own exploits, so that I always found difficulty in drawing him on to a relation of his own history, but none in checking him. He had been Col. Skinner's favourite officer during the whole of Lord Lake's campaigns, and had seen many adventures during the course of the war, and I think I recollect sufficient of one of those he related to me to repeat it here.

"Sahib," said Peer Khan,—he was sitting, cross-legged, on the carpet of the tent, with his sword across his knees, and his feet carefully covered from sight,—“your servant was relating the other day how we continued to pursue the enemy through the Doonab. Holkar's numerous and lightly-armed force seemed always to escape from us when we most expected to come up with and annihilate them. The sepoys were beginning to be harassed by forced marches; Lord Lake had already appealed to them, asking them whether they could not march in discipline as fast as the undisciplined rabble before them. One, bolder than the rest, pointed to his knapsack, and said, ‘Relieve us of this, and see how long they will remain before us.’ His comrades joined him in the answer, and Lord Lake found it necessary to resort temporarily to the expedient as far as possible. One evening, I was sitting with Col. Skinner, when he received orders from Lord Lake to have his men in complete readiness for an instant march, and to attend himself at the commander-in-chief's tent as soon as he was ready. All was arranged in the course of a quarter of an hour. The horses were unpicketed and caparisoned, the head and heel ropes, and blankets were packed up, and stowed away on the baggage-horses; the remains of the hasty meal were tied up safely by some, while others provided themselves with parched vetches, to allay their hunger, in case it were not expedient to halt on the road, and all that had a few minutes before appeared a scene of irremediable confusion was adjusted in marching order. Here you might occasionally see the wife of a camp-follower, with her child safely enconcealed in a heap of horse-clothing, while she was assisting her husband in his business by driving his pony in his allotted place; whereas, a few minutes before, you would have seen the same wife busily cooking the dinner, the child gambolling about with some chance playfellow, and the father either bringing in from the country the forage he had succeeded in collecting for the horses, or carefully supplying them with it, and grooming them after the day's march.

“Col. Skinner took me with him to Lord Lake's tent, knowing that I had already brought myself to notice, and that the general delighted

to have an opportunity of complimenting those native officers who had shewn themselves worthy of such honour. On this occasion, however, there appeared to be no time for more words than were absolutely necessary; Lord Lake did not even give us time to sit down, but hastily rising as we entered, he turned to Col. Skinner, and said, 'Black Prince, we are much in want of your assistance here; Holkar has just increased the distance between us, and I am puzzled by want of my usual intelligence to know in what direction he has turned. I am aware that I am sending you on a somewhat dangerous expedition, in front of my army, to push on as far as you can without support, and procure that intelligence which we require; but you are the man to whom I would most willingly intrust this important service. You must keep clear of the enemy as much as possible, and constantly detach trusty people to convey any notice of Holkar's movements and intentions which you may have ascertained; but mind, if you engage the enemy, you will have no chance of escape, opposed to his overwhelming force; moreover, you will defeat the object I have in view, and deprive me of an indispensable part of my army, and of a friend whose services I cannot afford to lose. Keep, then, at a safe distance from them, in their rear, and send me all the information you can.'

"We took our leave, and the squadrons were soon on the north road. Night rapidly closed in, and though the moon was bright enough to shew us surrounding objects, we had considerable difficulty in procuring good guides, to insure our not losing the road. Chatting, and singing, smoking the hookah and abusing the kafir who had given us all this trouble, we passed the night on our horses at a quick walk, and found ourselves next day some thirty miles a-head of the pursuing force. We began to fall in with occasional stragglers from Holkar's army, but from them we could collect no news, for they had been behind the army for some days, and were not aware of what was going on before them. Most of them were surprised to see us, for we had equipped ourselves as much, in our undress, after the fashion of the native Mahratta service, as possible; and they took us, as our appearance led them to suppose, for a part of Holkar's army, of which they had imagined all the cavalry to be a long way before them. As the heat of the day came on, we found our horses weary, and altogether in want of a little rest, and as we appeared to be nearing Holkar's army, judging from the increased number of stragglers we were overtaking, Colonel Skinner took advantage of the first good encamping ground, and gave orders for a halt.

"The place had a well, some large shady trees, and besides a number of people who were already taking temporary advantage of the conveniences of the place, we found a jolly old faqueer, tenant of a small hut which overlooked the road-side. The troopers were directed to pick up as much information as they could without exciting suspicion. The colonel, myself, and another favourite officer, went to the faqueer's hut, to extract what we could from him. 'Salaam, Gooroojee,' said I; 'we have stopped here, attracted by all the conveniences you have pro-

vided for travellers ; good water and good shade are luxuries not to be despised after a long march.' 'Ah, gentlemen,' said he, 'you are gracious ; whatever the poor faqueer has is much at your disposal ; it is a pleasure to receive thanks for his poor services where he so often meets in return but rudeness or violence.' So saying, and perceiving that those who had sat down to chat with him were of somewhat superior rank, he dived into his hut, and soon produced a hooqua, which we all partook of. 'It is not often you find such good tobacco as that in a faqueer's hut,' said he ; 'such is the fortune of war ; it does one man good and another man harm. It was but last night that aattoo, laden with various things, strayed from the line of march into the next village, and was, as you may suppose, immediately lightened of every thing, which was easily secreted, and this morning, one of my fair devotees brought me this offering, that what the poor faqueer partook of might bring them luck. Poor people, they have suffered much from the march of your army, Sir. No offence, I hope ; their crops have been trampled down, and the camp-followers have helped themselves to every thing outside of the village which they could lay hands on, and turn to any account.' 'I am afraid,' said the colonel, 'that that is too much the case ; alas ! what can our good master do ? He has sent us, as you see, to prevent any great excesses being committed ; but we cannot be everywhere, especially where these kafir English are at our heels. How far is the main body of the army before us ? I am afraid we are too far behind.' 'Why,' said the faqueer, 'if the dogs are so close behind you, you have certainly left the main body far in the rear. Holkar passed by here early yesterday morning ; he had made two marches to the left, as is supposed to mislead the English into the idea he was going direct to ———, and has now taken another line, and will, I suppose, have paid a visit to Moradabad. Indeed, I wish you every success. May the displeasure of our Kalee dog the steps of these accursed English ! how can they be compared to your noble master ? Yesterday morning, as he was passing, I stood by the road-side, and addressed him : "Hail, most noble Holkar, destined to be the deliverer of India, on whose steps victory waits ; soon shall you fix on a place fit for the slaughter of the enemy, and annihilate them in deadly embrace." He stopped, smiled, and had my hands filled with rupees, and gave orders that any one who dared to molest me should incur his most severe displeasure. Now I might bawl my lungs out before 'all the British generals that ever breathed, and not benefit thereby one broken courie.' 'Ah,' rejoined one of our party, 'those English are locusts ; they come to reap, and not to sow ; are they not unbelievers, despising holy men such as our Gooroo here, and Mahomedan peers ? do they not eat pig (on their heads be the defilement !), and slaughter the sacred oxen of the Hindus ? Verily, the Gooroo has spoken truth. Our Holkar is destined to drive them into the sea, whence they came. Is it true, oh Gooroo ? I have heard that these white foreigners were brought by the displeasure of your goddess Kalee, of Calcutta ; that her votaries had decreased, her worship become neglected, and in her anger she produced large ships and

these white men to wage war, carry destruction through the country, and immolate victims far exceeding in number those which used to be sacrificed at her altar?' 'There is no saying,' answered the faqueer; 'the power of Kalee is great, but have we not other gods greater? I myself have been to Calcutta, have visited the temple of Juggurnauth, and have beheld with my own eyes the vast ships, each as big as many houses put together, floating upon the water. Surely, it must be some miracle, some enchantment or magic, these foreigners possess; for I saw with mine own eyes cannon, large, heavy cannon, numberless, sticking out on both sides of the ship, as close as matchlocks along a wall, through holes cut in the sides where water might come in; and do we not know that iron goes to the bottom of water, and yet these were swimming about the sea, with enormous trees for their masts, one put on the top of another, fastened together with innumerable cords: verily, it must be magic, or the power of the angry goddess Kalee, that enables them to play about on waves which would have broken to pieces in a moment the strongest boat which you have ever seen.' 'Indeed,' said I, 'the Gooroo speaks but the truth; it must be magic they deal with, what else can it be? Do they not kill many men every time they fire their cannon? It must be Kalee, who wants victims. Have we not as good cannon? and are not our trusty golundauzes as clever as their artillery men? can they not point a gun as well? and yet, when they fire, bah! the ball goes between two men, and kills nobody.' 'Yes,' said the Gooroo; but 'be of good cheer, my friends; we shall live to see these white faces all disappear; as soon as the displeasure of the bloody goddess passes away, we shall behold them disperse like a cloud of locusts, which, while the weather is mild, pass through the country, consuming the corn and leaves, and laying eggs for a fresh brood, and neither the birds nor the animals which prey on them ever appear to diminish their number; but they fly on, the terror and bane of the villagers, and no one knows how to escape the evil. Anon comes a mighty wind and rain, and they are at once swept away no one knows where. Thus it shall be with these foreigners; wait awhile, and we shall see their destruction.'

"Time had, meanwhile, passed rapidly; but although engaged in conversation with our holy mendicant, we had not lost sight of our errand, and through the faqueer had gleaned, in inquiries, all we could from the numerous passers-by. Unluckily, however, almost every body seemed passing the same way we were ourselves travelling; those coming from the direction of Holkar's camp were inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who could only tell us they knew Holkar's camp was not far distant. We dropped a small donation at the faqueer's offering shrine, took our leave, and after the necessary ablutions and refreshments, found ourselves on our horses again.

"Holkar's camp was always said to be near; but our informants invariably hurried on, seemingly glad to be quit of such ugly-looking customers: how near we might be we could not make out. We had accomplished some ten or twelve miles, and the sun was now low in the

horizon ; we had to ascend a slightly rising ground, and a few officers, myself among the number, were in front, conversing and deliberating with Col. Skinner on the best mode of proceeding during the night, ‘for,’ said our commander, ‘there is no knowing what may be done in the dark,—we may ride into the enemy’s camp without being aware of it, and that is not what we want ;’—when I was suddenly startled by a general exclamation of surprise ; I looked up, and immediately below and before us lay the vast encampment of Holkar’s army, which had been hid from us by the rising ground we were now standing on. Astonished and unprepared as I was, I could not fail to be struck with the grandeur of the scene before me. As far as the eye could reach, around the town and glancing among the green trees, everywhere appeared the tents of the native army ; and though the spread of canvas was not of that snowy white which contrasts best with the landscape, it spoke of active service, of men inured to fatigue and war, and who, when met in the battle-field, were ready and able gallantly to contest the day with us. Further in the distance appeared Holkar’s own tents, easily distinguished by their superior size and brilliant colours, and to our right were heard a few dropping shots, which told of some yet unended conflict, while immediately in our front was a scene of apparently inextricable confusion ; men and horses, camels, bullocks, and ponies, with their loads scattered about the ground ; every body busy about something or other, cooking, eating, talking, screaming, smoking, and singing. But our commander’s attention was immediately attracted by the firing, which had already now appeared to have ceased. ‘There,’ said he, ‘amongst the trees where you see the occasional smoke of a match-lock, there is the residence of the English commissioner and magistrate, and they have evidently managed to hold the house successfully against Holkar’s army, even to the present moment ; God grant we may not be too late to save them ! My men, shall we retreat, or shall we endeavour to preserve them ?’ None were there who voted for the retreat ; the enterprise did not appear at all difficult. Holkar’s army was as distant from the scene of engagement as from the place where we stood ; evening was already advanced, and we doubted not our being able to reach the house before the enemy were aware of our presence. All the difficulty we had then to accomplish was the getting the inmates out of the house, and retreating with them, in face of Holkar’s army. But in this we should be favoured by the darkness, and by the idea which would of course pervade the enemy that we had not come unsupported, but that assistance was following close in our rear. The rescue was resolved on, but before entering on such hazardous enterprise, it was necessary to implore the assistance of the Almighty. The sun was just setting, scarcely half a spear’s length from the horizon ; it was the proper time for prayer. In a moment, every saddle was empty, and, kneeling in front of our horses, we bathed our hands in the sand to purify them, and offered up our supplication to the Creator, begging for the intercession of Mahomed, the prophet of God. Colonel Skinner, too, after his fashion, on his knees, implored

the intercession of the holy Jesus, the son of Mary. And then, lightened in heart, we were all at once in our saddles again, and with a hearty and simultaneous *Uthumdilullah!* a thousand sabres had left their scabbards, and were glancing in the last rays of the setting sun.

"But even as we spoke and acted, a vast change seemed to come over the scene before us. We looked in vain for Holkar's tents; a huge dust now rose where they had just stood. Nearer to us the noise and bustle seemed to have increased a hundred-fold; the loosening of the tent-pieces; the impatient gurgling and screaming of the camels, as the loads were being again placed on their backs; the confused din of men calling to one another, mingled in an undescrivable hubbub; we perceived that the vast armament in front of us was about to move, and, luckily for us, their movement was in a contrary direction to that we had just resolved on taking.

"We made a slight *détour*, the more effectually to prevent our being noticed, and in another half-hour found ourselves close to the English cutcherry. Lingering about it were still a few Mahratta horsemen, of whom some were at once sabred, and the rest escaped us in flight, and finding, on further reconnoitring, our enemies completely dispersed, a trooper was sent to give notice of the arrival of assistance, that the inmates of the house might at once prepare for further measures. At first, he hallooed from a distance, and failing thus to procure any signal of recognition, he ventured still nearer; but on exposing his person, a couple of matchlock-balls whizzed by him most uncomfortably close. We now recollected that we were still in our undress, equipped to disguise ourselves as Mahrattas; no wonder, then, that the inmates of the house imagined some deceit was being put upon them. So, hastily putting on their uniforms, Col. Skinner went forward with a few soldiers, and speaking in English, speedily dispelled from the beleaguered all apprehension of danger. And now the servants of the establishment began to flock in from the town, bringing the intelligence of the departure of the Mahratta host, a departure most sudden and unexpected, for Holkar had announced his intention of bringing a gun to bear on the house the next day, and gaining possession of it at all risks, having heard that considerable Government treasure was concealed therein. The doors were soon unbarred, and the party rescued from danger mingled with their deliverers. The European party consisted of Mr. Leicester, Lieut. Wilkinson, Lady Haselrigge and sister, and a young civilian.

Our officers and men were sumptuously entertained, as far as circumstances and the short notice would permit, while our commander was fêted and caressed within, and ere he rested that night, the rooms where the English gentlemen were dining had frequently rung to the toast of 'Our gallant deliverer!'

"Such is the history of the relief of the civilians of Moradabad, where the lives of this gallant little band were saved as it were by miracle beyond all hope of human assistance. Luckily, the garrison were not aware at the first moment of defence how far distant Lord Lake's army really was, otherwise they might have thought of listening to the pro-

posals of the Mahratta chief; while Holkar, never dreaming of being interrupted in this diversion of his, proposed at first starving the house into capitulation at leisure. The Europeans, two or three in number, hearing of Holkar's retreat in their direction, had in some measure anticipated a visit, and made preparations for a short defence, to enable Lord Lake to come up with the retreating foe, were he rash enough to linger so long. In their preparations they were most ably assisted by Lieut. Wilkinson, the adjutant of the provincial battalion, who spared no exertion. The populous and rich town of Moradabad, it was supposed, would be the chief inducement for the visit of the Mahratta chief, and so indeed it was. On such occasions, little respect is paid to personal property; the native army never dream of considering themselves countrymen, the deliverers of the country from a foreign yoke, though many in the motley assemblage may be by chance inhabitants of the parts they are passing through. On the contrary, every thing which they can lay hands on and turn to their own profit is appropriated before the last camp-follower has quitted the place. Scenes of violence are enacted which it would make one shudder to relate, but as these are generally attempted after the departure of the chief and his followers in authority, they are often attended with dreadful retribution. The chief himself squeezes a few of the richest and most influential he can lay hold of, but in doing so, extends his protection as far as he is able over the rest of the community, who generally, through their respective representatives, offer their nuzzurs, in the shape of such sum of money as may have been agreed on by the punchayut, or jury, of the town, to form the proportion of the different trades and castes; but even while at hand to punish, he can but ill repress the excesses of the half-disciplined troops, and, at his departure, that little restraint is at an end. The house was surrounded by a deep moat, so that a few hours were sufficient to enable them to isolate themselves, by cutting away the approach, and protect the windows from matchlock-balls, and unless cannon were brought to bear on them at once, they expected to hold out till assistance could be given them. But it was not till some time after that we learnt the true cause of their safety, the reason of the sudden breaking up of the Mahratta encampment.

"It seems, that amongst the people who were halting at the faqueer's well and hut, when we first arrived, was one of Holkar's confidential scouts, a man well acquainted, as from his employment he necessarily must be, with the general position of the different corps of his master's army, and personally knowing the leaders of the different bands, could not fail to be struck with the sudden appearance of our numerous and well-appointed body of cavalry. He penetrated our disguise at once, and even recognized Col. Skinner, who was known to many, as having formerly, before the breaking out of hostilities, served in the Mahratta service. So, hastily finishing his meal, and concealing such parts of his dress as might lead to his recognition, he saddled his pony, and joined the crowd of stragglers who were hastening along the road towards Holkar's encampment. But no sooner was he well out of our

sight, than with whip and spur he hastened the steps of his active little beast, and in a much shorter time than we had taken to accomplish the same distance, reached camp, and informed his astonished master, that the whole of the advanced force of Lord Lake's army was close upon them ; that he had himself seen Capt. Skinner, with his full complement of irregular horse, disguised as Mahrattas, to prevent their being recognized, and that they were halting for a few hours to refresh their horses, within twelve miles of the camp. Holkar was not likely to delay long after receiving this intelligence. He knew that, encamped as his army now lay, immediately around a large city, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to assemble them to repel any sudden attack at short warning. But, besides this, in itself a sufficient reason, he had no idea of giving battle at this spot, which was ill calculated for the manœuvres of his own half-disciplined army, but well adapted for that of the English, who knew so well how to take advantage of their ground. Moreover, he thought it expedient to shift his ground before night, in order to baulk us in case we intended to surprise him by a night attack, a conjecture which the report of our disguised advance seemed to favour.

"Thus, then, was explained the secret of the sudden disappearance of the camp when we shewed ourselves at the top of the hill, a coincidence which our troopers and officers were not slow in turning to the greatest advantage, making it appear as if, at the first sight of the 'Yellow Boys' (so we were called from the colour of our uniform), every tent, from the gaudy enclosures of the Mahratta chief himself to the blanket of the camp-follower, bowed its head to the dust as they hastened away in confusion. Holkar, accompanied by Ameer Khan, the Rohilla freebooter, was in the act of starting as we first beheld the camp. His orders had been already circulated through the army, and his wish to prevent intelligence of his changed movements reaching his supposed pursuers was the reason that his departure was unmarked by the usual ceremonies.

"This partial overtaking of the Mahratta encampment was not, however, unattended with further consequences. Among the foremost of Lord Lake's army, and not far in the rear of Col. Skinner's gallant band of 'Yellow Boys,' came the 8th Dragoons. Not deeming their assistance necessary, where the irregular cavalry were sufficient to effect the rescue of the cutcherry and its inmates, they followed the retreating Mahratta force, intercepting as much of the baggage and stores as they were able. Warned, however, of the vicinity of a body of Rajpoots, who formed part of Ameer Khan's followers, the commanding officer had just given the order for the regiment to halt, when suddenly the Rajpoots, who were concealed in a field close by the road, rose, and rushing at the head of the first troop, put them into confusion by cutting the bridles of the first rank, and closing with their daggers and swords amongst the men. In this sudden emergency, Captain Dear, who commanded the second troop, without waiting for orders from his commanding officer, hastily extricating his men, charged among the

disorderly mass which opposed them, and bearing them down before him, cleared the ground of fresh assailants, and disheartening those who were already engaged in the now unequal conflict, enabled the rest of the regiment to rid itself of their opponents. The loss, however, had been severe ; three officers were killed, and several of the men, besides many wounded, who were brought back to Moradabad, to be placed under efficient medical treatment.

“I need hardly add, that when Col. Skinner rejoined Lord Lake’s camp, he was received with every honour and attention which the general could shew him, the officers of the different regiments vying with each other in shewing attention both to him and to us, complimenting us in every way, and on every occasion, for the gallantry with which we had determined on and effected the rescue of their countrymen.”

GHAAZEL OF HAFIZ.

سحر یوی گلستان شدم دمی در باغ &c.

As Morning walked forth, while its odorous breeze
Was kissing the flow’rs, and the leaves on the trees,
I strolled in the garden, absorbed in despair,
But in hope to find something to solace me there.
Gaily laughed the glad rose, as it welcomed the light,
And shone like a lamp in the dimness of night ;
Too proud in its beauty, with haughty disdain,
Despising the bulbul, its passion and pain.
The narcissus was wiping the tears from its eyes ;
The tulip was decked in its numberless dyes ;
The lily awoke, with its countenance pale,
And the blushing anemone threw off its veil ;
Each flower had its cup well replenished with dew,
To welcome the soul-cheering morning anew ;
And laughed, like the beautiful Saki,* at gloom,
Nor cared how soon winter might wither its bloom !
Then, HAFIZ, come banish thy sorrows, and sing ;
Come, learn of the flow’rs thus to welcome the spring !

Ipswich, Oct. 11, 1843.

E. B. COWELL.

* Cup-bearer.

BRITISH AUSTRALASIA.

Our occupation of the islo-continent of New Holland is of so recent a date, and our settlements in Australasia have grown up so gradually within the memory of the present generation, that their incidents scarcely awaken interest or stimulate curiosity. The progress of colonies seems to be so much a matter of course, as to be scarcely noted. That the population of new settlements should increase where the means of subsistence are readily procured ; that forests and wastes should be transformed by the settlers into pasture and arable land ; that huts should become houses, and houses multiply and congregate in towns and cities, appears to be as completely in the order of nature as the growth of cabbages and turnips in our gardens. When, in after-ages, these colonies shall have extended over the five millions of geographical miles, which is about the superficies of New Holland alone, and a magnificent South-Asian empire, dependent or independent, shall have developed itself from the germs now vegetating upon parts of the coast, the circumstances attending its original formation, the sources of its population, the date of its embryo institutions, will be matter of as eager inquiry as the history of primitive Rome. Even now, after little more than fifty years, the rapid advancement and wonderful extension of these colonies, under many grievous disadvantages and impediments, ought to astonish those who are old enough to remember the first expedition to Botany Bay, which, to use the words of Collins, the earliest historian of the colony, "under the blessing of God, was happily completed in eight months and one week, the whole fleet being safe at anchor on the 20th January, 1788 ; a voyage which," he adds, "before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate, and on which it was impossible to reflect without even apprehension as to its termination." The country, then in a state of primitive nature, and the stillness of which "had, for the first time since the Creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe," is now occupied by an industrious population of 130,000 souls, inhabiting respectable towns, and surrounded with all the comforts, conveniences, and even luxuries, of civilized life.

We have adverted to the disadvantages and impediments with which the colonists have had to contend, and these are both physical and moral. The position and first aspect of New Holland were calculated to create expectations and inspire hopes which were much

moderated by a better acquaintance with this very peculiar country. Placed near the equator at one extremity, and enjoying the coolness of the temperate zone at the other, "on a first view," observes Captain Sturt, "we should be led to expect that this extensive tract of land possessed more than ordinary advantages; that its rivers would be in proportion to its size, and that it would abound in the richest productions of the intertropical and temperate regions. Such, indeed, was the impression of those who first touched upon its southern shores, but who remained no longer than to be dazzled by the splendour and variety of its botanical productions, and to enjoy for a few days the delightful mildness of its climate. But the very spot which had appeared to Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks an earthly paradise, was abandoned by the early settlers as unfit for occupation." In New Holland, nature seems, in all her arrangements and productions, animate and inanimate, to have deviated from her rules, or rather to have adopted a new system, governed by distinct laws. The soil, the rivers, the vegetable tribes, possess characteristics peculiar to that particular country. The aborigines are a race of men so low in the scale of humanity, that they have hitherto resisted every attempt at mental improvement, and offer obstacles rather than facilities to the rapid extension of civilization. The inferior zoology of Australia, to say nothing of the *platypus*, or the kangaroo and other pouched animals, exhibits the singularity of possessing no creature capable of co-operating with man in those labours which constitute the condition of his existence. To other continents, Providence has given the elephant, the camel, the horse, the ox, the llama, the rein-deer, or the dog, animals evidently adapted by their qualities and instincts for the offices in which they are employed; but Australia had none of these, for her dog is rather a small beast of prey than possessed of the trusty and the draught properties which these "honest creatures" exhibit, as part of their natural constitution, in other climates.

But the Australian colonies have laboured under moral disadvantages which far outweighed the physical peculiarities of the country, since they were not so easily overcome. The elements of the society of the oldest of those colonies were impregnated in the beginning with vice and wickedness. The 565 men and 192 women, transported from the gaols of England, in 1787, were the founders and first population of Sydney, and although there have been large infusions of free emigrants, these have been accompanied by additional importations of convicts. The inevitable effects of such an experi-

ment in society-making, which seems to have been left to its own operations, were not provided against even by the slightest attention to the religious wants of such a colony. It is a singular fact, mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Marsden, that when the fleet was on the point of sailing with the first convicts for New South Wales, in the year 1787, no clergyman had been thought of, and that a friend of his own, a pious man of some influence, anxious for the spiritual welfare of the convicts, "made a strong appeal to those in authority upon the subject, and through the interest of the late Bishop Porteus with Sir Joseph Banks, the Rev. Richard Johnson was appointed chaplain." For six years he remained the only clergyman in the colony, and had to perform divine offices in the open air, till he could erect a temporary place of worship, at his own expense, in 1795. Mr. Marsden succeeded him, and was likewise the sole clergyman in this colony for seven years.

This and other causes of demoralization—amongst which may be mentioned the pernicious system of making ardent spirits the medium of purchase, so that promissory notes were payable in rum instead of money—created a mass of evil which has, perhaps, much impeded the advancement of the colony, and has certainly materially augmented the difficulties of government there. Sounder views and more correct principles have guided the ruling authorities since the colonies of Australia began to acquire inherent strength and importance.

An analysis of the official returns and classification of the population of the colony of New South Wales, up to the year 1841, will afford matter of more interest than statistical details ordinarily possess, inasmuch as it will present a very correct view of its state and condition, of the ratio of its increase, and consequently of its probable future progress. A work of this kind has been produced, since the census of the colony in 1841, by Mr. R. Mansfield,* the figures contained in which are derived from official sources.

The census of 1841 was taken in a manner similar to that adopted in the statutory census at home, with variations and distinctions applicable to the peculiar state of the colony.

The entire population of New South Wales was 130,856 souls, namely, 87,298 males† and 43,558 females, of the following ages:

* Analytical View of the Census of New South Wales for the Year 1841; with Tables shewing the Progress of the Population during the previous Twenty Years. By RALPH MANSFIELD. Sydney, 1841.

† This is the correct number; but the succeeding figures, likewise taken from the table, give only 85,168 males, which, we conclude, is exclusive of the floating population, in colonial vessels, stated elsewhere at 2,130 persons, the exact difference.

	Males.	Females.
Under two years	3,707	3,967
Two and under seven	6,633	6,581
Seven and under fourteen	6,306	5,864
Fourteen and under twenty-one	6,045	4,882
Twenty-one and under forty-five	53,381	19,513
Forty-five and under sixty	7,212	2,175
Sixty and upwards	1,884	576

The proportions of married and single are thus given :—

	Males.	Females.
Married	18,802	17,551
Single	66,366	26,007

The following is the civil condition of the colonists :—

	Males.	Females.
Free, viz.		
Born in the colony	14,819	14,622
Arrived free	30,745	22,158
Other free persons	15,760	3,637
Bond, viz.		
Holding tickets of leave	5,843	316
In Government employ	6,658	979
In private assignment	11,343	1,838

Out of a population of 130,856, therefore, 26,977 are bond, namely, 23,844 males and 3,133 females.

The first observation which occurs upon looking at the foregoing figures, is the appalling disproportion of the sexes. In the whole unmarried population, the proportion is, 41 females to 100 males. If the adults are exhibited apart from persons under 21, the disparity is still greater, there being only 11 females to 100 males, or nearly 1 to 10, the numbers being, males 43,675, and females 4,713. If we exclude the bond, and compare the proportions of the unmarried free adults, of whom there are 19,831 males and only 1,580 females, the disproportion is even more frightful, being only 8 females to 100 males. Mr. Mansfield deduces the following curious results from this state of the population :—

1. Supposing the whole unmarried population were now grown up, and wished to be married, out of every hundred bachelors only 41

could find wives : for the remaining 59, not a single female would be left !

2. Supposing all the unmarried males now of age wished to be married, out of every hundred only 11 could find wives : for the remaining 89, not a single female would be left !!

3. Supposing all the free bachelors now in the colony wished to be married, out of every hundred only 8 could find wives : for the remaining 92, not a single female would be left !!!

4. As there are 66,366 unmarried males in the colony, and only 26,007 unmarried females, it follows, that before every son of Adam can be provided with a daughter of Eve, there must be introduced no less than 40,359 unmarried daughters !

The cause of this disproportion of the sexes is apparent from the returns. By the census tables; in 1821, 1828, 1833, 1836, and 1841, and from a special return of births during the four years ending 1840, it appears that, of persons born in the colony, the sexes are nearly equal, the males exceeding the females, on the average, by three in each period. The disparity of sexes must, therefore, have existed in the population introduced by transportation or immigration, or both. The returns shew this to be the fact. Thus, the number of immigrants is stated in the census table as follows:—Males, 30,745; females, 22,158; or 100 males to 72 females. The freed and bond persons are represented thus:—Males, 39,604; females, 6,770, or 100 males to 17 females. It is singular that this is the exact proportion which the sexes bore to each other in the whole number of convicts sent from Great Britain to New South Wales from the foundation of the colony in 1787 to 1840, *viz.*—Males, 51,082; females, 8,706; total, 59,788. The deficiency of females in the different classes, therefore, appears thus:—

					Total.	Females deficient.
1197	6.361	Born in the colony	...	...	29,449	189
		Immigrants	...	...	52,903	8,587
		Persons transported	...	...	46,374	32,834

Here, then, is a source of evil, independent of the immoral character of the largest portion of the introduced population. "It is manifest," as Mr. Mansfield observes, "that unless the evil be left to the slow remedy of time, by the dying off of the superfluous males, a copious introduction of female immigrants, for many years to come, offers the only means by which the balance of the sexes can

over be adjusted." It will be observed, that the greatest disparity exists in the ages from 21 to 45, the numbers being 53,381 males, and 19,513 females. The check to convict accretions, and the influx of free immigrants, with the increase of colonial births, will, in a few years, enable the free to gain upon the bond, who now are in the disproportion of 100 to 377 free.

On examining the returns of the married and single colonists, some curious results appear—curious in themselves, and still more so with relation to the state of the colony. The number of married, 36,353, and that of single, 92,373, shew a proportion of 254 of the latter to 100 of the former. Of the aggregate number of married persons, 36,353, there are 18,802 males, and 17,551 females: whence it would appear either that there are 1,251 married women without husbands, or (which is more probable) that, out of every hundred married men in the colony, seven have left their wives in some other part of the world.

The next observation which occurs is the rate of increase in the population, which is shewn in the following statement:—

Census.	Population.	Increase per cent.	
		Since previous Census.	Per annum.
1821	29,783	—	—
1828	36,598	22.8 in 7 years	3.3
1833	60,861	66.3 in 5 years	13.3
1836	77,096	26.7 in 3 years	8.9
1841	130,856	69.7 in 5 years	13.9

Comparing, as Mr. Mansfield has done, the foregoing rate of increase with that of the populations of England, the United States, and Canada, it appears that, in ten years, England has augmented her population at the rate of 1.6 per cent. per annum, the United States 3.3, the Canadas 6.2, whilst that of New South Wales, from 1831 to 1841, increased 19.8 per cent., having in the last thirteen years more than trebled its numbers; the United States requiring twenty-five years, and Great Britain forty-two years, to double their populations.

The elements of future increase may be seen in the present state of the youth of the colony. Of the 128,726 persons residing on land, 43,985 are under twenty-one years of age, and if we sub-

tract from the remaining 84,741 the number of bond, namely, 26,977, who may be assumed to be all above twenty-one, the free youth of the colony are equal to three-fourths of the free adult population, whilst the increase of births, about 1,000 a year, greatly exceeds the deaths.

With reference to the ages of the colonists, the returns show the following facts :—

1st. The large proportion of children to youth, being as 3 to 1.

2nd. The small proportion of aged persons, being only 19 in each thousand (or less than two per cent.) of the whole population.

3rd. The extremely small number of aged females, being only 576 in the whole colony, or a fraction more than 4 in each thousand of the population. This is nearly 10 per cent. below what it ought to be in proportion to the total female population.

Another feature in the returns, which bears a relation to the social condition of the colony, is the relative proportions of the different religious sects in the colony.

The religion of the whole population in 1841 is shewn in the following statement :—

Church of England	...	...	...	73,727
Roman Catholic	...	...	...	35,690
Church of Scotland	...	...	...	13,153
Wesleyan Methodists	...	...	...	3,236
Other Protestants	...	...	...	1,857
Jews ...	...	...	...	856
Mahomedans and Pagans	...	...	...	207

It thus appears that, in point of numbers, the members of the Church of England greatly exceed the aggregate number of all the other religious sects put together. It further appears that, “both in proportion to the entire Christian population, and in its comparative increase upon its own numbers, the Catholic community, within the last thirteen years, has lost ground.” The increase of the Protestants, from 1828 to 1841, was 264 per cent.; that of the Catholics only 218 per cent.

There remains only to be considered the “occupations” of the colonists, who are thus distributed in the return :—

Landed proprietors, merchants, bankers, and professional persons	4,477
Shopkeepers and retail dealers	1,774
Mechanics and artificers	10,715
Shepherds and others in care of sheep	12,948
Gardeners, stockmen, and persons employed in agriculture	16,670
Domestic servants	9,825
All other persons (including convicts in Government employ)	72,317

This table very correctly represents the state of the colony ; the large proportion of the inhabitants employed in agriculture and pasturage, 29,618, being more than one-half of the labouring free population, demonstrates that the energies of the colony are principally directed to those pursuits. The mass of the "shopkeepers and retail dealers" being in the county of Cumberland, namely, 1,032 out of 1,774 (and 785 in Sydney alone), it is evident that retail trade is in its infancy in the interior. The comparatively large number of persons classed as "landed proprietors, merchants, bankers, and professional persons," indicates that the external commerce of the colony must be tolerably extensive and profitable: the former appears from a statement of the imports and exports. In 1836, the value of the imports was £1,101,676, and in 1841, £2,855,102 ; in 1836, the value of the exports was £748,624, and in 1841, £1,399,692. The profits which the colonists have derived from commerce have been, in a great degree, absorbed or extinguished by land speculations, and other irregular transactions, unsuited to the condition of the colony: but this subject does not belong to the province of statistics.

The foregoing facts will furnish some means of judging of the momentum of augmentation which the colony has now acquired. If its progress in the next twenty years shall correspond with the expectations which these facts authorize us to form, New South Wales will boast a population of half a million of souls, who will have extended themselves far into the mysterious interior of that great island, respecting which so many strange theories have been formed.

DESCRIPTION OF INDIA IN ARABIC.

M. MUNK, of the Royal Library at Paris, has been so fortunate as to light upon a description of India, in Arabic, hitherto completely unknown, which contains very curious details concerning the literature, the philosophy, the sciences, the customs, &c., of the Hindus. Although this work bears neither title, date, nor name of the author, it is ascertained, from several passages, that it was composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and it appears certain that the author was the celebrated astronomer, Abu'l Rehan al Birooni. This description will throw much light upon many historical data relating to Sanscrit literature.*

* *Journ. Asiatique*, April, 1843.

CAPTURE OF AN ALLIGATOR.

THE following account of the capture and death of an alligator is given in the *Calcutta Star* :—

“ A very large alligator was hooked and safely landed at the Acra Farm. He was deposited in a strong brick building for the night, his execution being put off to the following day, that notice might be sent to the curious to attend. At day-light, he was waited upon by several gentlemen from the surrounding country, who paid their respects from the top of the walls that confined him, and appeared very much affected with delight at the prospect before them of a little sport. The alligator was lying on its belly, with its disproportioned legs extended, and might have been conveniently measured in all his proportions, but it was thought as well to put off that until the exact tenacity of life in the amphibious monster had been ascertained. The hook, which was a single barb and straight shank, about eleven inches long, had entered the back part of the right upper jaw, and, passing round the cheek-bone, came out above the eye: thus he never could have escaped but by the hook straightening or the rope giving way. It may be mentioned, that the hook above described is far preferable to the small, grapnel-shaped affair which has been thought necessary for this game. But the probabilities are, that this fellow would have taken any hook, for he was ravenous, and it was not thought necessary even to float the bait, but, drawing it a few feet out of the water on the mud, two hands were left to watch and to report progress. When all was quiet, he came straight at it, and made no bones about it. The word was passed, and by the time he had rolled himself over and over two or three times, some fifty hands were hanging on to a 2½-inch rope, and ‘pull devil, pull baker,’ was the order of the day, till he was safely housed—a matter of no slight difficulty, as may be supposed, considering that, with his tail, he could command a range of about sixteen feet.

“ He appeared to have remained perfectly motionless during the night, being found in the morning just as he was left. It may be mentioned that the off hind-leg was gone at the first joint—that is, the foot was wanting, or hand, for their extremities are much more like hands than feet. There are five fingers, three of which have large and long nails upon them, and the other two are scaled to the very tip. He was maimed, also, in the near fore-flapper, and had evidently been in the wars. They are known to fight desperately with each other about their prey, and this one had been maimed for life without a pension; the stump was well rounded off, and the injury could not have been a recent one. Some fortnight ago, a child was taken away, in the neighbourhood, by an alligator, while filling some water-vessels, and it was thought not impossible it might be the monster now under sentence.

"Gentlemen who amuse themselves with firing ball at this kind of large game may save their powder and lead. The trials made with a rifle shew how heavy the odds are against doing any thing with them. There was some difference of opinion as to whether a rifle-ball would pass through him, supposing it not to strike the scales. The first one fired with a view to this experiment entered the side below the strong scales of the back, and the brute took not the slightest notice of it; a second, near the same spot, seemed not to trouble him in the least; neither of them passed through; they were fired from a distance of not more than ten feet. He was now stirred up in the rear with a long pole, and he turned upon his assailant with a ferocity that was terrific. People talk of alligators not being able to turn easily; he was round with the rapidity of a flash; the report, when he opened his jaws to their full extent and closed them in his rage, was incredibly loud, and gave a tolerable idea of the enormous power of the jaws. A third shot was now fired, with the view of finishing him, if possible, and the aim was behind the large raised scales, at the extreme end of the head, so as to break the spine. This would appear to have been done, for he turned upon his back, and did not again recover his position. After a fourth ball, and a most careful search for his heart with a bayonet and a spear, a rope was passed over him, and he was dragged out, giving ever and anon sufficient warning of the propriety of standing aloof: a fifth ball in the spine appeared to settle him.

"On passing the tape along his back, he measured to a nicety 16 feet 6 inches; but his tail, too, had been curtailed, 18 inches less than one caught in the same place about three years ago, and of which a very perfect skeleton was made on the farm, taken to England by Mr. Waterhouse, and deposited in a museum in Yorkshire. With a heavy axe he was now divided just abaft his hind legs. The next process was an interesting one—an examination of the stomach. It contained little: portions of the skull of a child, the thigh bones, some smaller ones, and the bones of one hand; a quantity of straw, a large ball of hair, about four feet of inch-rope, and six or eight bangles, two or three of which were of silver. Having cut off the head and weighed it, it was found to be, to an ounce, two hundred-weight. The muscular action in the tail-end, about six or seven feet, was extraordinary; for, on inserting a knife to expose the fat, which here lies in thick layers, the whole mass, saving only the chump, was thrown into violent motion, and after performing several gyrations almost on end, struck the ground with extraordinary violence: this was the effect of every insertion of the knife, and it could not have been less than an hour after it was severed from the body. The head was 5 feet 8 inches round the jaws, and 3 feet 6 inches long. It is cleaned and preserved. The fat from the body was carefully taken off by native operators, it being highly valued as an external application for rheumatism, &c."

THE RAJPOOT BRIDE; A TALE OF THE NERBUDDA.

BY MRS. POSTANS.*

It was the merry month Phalgun (corresponding with our earliest spring-time), [when, by the bright waters of the clear Nerbudda, were assembled the motley groups, who, having quitted the thickly-peopled city of Mandana, were now gathering together to celebrate the fifth day of their great Rajpoot holiday; and already, although it yet wanted an hour of sunset, was the soft green sward covered with thousands of spectators.

The scene was beautiful; but, for our purpose, it had the additional merit of well displaying the general appearance and manners of the people, for, as the festive entertainments yet awaited the arrival of the prince, groups were scattered here and there, as idleness or fancy led them, with no definite object but to while away the intermediate time. Here, the young Rahtore chief, his turban of checked cloth, new, and tastefully arranged, and his smooth moustache proving his desire to attract some admiring glances from the fair Rajpoot maidens who might grace the fête, leaned upon his shield, while, to a wondering group of quiet citizens, he described the wild sports of the *Ahaira*, or great spring hunt, in which he, with all the warriors of the court, had been engaged but the day before; and as he tells them of the hunter's feats, of the deep ravines, the tangled forests, the stony hills, where, ever foremost in sport as war, their gallant rajah, Jesswunt Singh, spurred his foaming steed on the path of the savage boar; as he describes the accidents of the day, the many riders thrown headlong from their saddles, the onward crashing of the wounded beast, heedless of reedy bank or rushing torrent, and then how, as leader of the desperate chase, the prince pressed ever on, although beneath him two horses had been goaded unto death by the tusks of the bristly foe,—a murmur of applause and wonder ran round the circle of his listeners, while the stoutest of the party, the magistrate of Mandana, roared forth, as if in right of precedence, "*Wah! wah! great is the Rajah Jesswunt Singh!*"

Carriages, drawn by milk-white bullocks, having body-cloths of crimson silk, richly embroidered, reaching almost to the ground, and the large horns of the animals, doubled in length by silver tips, on each of which jingled a merry bell, slowly approached, bearing parties of women and children, whose massive ornaments of gold and jewels, with their bright and rich attire, small, beautifully-formed hands, and eyes beaming with mirthful expectation, peep forth from the canopy intended to screen them from remark; and so it would have done on

* To those among the readers of the *Asiatic Journal* who may be well acquainted with the bardic histories of Rajpootana, the original sketch chosen for the following tale may not be unknown; but, in its filling up, I have studied, and I trust with some success, truthfully to delineate the character and manners of the Rajpoot people; tribes among the most interesting and remarkable to be found in India.—M. P., Sept. 1843.

any other day, but on this, as one of general liberty, the curtain is less tenaciously secured than usual.

On a rising knoll, partly sheltered by a shading tree, sit a party of bards, tuning their vinas and sitarrs in readiness to accompany the songs in honour of the chief; while beneath, on the bright grass, a group of elders have spread their little carpet (that looks like the cross upon a Templar's breast), and are busily engaged in playing thereon the well-known game of *pachesee*, while among the crowd, with tinkling anklets, bold and unveiled features, handsome, graceful, and yet unpleasing aspect, stroll *taifahs* of natchwomen, closely followed by the wandering Gosaen, his body smeared with ashes, his countenance rendered hideous with stripes of turmeric and cinnabar, a bunch of peacock's feathers surmounting the braids of coarse hair that circle his head like a tiara, while over his broad shoulder depend, from a slight bamboo, strangely-formed vessels, covered with scarlet cloth and adorned with many bells: the credulous believe the vases to contain real water of the sacred Ganges, and therefore, as he moves along, shouting forth the names and attributes of the gods, the crowd make way, and gaze with mingled awe and wonder on the towering form of the sturdy saint. But a moment more, and the sun sinking below the horizon, every eye is turned towards the city of Mandana, for it is the instant declared auspicious by the astrologers, and winding from its gates, appears a brilliant *cortège*, when, as the form of the rajah, Jesswunt Singh, is seen towering above the rest, a hundred rockets shoot into the air, the bards spring to their feet, the *pachesee* players relinquish their undecided game, the Rahtore forgets his tale, and all hurry forward to commence their sports.

The prince, who now advanced, surrounded by armed followers, was the idol of the Rajpoot people. Larger in stature, darker in complexion, than is usual in his race, Jesswunt Singh was yet eminently handsome, while, descended from the purest ancestry his land could boast, he was alike skilful in sport, intrepid as a warrior, and courteous in demeanour. The best rider in Rajpootana, and unrivalled in the use of the matchlock and sword, the god Kumara was supposed to hold him in especial favour, and to judge from the opinion of the lovely daughters of his race, love was as ready to become his patron as war could be. But as no man can be perfect, whether Christian, infidel, or heretic, so did this Pagan prince, to his many warlike accomplishments and winning graces, add a haughty spirit, an overbearing will, and passions little accustomed to control; the last by no means checked, but rather excited, by ambition and success, were running somewhat wildly into the excess of tyranny, rendered worse, perhaps, by his belief in the superstitions of his country, and by the flattering predictions of the priests and poets, who were said to mix too intimately in his councils.

As the *cortège* of the rajah now gained the centre of the plain, and the prince reined up his fiery steed, of the true Lakhi breed, beside the five-coloured banner, which is the emblem of Rajpoot royalty, the *Jaities*, or wrestlers, first appeared, and amused the crowd with their

displays of adroitness and of strength, until Jesswunt Singh, casting his scarf towards the winner of the *akara* (arena), the athlete, with many low salaams, retired among the crowd.

And now, at a signal from the prince, a group of retainers approached, bearing the weapons necessary for the sport peculiar to the day. A shield of rhinoceros hide was first presented, exquisitely transparent, bossed, and beautifully enamelled with the fine gold and silver work of Cutch. Then came the bow of buffalo-horn, with the reed arrows curiously barbed with many a quaint device ; but the Lahore match-lock and the Damascus blade were alike rejected, and in lieu of these, the prince, slinging the bow and arrows across his richly embroidered robe, selected numerous discs of shining metal, and smilingly directing his followers to do the same, crossed the arena with some dozen horsemen, when, wheeling his horse gracefully, he awaited the signal for the mimic contest. At this moment, a bard, crowned with a jasmine wreath, springs between the combatants, and lightly touching the strings of his sitarr, first singing a couplet in praise of the dexterous skill and valour of his prince, and of "the liberal hand which, although it empties the royal coffers, fills them again with the prayers of mankind," he wittily reminds the crowd, that from the mirth of "*Holica*" even kings are not exempt ; Jesswunt Singh, accepting the challenge, casts his glove, well filled with coins, towards the minstrel, and, attended by his party, gallops furiously forward. In mid course, he is arrested by the opposing group, and then ensues a brilliant scene. Each dexterous and graceful rider wheels and caprioles his high-bred steed around the course, pursuing his antagonist of the hour, jesting pleasantly, as each in turn appears to fly ; but, as they meet again, the metal discs are lightly thrown, and from between the plates of each showers of red powder rapidly escape, half-blinding the combatants, and producing shrieks of laughter from the crowd, who themselves are not idle, but, mixing in the sport, deluge each other with coloured water, or half-suffocate all around with handfuls of the *abir*, carried in their wallets. The prince at length wearies of the sport, and holds his shield above his head ; at the signal, the chiefs rein in their horses, the crowd draw back, and from tall poles, crowned with seemingly harmless bouquets of fresh flowers, fireworks of the most brilliant varieties suddenly burst forth, some darting high into the deep blue sky, and others running, serpent-like, upon the ground, to the mingled amusement and terror of the crowd.

But soon, a pair of powerful bullocks, richly caparisoned, and mad with fright, are seen dashing across the plain, and in the carriage that they violently whirl along, a woman's form appears, with arms outstretched towards the crowd. All eyes are turned upon her ; while the furious animals, with glaring eyes and expanded nostrils, heads bent to the ground, and heedless of all that opposes them, speed on. "Alas ! alas !" shrieks a natch girl among the throng, "they make for the river, and the beautiful Vassanti will be lost !"—"Ha !" exclaimed the prince, "the daughter of the sage Harita in peril such as this !" and

snatching a spear from an attendant, he spurs to intercept their path. In breathless agony, the affrighted people gaze, one question in the mind of each: "Will Mandana's prince fall before the maddened beasts, whose headlong course he now essays to check?" Silence deep and hushed affords them no reply, but suddenly, as with headlong course the animals rush on, the prince reins back his charger. Is it his intent to fly? The thought is treason, so well is proved the bravery of Jesswunt Singh. And now, with tearing gallop, amid a cloud of sand, the maddened animals approach; they near the prince, who rises in his saddle, balancing his spear aloft. A loud cry bursts from the crowd—the beasts *must* overthrow the rajah: but no, his spear passes through the heart of one, and as it falls writhing on the ground, Vassanti, springing from the carriage, falls senseless into the arms of Jesswunt Singh.

In the palace of Mandana, alone, and wrapped in contemplation, reclined the warrior rajah; and well might one, wearied with the fatiguing sports and pastimes of the last few days, have selected this as the fitting spot for refreshment and repose. From the open window appeared a lovely country, rich in dark woods, and bright with flowing waters. The palace itself was of pure white marble, beautifully sculptured; reservoirs and fountains, of fanciful designs, inlaid with shell mosaics, refreshed the eye with bright jets or lake-like stillness, while richly-stained glass, picturing the heroic deeds of the Rajpoot princes of Mandana, tinted the rays of light that fell upon a terrace surrounded with parterres of flowers, rare for their beauty and their perfume, and contrasting well with the shade of the plumed palm, the widely-spreading tamarind, and the beautiful acacia. Beyond, shone the bright stream of the Nerbudda, with its indented and grassy margin, now only traversed by the pilgrim, or the priest wending his way to the gorgeously-sculptured temple of Krishna, the pinnacle of which just peeped above the sacred trees, whose lower branches dipped into the fair stream that gave them growth.

Yet, calculated as this stream was to attract the eye of Mandana's prince, it is doubtful if he saw it, for, although gazing on the plain, it was quite evident that his fancy was dead to all but the memories of the past, and that the plain, still and vacant as it really was, appeared to him yet thronged with hundreds of his people, gazing wildly on the hapless girl, whose threatening doom his hand had turned aside, and as his strongly expressive countenance thus shadowed forth the images of the mind, changeful emotions chased each other on his brow, as if his judgment were called upon to be the umpire, where his fancy and his reason disagreed; but fancy, as she is apt to do, proved the better arguer, and Jesswunt Singh, with a smile playing upon his lips, and his fine person drawn to its utmost height, rose and approached the window, breathing, as he did so, his thoughts aloud.

"And why not? am I not all great, all powerful? and shall not I command all things to my will? True, as the ruler of a rich territory,

and feared by every weaker power, the princes of India seek earnestly the alliance of Jesswunt Singh ; yet is the priest of Eklinga's fane second only to his master, while his lovely daughter well is named the "Flower of Rajasthan ;" and more than this—did not Harita himself declare, in the spirit of wise augury, that the renown of Jesswunt Singh, expanding like the lotus, should spread over all, and that the star of his destiny should shine unquenched until he, burthened with life, should desire to hasten its obscurity? And what means this, but that, in heaven's bright page it is decreed, that a career brilliant and glorious shall be mine until, in the natural waste of strength and decay of years, I shall desire to seek younger and fresher joys in a new existence? and with *such* a destiny, shall Jesswunt Singh act like men unfavoured by the gods, rather than as controlling all things to his will? I will command hither Eklinga's priest, and advise him of my decision."

Tediously passed the time until the sage Harita bent before his prince ; but when he did so, his aspect was one well calculated to excite respect. His flowing robe of snow-like muslin, his folded turban of the same fine texture, the chaplet of gold beads around his neck, bespoke him of a rank possessing influence, both as a noble and a priest, while the grave, yet mild, expression of his fair and handsome countenance, the transparent delicacy of his well-formed hand, and the intense fire that, despite his age, shone from his large dark eye, proved him to possess those advantages of caste which, combined with unusual learning, gave to the sage Harita power of no common order, even over the fiery spirit of the prince, whose mandate he had now obeyed.

"My son," began the priest, "I come to give thee counsel, if such you seek—consolation you cannot need, for your brave heart and ready hand, your youth, the love of your people and your soldiery, with the approving care of the gods of Ind, leave no avenue for care." "Before the mirthful festival of the great Phag, my friend," replied the prince, "had you spoken thus, it had been well, and contented with such courteous words, I carelessly, perhaps, might have acknowledged they were true ; but now, indeed, I seek for aid, not counsel ; and I entreat you, give it me."

As the rajah spoke, the changing countenance of Harita bespoke doubt and hesitation ; he bent his eyes anxiously on the prince, and said, "My lord, I see not how Eklinga's priest can aid the purposes of Jesswunt Singh ; yet deign to enlighten and command him, for well you know, my son," he added, in a softer tone, "all that he hath is thine." "Ah!" replied the prince, "'tis well, Harita ; and now hear me : devoted to war and sport, carelessly, as thou knowest, have I met proposals of alliance made by the neighbouring princes, some even rejecting, at the chance of war, loving not to fill my harem with wives struggling for supremacy, and involving me in their domestic broils ; when returning from my sports, the mimic form of war, I would rather care to hear the voices of my bards, singing to their well-tuned instruments tales of Rajpoot bravery, than the many words of

angry women ; but now, Harita, Mandana's prince bends beneath the flowery bands of the blooming Camdeo, and announces to his counsellor and friend, that he seeks a bride." "My son, thou doest well," was the calm reply. "Among the daughters of our land, some, indeed, there are, fond of rule, loud of tongue, apt in intrigue, bringing feud and discord in their train ; but choose worthily, my son, and the gods are pleased. Let thy bride have a gentle nature, and above all things a soft name ; let her have an eye like a sunbeam, and a lip pure as the forest stream, and she shall be like music in your harem, and like a change of modes played upon soft instruments." "You speak well," replied the prince, smilingly, "and hit my humour pleasantly enough, and yet your words are rather those of a poet than a priest, methinks." "My son," gravely replied Harita, "I speak even as I am, a teacher of the laws of Menu. Has he not said, where woman is not honoured, in that house shall all therein perish ? And is it not said, 'Though thy wife hath a hundred faults, yet strike her not even with a blossom ?' Jest not, my son, but tell me, whom doth Mandana's prince honour with his choice." The rajah rose, and laying his hand gently on Harita's form, looked smilingly in his face : "Can you not guess, my friend ; can you not even conjecture, that which your art should teach you ? does thy knowledge of the future tell thee not, that she with the sweet name, the bright eye, and the pure lip, is thy own fair daughter, and that none else shall be Mandana's queen ?—Nay, Harita, look not doubtingly upon me ; seek not to put aside my will, for already have I considered all the arguments that you would use ; but I tell thee 'tis in vain to combat my affection, and as thy friend and prince, I entreat thee let thy daughter be my wife."

A dark shade passed over the lately calm countenance of Harita, and for a moment his eye sought the ground in deep and earnest thought ; but, as if decided on a subject requiring energy and firmness, he raised it quickly again to the beaming countenance of the rajah, and distinctly answered : "My lord, it may not be—seek some alliance more worthy thy growing power than that of the daughter of Eklinga's priest, for into thy harem can she never enter. My lord, you say well ; by the stars have I read that thou shouldst love my child, but the same oracles forbid your union ; be warned, and seek it not, for there is a mystery about the search I cannot dare to fathom." "Mock me not, old man !" exclaimed the angry and excited prince ; "mock me not. I ask thy daughter, and darest thou, with pretended auguries, cross the purpose of thy prince, or deny to the powerful Rajah of Mandana aught it may suit him to demand ?" "My lord the prince," replied the sage, with accents calm and soft, as if rather grieved, than in any way alarmed, at the menace of the rajah, "mighty as he is in all that is great or worthy, yet in this small thing he is powerless. My daughter, Jesswunt Singh, is the betrothed of one who has loved her from her childish years ; one to whom she also is devoted with the strong love of woman. That you have saved her life, my lord, is matter of deep gratitude to her, chiefly for this love she bears, for otherwise, my

daughter has no weak heart, nor has she been taught to tremble at the fear of death ; but to-morrow, being the Feast of Flowers, is appointed for the nuptials."

Quickly did the rajah turn from the calm and stately speaker, and, with dark brow and flashing eye, seek the open window, leaning against which, he communed with himself, and in a brief space, wrought for the future masses of dark evil, although yet indistinctly seen, and then he once more sought the priest, but it was with a placid mien and unknit front, inquiring, in accents strangely in discordance with his late excited tone : " Pardon me, my friend ; you too may have also felt how keen is the pang of sudden disappointment ; but tell me, who is he that claims the fair Vassanti ? " The tranquil air of the rajah surprised Harita ; but, concluding that the fancy for his daughter had passed away before the conviction of its utter hopelessness, he replied at once, candidly, and as if relieved from a position of much pain and difficulty, " The Rajah Kurna Singh, my lord, a chieftain of her mother's tribe. " " Ha ! " exclaimed the prince, " I would none better : retire, Harita ; our conference is ended. "

The priest withdrew ; and then it was that the violence of Jesswunt Singh burst forth. " Strange, that it should be none but *he*, my hated rival in the field, the chase, that should outstrip me here. Ever have I been warned that his star and mine are mysteriously united, and that strangely mingled are the fates of both. Pshaw ! we are now, perhaps, equally great, and young, and well-beloved ; but what is that ? cannot my armies cast his forts into the dust, and my warriors lead captive all he can bring against them ? It is enough that Kurna Singh has crossed my path, his life now lies in my dagger's sheath, and I will teach both him and this most arrogant priest what it is to defy the power of Jesswunt Singh. "

There are some natures, and they are for the most part such as combine the power of strong physical excitement with deficiency of self-control, and a haughty spirit defying circumstance, that are more acted upon by opposition than success, and such was that of the Rajah of Mandana. Previous to the spring-tide fête, the astonishing beauty, the high Rajpoot spirit, and the uncommon accomplishment of the only daughter of Eklinga's priest, were topics which, often discussed by the women of his family, fell yet indifferently on his ear, for Jesswunt Singh respected Harita far too highly to think lightly of his child, and marriage the rajah looked on only as a piece of political expediency, to be avoided as much as might be. When, however, with the chivalrous spirit of a Rajpoot warrior, he darted forward to save Vassanti, and received the fainting maiden in his arms, all that he had previously heard rushed upon his memory, and as he gazed on her fair, high brow and graceful form, Jesswunt Singh felt, for the first time, that he had seen the woman formed to teach him the strength of human love ; but a love calm and gentle as the summer lake, for as yet was no cloud upon its surface. But, when he learnt that she whom alone he had ever sought to share his power, the flower of her land, was about to

become the bride of a detested rival,—at once that love became like the dark and turgid mountain stream, casting before it all that would oppose its way,—and by his sword and shield, the most sacred oath of a Rajpoot warrior, did Jesswunt Singh swear to destroy the prince whose happiness opposed his own, and to bear away his bride in triumph.

It was a lovely spot, that which we now describe as lying at the foot of Kishengurh, and perhaps the rich sunset, which gilds all Eastern scenes with a beauty peculiarly its own, may have rendered even this more charming in casting fine orange tints upon the towering hills that closed it in, covered to their summits with the bright coriander, and other flowering shrubs that are the especial favourites of the gods of Ind, and gleaming also through the groves of mango and bamboo that surrounded the Golab Sagur, or rose-water lake, whose still waters reflected one of the most beautiful fanes to be found in the whole of Rajpootana, being erected in honour of Isani, the goddess of abundance. At the time of which I write, the glowing sky was without a cloud, and the marble piazzas of the temple were surrounded by a group so picturesque in attire, and graceful in their bearing, that, but for the darkness of complexion among those who formed it, and the character of the fane near which they stood, it might have been rather taken for a band of actors in the school of Eschylus, than that for what it really was, a party of the *Charuns*, or poets of Rajpootana. The men were clad in flowing robes, white as snow, and of the finest texture, with turbans of the same around their noble-looking brows, from which depended garlands of mogree-blossoms. Around the neck of each were massive necklaces of gold, a jewel dropping from the centre of the chain, and the gestures of all were full of the dignity which attached to their peculiar calling. There were women, too, among the group, attired in garments of dark colour, with rich gems and gold twined in the glossy braids of their abundant tresses, and golden bells encircling, as a zone, the slender waist of each. Around the grove, under the shade of which the Charuns stood, coloured lamps, with bright garlands suspended from the trees, announced some reason for rejoicing, while, if more proof was wanting, it might be found in the bright eyes and smiling lips of those who watched the portal of the temple. Forth she came, the beautiful Vassanti, and by her side the Rajah Kurna Singh, both radiant in youth and happiness, and as they moved on, Lal Bae, the ruby-cheeked, stepped forth from the group of fair Charunis, and placed upon Vassanti's brow a blooming wreath, while the *naique*, or leader, of the Charun band, repeated, with slow and melodious voice, verses in honour of her own skill in poetic art, and the Charunis, linking together scarfs of blue and silver, elevated them as a canopy over Vassanti and the chief of Kishengurh. Kurna, smiling on the group, well pleased with this homage to the talents and beauty of his charming bride, cast towards the naique a silken fillet, in proof of his royal favour; but as the Charun stooped to raise it, a strange, distorted figure skipped from behind the temple, his body smeared with ashes, a neck-

lace of lotus-seeds around his neck, and with huge ears weighed down with circular pieces of metal, placed in the incisions made for their reception. Yet, hideous as the split-eared ascetic might seem to those who had not reverence for his order, his appearance produced no terror amongst the group where he now stood, but, on the contrary, the Queen Vassanti hastily approached him, kindly inquiring "What now, Bal-Nathjee, come you from Mandana?" "Daughter of the wise Harita," replied the jogee, "even so, and I have travelled far and fast through deep jungles and over desert plains to warn thee of the coming danger. The Rajah Jesswunt Singh has marched his army on the fort of Nagore, and ere to-morrow's eve it will fall before him ; then will he hasten to Govindghur, and, after subduing the handful of surprised warriors who now hold it, will he come hither, lady, for he has sworn to destroy thy noble husband, and win thee as his bride."

Kurna Singh started, and laid his hand upon his sword ; but Vassanti, casting herself into his arms, exclaimed, " Be not disturbed, my lord, our retainers are few, for we looked for peace, not war ; but their faithful hearts will yet serve to throw a rampart around their lord, that even Jesswunt Singh will not dare to force."

In the harem of the palace of Kishengurh, now silent in its mirth, stood Kurna Singh, his arm tenderly cast around his lovely bride, his sword and shield lying on the ground beside him, and, a few paces behind, seated on a deer-skin, was Bal-Nathjee, the ascetic.

"Dearest!" whispered Kurna Singh, "is it not hard to leave thee thus, so lately mine? Could nothing satisfy the cruel Jesswunt, but he must cast his eyes on thee, my betrothed wife, my sweet Vassanti? Oh! ten times had it been better for thee to have perished beneath the hoofs of the infuriated animals from which he saved thee, than to be the prey of this more savage chief."

Vassanti gazed upon her lord, and a tear of mingled love and pride hung on the fringe of her dark eye. "Kurna! what words are these? why this despair? believe you not that Vassanti's undying faith to thee is stronger than ten thousand conquerors? But speak, Bal-Nathjee; what says my father? nay, tell me his very words." "Thus saith my master," replied the ascetic, slowly rising from the deer-skin: "Victory and fame to Kurna Singh; for to die well is to live for ever—let the chief of Kishengurh hasten to meet the Rajah of Mandana, and let the Queen Vassanti, closing the gates, await as a Rajpoot woman the result"—the jogee paused, and bent his eyes upon the ground.

"Said he no more than this?" eagerly inquired Vassanti; "said he nothing of the future?" "Lady, why urge me thus? Harita said, 'Be comforted, for he who dies in battle will light his enemy through the shades of death to the mansions of Yama!'" "Ha!" exclaimed Vassanti, "I feel, I feel, that this is no common parting; but go, beloved Kurna; haste thee to arm. All is unstable; there is no aid but in thy soul of manliness, and in thy sword; yet bow not thy head, and

the purity of thy race will shine resplendent yet ; for if thou fallest, remember ! thy wife survives thee not."

Vassanti cast herself upon her husband's breast, and Bal-Nathjee, trained as he was to indifference to all human passion, looked upon the grief of that young pair, so brave and so devoted, and thus gazing, nature conquered : he, the ascetic, turned aside his face and wept !

But the Rajpoot chief quickly tore himself from the clinging arms of his heroic wife, and the jogee prepared to follow him from the harem ; but, as he did so, Vassanti, springing to his side, snatched a bracelet from her arm, and in a voice half-stifled by emotion, whispered : " Bal-Nathjee, thou art my own, my father's friend—if the lord of my life fall under this destroyer's sword, fail me not, but send again this trinket as the sign, and—if but a hair of my dear father's beard is touched, if Jesswunt Singh dares to insult his reverend teacher, then wreath the bauble with mogree blossoms, such as you use in sacrifice, for it will be a type of one well pleasing to the gods." Before the fire of her now flashing eyes the jogee lowly bent, and folding the bracelet in his girdle, turned and left the harem, while Vassanti, with heavy tears rolling over her fair cheek, stood with inclined head and folded arms, gazing on the spot from which the chief so late had parted.

Days passed. Beneath the walls of Kishengurh was now assembled a mighty host, whose tents were pitched beside the rapid stream that washed the city wall. The fort was strong, however, and the men-at-arms who manned its bastions, although mercenaries, Sindees and Cutchees, archers and matchlock-men, were well content to die in its defence. Daily, however, their water and provisions seriously decreased, for the siege was unprepared for, and the bravest hearts are helpless in the power of *circumstance*. Still as each eye waxed more dull, each cheek more pallid, the bright glance of hopeful encouragement cast on her defenders by the Rajpoot queen nerved all to fresh endurance.

The noon had deepened into twilight, the twilight was darkening into night, and the stars, with their mild radiance, were striving, as it were, wholly to eclipse the lingering rays of sunset, when alone, with a brow of thought, and doubting pangs that her young heart should ne'er have known, sat Vassanti by the open window of the harem, her dark eye falling, indeed, upon the army of her foe and the banner of the prince sworn to the destruction of her house, but her thoughts were far away, and rested upon Kurna, the husband of her early love. Suddenly, a hissing sound, as of something rushing rapidly through the air, struck upon her ear, and in less than a second more, an arrow fell by her side, weighted with some heavy substance. With a beating heart, Vassanti raised it from the ground, and with dilated eyes gazed upon her bracelet, not alone, alas ! wreathed with mogree blossoms, but those blossoms stained with blood. As she raised the fatal token, a scroll dropped therefrom, and on it were traced these words : " Govindghur is desolate—in its defence its heroes fell—of the house of Kurna none remain !"

Vassanti read ; yet not a tear moistened the eye of the brave Rajpootnee, for now doubt was at an end, and fate had done its worst. Rising from her seat, she sought the portcullis of the fort, and seeing there the captain of the guard, addressed him thus : “ Umra, at tomorrow’s dawn, cast open the gates of Kishengurh to the Rajah Jesswunt Singh, without condition ; our people are exhausted, and thy prince demands that you obey me.”

In the hall of the palace of Kishengurh reclined the victorious Jesswunt, anxiously awaiting the return of the messenger whom he had despatched to the Queen Vassanti, bearing the coco-nut, or marriage symbol, and with many protestations of a love overcoming all things, beseeching her to forget the past, and to reign over his heart and country. The rajah’s countenance beamed with joy and triumph, for in this, as in all else, did he trace the auspicious aspect of his destiny, the fulfilment of all that had been foretold, and these gratulatory thoughts occupied him until the messenger’s return, who came gladly, and as one only of a brilliant group, laden with the jewels of the house of Kurma, rich brocades, and shawls of inestimable value. Presenting these, the messenger thus addressed the impatient yet delighted prince : “ My lord, the Queen Vassanti yields to thy wishes and greets thee well ; she bids me say, that the bravery and power of Mandana’s prince, meriting all homage, have won the admiration of the queen, as a Rajpoot woman, great even as the ruin they have brought upon her house ; thus she accepts thy clemency, and by the hands of these her servants sends this embroidered robe, this turban with jewelled aigrette, this scarf wrought with the royal arms, in gems of rarest value, which she prays thee now to put on, in preparation for the marriage-feast. The queen, however, adds, that, devoted long to grief and war, she craves a few hours in which to prepare herself and damsels for the nuptials, and does beseech my lord to grant her this request.” “ Back ! back ! ” exclaimed the now triumphant rajah, “ and tell the Queen Vassanti, that all that Jesswunt Singh has wrought, being only for her love, he ever is her slave, and waits her pleasure to set a crown of joy upon his brow. To each of the queen’s servants let a caparisoned elephant be given, with arms and a dress of honour ; proclaim, that all within the fort are free, and that to-day will a feast be held in celebration of our nuptials, and now—send hither my opium-bearer ; I must while away the lingering hours, until the queen commands me to her presence.”

The *umul* (opiate) did its work, and the prince, lulled also by the soft music of a bard, seemed in his dreams of future happiness to forget the burning ambition, the cruel wrong, the blood-stained horrors of the past, or to remember them, if at all, only as the fortunate means that insured him the bright promise of his now fulfilled hopes, and when the song of joy burst forth from the inner apartments of the palace, he awaited no other summons, but, springing from the pile of

cushions which formed his couch, he hurried rapidly forward until arrested by the immediate presence of the marriage-group.

On a broad terrace of pure white marble, covered with rich carpets of the finest Persian looms, and reclining on a cushion of pale blue velvet, embroidered in seed pearl, appeared Vassanti, surrounded by her maidens; a muslin robe of the softest texture, and starred with gold, swept around her graceful form, and on the raven braids of her luxuriant hair rested the *burmala*, or marriage-wreath; but this alone bore marks of hasty preparation, for here and there the mogree blossoms had a withered tinge, and a colour less pure than if freshly gathered; yet it mattered little, for none glanced again upon the garland whose eye had once looked upon the fair face that beamed forth beauty from beneath it, and Jesswunt Singh, as he now advanced towards her, thought how infinitely more lovely was Harita's daughter than he had ever before imagined, for her eye, no longer soft and calm, flashed beneath its shading fringes, like a diamond in its dark mine, and her soft cheek, no longer palely transparent, was rich in colour as the folded leaves of a young rosebud. Seating himself then by Vassanti's side, the rajah sought to express the love which had hurried him to deeds for which he craved her pardon, by right of the expiation that he made in offering her his throne, with the will to become for life her vassal, and the queen apparently listened to his earnest words, yet from time to time, with stealthy care, she raised her downcast eyes, and furtively their glances seemed to wander, as if in search of somewhat. At length, a certain restlessness attracted even the attention of the rajah, who paused, gazing attentively upon her, but as he did so, a slight tremor passed over her frame, her lip grew blanched, and, half-rising from her cushions, she gazed with dilated eye towards the entrance to the terrace; the eye of Jesswunt Singh rapidly followed the direction of her's, but nothing met his view except a jogee, who, having that moment entered, was spreading his deer-skin upon the marble. The strange agitation of the queen, however, alarmed the rajah; he rose hurriedly, his brow flushing, and his pulse throbbing with excitement; but he, too, seems now to share the wild emotion; his eyes glare wildly, a sudden heat oppresses him, he calls loudly for his cupbearer, and flinging to the ground his jewelled turban, which seems like a band of fire on his brow, rushes towards the sculptured parapet of the terrace, as if even the sight of the deep water that flowed below could stay the raging thirst, or cool the fevered heat, that now consume him.

Vassanti presses her hand upon her brow; following the prince, a deeper flush dyes her cheek, a brighter fire gleams from her eye; she glances towards Bal-Nathjee, and as she does so, lifts her hand to heaven; then, turning to the rajah, and raising to his trembling lip and pallid cheek the eye which had never before met his, she thus addressed him:—

"Prince! you once saved the life of Harita's daughter, and she was grateful. But, as a mighty torrent sweeps away the fair flowers whose beauty would long enamel the green margin of a placid stream, so have thy crimes swept away the trace of all gentler things. My father and my husband, murdered by thy hand, my fortress and my faithful friends within thy grasp, one only course remained worthy of a Rajpoot woman. The marriage robe thou wearest, the turban thou hast cast aside, were charged with a subtle poison. Your last hour is come; the star of your destiny has set, and as the house of Kurna is, so shalt thine be—desolate."

She paused; then, detaching from her glossy tresses the mogree wreath, she placed it on the burning brow of the now writhing prince. "Yes, Jesswunt," she continued, "none now can save thee; yet murmur not, the *burmala* dyed with my father's blood crowns your brow, and you hasten, a devoted sacrifice, to the presence of the assembled gods; but even there shalt thou meet with thine accuser."

Vassanti turns; she waves her arms in mournful farewell towards her maidens; the ascetic, with a loud cry, rushes towards her; but in vain. Animated by the heroic spirit of her race, she springs from the sculptured parapet, and the deep waters of the sparkling stream receive her fair and unpolluted form, faithful in death to all she loved whilst living.

Near the beautiful temple of Eklinga are three time-stained marble slabs, supported by the aged trunks of some fine peepul trees. They are sculptured, somewhat rudely, perhaps, with the monumental symbols used by the Rajpoot people: a warrior mounted, and fully armed; a female hand telling of self-destruction, and an open book, denoting the priestly office; wild flowers spring around, and 'tis said, that no noisome thing dares approach a triad, sacred to wisdom, bravery, and love.

BIOGRAPHY OF LIVING CHARACTERS.

NO. IV.—MR. C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

THE Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn is the fifth President of the Board of Control to whose biography it is now proposed to devote a few pages of this Journal.

Amongst the features which ought to distinguish the personal history of this gentleman, two stand prominently forward: one is the great antiquity, possessions, and influence of the family to which he belongs; the other, his extraordinary knowledge of Parliamentary and Constitutional law. The former may be regarded by some as a matter of small importance, while from others it will command much attention. Reverence for aristocratic institutions is by no means peculiar to this country; but an extreme deference for high rank and dignified ancestry is, perhaps, more characteristic of the English than of any other nation in Europe.

——— A long-descended race,
And wealth, and dignity, and power, and place,

insure for a man the sympathy and regard of his equals, as well as the unfeigned homage of those by whom these advantages have not been acquired or inherited. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to make any apology for noticing the fact, that the paternal descent of Mr. Wynn is one of the most ancient in the principality of Wales, his family being able to trace a clear and well-authenticated genealogy as far back as the twelfth century, when their ancestors were sovereign princes. Maternally, Mr. Wynn's descent is still more illustrious; for, through the Grenvilles of the ducal house of Buckingham, he derives his blood from the race of Plantagenet. The remote antiquity to which the pedigree of the Wynns of Wynnstay reaches, is an eminence so exalted, and would probably be found an ascent so laborious, that we could scarcely hope to carry any one along with us, in an attempt to climb that steep and rugged path; we must be content, therefore, with stating that the descent of Mr. Wynn from a prince of the ancient Britons is as undisputed as any other historical truth of equal antiquity.

On the reduction of the principality, his ancestors, whose name originally was Williams, sunk into the position of subjects, and so continued, without any modern titles of distinction, until the reign of Charles II., when the head of the family acquired considerable eminence in the profession of the law, becoming Recorder of Chester, and eventually Speaker of the House of Commons. This gen-

tleman received the honour of knighthood from James II., and became Sir William Williams. While he filled the office of Speaker, he was tried upon an information filed against him in the Court of King's Bench for a libel, in causing to be printed, by order of the House, some matter reflecting upon Thomas Dangerfield. Although he pleaded the privilege of Parliament, and alleged that he acted in obedience to the orders of the House, yet he was fined ten thousand pounds, the greater part of which he was eventually compelled to pay. After the Revolution, he rose into much favour at court; was appointed one of the King's council, and subsequently enjoyed the distinction of having introduced the Treating Act.

These circumstances would be scarcely worth recording, did they not afford some illustration of the character of that individual descendant of Sir William Williams who is the subject of these pages. There is no class of Parliamentary questions on which Mr. Williams Wynn has made so many or such able and learned speeches, as the right of the House of Commons to the privilege of unrestrained printing; neither has any man applied himself more vigorously or more successfully than he has done to repress electioneering corruption.

Sir William Williams, who received his baronetcy in the memorable year of the Revolution, 1688, married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Watkin Kyffen, Esq. In 1700 he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who married the daughter and heir of Edward Thelwall, Esq., whose wife had been the daughter and heir of the Wynns of Gwelyr, and thus came into the family the names of Watkin and of Wynn, with the estates of Wynnstay, &c. The fourth baronet of the family was the father of the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this article, his mother being the daughter of the Right Honourable George Grenville.

Mr. Wynn is the second son of his father, and was born at Wynnstay on the 9th of October, 1775,—being now, therefore, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was sent in due course to Westminster School, where he distinguished himself, and he appeared at all times to retain for it feelings of affectionate regard, never omitting an opportunity to give the seat of his juvenile studies the full benefit of his patronage and support. On quitting school, he went to Oxford, where he took the degree of A.M.; immediately afterwards, he transferred his residence to London, and became a student of Lincoln's Inn. By this society he was, after the usual probation, called to the bar, and continued to practise for some time, but with no extraordinary success. As an advocate at

Nisi Prius, it can scarcely be supposed that he would ever have risen to eminence, considering the physical disadvantage under which he laboured, in a voice which makes it wonderful that he should have been tolerated as a public speaker.

Mr. Wynn has now become exceedingly infirm, so much so, as to be unable to walk without crutches, and when he speaks in Parliament, by permission of the House, he addresses them without rising from his seat ; but he once possessed all the advantages of a fine person. Though pre-eminently a Welchman, and never failing to wear a leek in his hat on St. David's day, yet he bears in his exterior none of the lineaments of the Cambrian, appearing to have inherited through his mother the large frame and the lofty deportment, as well as the features, of the Grenville family. Judging from his exterior, no one could imagine that the tones of his voice would be otherwise than rich, mellow, and sonorous ; yet the voice of Mr. Wynn, literally, in its

— childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound.

Besides this inconvenience, he has an inveterate lisp, so that those who are best accustomed to his peculiarities never quite appreciate the great merit of his speeches, which are always distinguished by force and ease of expression, as well as by sense and learning, as they appear in the newspapers. So much are the most powerful compositions capable of being injured by the mode in which they are delivered, that Mr. Wynn's reputation depends, in a much greater degree than that of any other public man, upon the talents of the reporter. How far this imperfection might have induced him to abandon all hope of success as a forensic advocate, or how far the handsome fortune which he inherited, and the powerful families to which he is allied, might have induced him to consider that St. Stephen's Chapel offered an arena better suited to his powers than Westminster Hall, can only be conjectured ; certain it is that, at a very early age, he left to others the task of studying and expounding the laws, while he adopted the more exalted function of legislation.

In the year 1796, having just then attained his majority, he was elected to serve in Parliament for the renowned borough of Old Sarum. Mr. Wynn has, therefore, been nearly half a century in the House of Commons. With the exception of Mr. Byng, of Middlesex, we believe that Mr. Wynn has been longer a member of Parliament, without interruption, than any other individual belonging to it. That he is better versed in its rules, usages, and precedents than any man who has preceded him, is a position which even

the Speaker himself would never think of disputing. The great extent of his Parliamentary reading was universally acknowledged before he attained to middle life. It has been affirmed that, from his earliest youth, "the Journals of the House" formed his favourite reading, and some have jocularly asserted that, when a boy, he delighted as much in "Hatsell's Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons," as other boys do in the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Lord Brougham has more than once stated that Mr. Wynn not only manifested this inclination in early life, but was under the influence of a strong hereditary predisposition to cultivate Parliamentary law above all other departments of human learning; that, in short, the mantle of his distinguished ancestor, Sir William Williams, had fallen upon him. "He is a man," observed Lord Brougham of Mr. Wynn, "learned beyond all others in the history of the assembly whose privileges I am endeavouring to support—skilled beyond all men—deeper than all the children of men, in the knowledge of the voluminous records of Parliamentary precedents—a man who is even supposed by most persons to know the whole of the Journals of the House by heart." This, of course, is nothing more than a specimen of banter; but the whole history of Parliament furnishes no instance of a man so competent in all respects but one to preside over the proceedings of the House of Commons as Mr. Wynn was twenty years ago. The single circumstance which disqualified him for the office of Speaker was the want of a commanding voice. In the prime of life, in addition to a moral firmness which nothing could daunt, he possessed an equable temper, a dignified presence, great clearness of intellect, considerable facility in expounding a principle or disentangling an argument: these qualities, with a command of language always correct and often elegant, constituted high pretensions to the chair of the House of Commons—a position which he was never destined to attain.

Before he had been more than one year a member of the House of Commons, he vacated Old Sarum; was returned for Montgomeryshire, in the year 1797, and has continued to be the representative of that county during the long period of forty-six years. His near relationship to the Grenville family brought him into intimate acquaintance with the principal members of the Whig party, at a time when its leaders possessed in a remarkable degree the power of attracting to their ranks the rising young men who appeared in Parliament. It can therefore occasion little surprise that Mr. Wynn should have given them the substantial benefit of his vote, and the doubtful aid of his speeches, for he never was hearty and cordial in the cause of that

party ; his liberalism was, after all, but a sort of “half-faced fellowship.” The bent of his studies and the inclination of his mind led him always to favour Tory principles, though he might sometimes seem to contend for the expediency of the Whig practice. A Whig, however, he continued to be for twenty years ; but, whether in office or in opposition, he never took any prominent part in political or rather party questions ; his speeches were mostly upon points of order, the law of elections, the privileges of Parliament, the duties of select committees, the proper mode of managing “conferences in the painted chamber,” and the jurisdiction of the House as a court of inquiry. These were the objects to which he devoted his studies, and his profound knowledge of them recommended him to his party (the Whigs) as the fittest person to fill the chair of the House. On the retirement of Mr. Abbot, in 1817, the ministerial party proposed, as their candidate, Mr. Manners Sutton (now Lord Canterbury) ; the Whigs set up Mr. Williams Wynn. The former, however, was chosen by a majority of two to one. On two subsequent occasions Mr. Wynn was proposed as Speaker, but with as little success.

The narrative of his political life may here for a moment be suspended, in order shortly to state that he is a man who, without, as well as within, the walls of Parliament, has enjoyed no small degree of public respect. He has filled several offices unconnected with the Government of the country ; he was the first President of the Royal Asiatic Society ; he is or has been a Metropolitan Commissioner of Lunacy, High Steward of Denbigh, a Commissioner of the Church and Corporation Land-Tax, &c.

On the 9th of April, 1806, Mr. Wynn married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Foster Cunliffe, Bart. The issue of this marriage was two sons and four daughters ; two of the latter are married, and one of the former is dead. Mrs. Wynn died on the 14th of June, 1838.

It is well known that, from 1812 to 1822, the late Lord Castlereagh was the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Mr. Canning, though he belonged to the same administration, shewed an evident leaning towards principles of government rather more liberal, while Mr. Wynn manifested every day less and less sympathy with the party which he had joined on first coming into Parliament. It could now, therefore, hardly be said that there existed much difference of opinion on general principles between him and Mr. Canning. At this juncture, the death of Lord Castlereagh, the retirement of Lord Sidmouth, and the accession of Mr. Canning to the

leadership of the House of Commons, presented a favourable opportunity for introducing Mr. Wynn to the office of President of the Board of Control, which situation he continued to hold till January, 1828.

The government of the late Marquess of Hastings in India was drawing to a close at the moment when Mr. Wynn became head of the India Board; the Governor-General, therefore, with whom he acted, during the whole term of his administration, was Lord Amherst; for Lord William Bentinck went out to India in the same year that Mr. Wynn resigned the presidency of the Board. The period during which he held office witnessed, consequently, the commencement and conclusion of the Burmese war, and the capture of Bhurtpore. The power of the Board of Control (which is wielded by the president), previously to the present charter, was less omnipotent than now; the Board's authority was then properly that of control; it is now initiative; Mr. Wynn, consequently, had less opportunity of distinguishing himself as the originator of good measures of administration. But it is acknowledged by all parties, that no preceding president of the India Board had applied himself with more assiduity to its duties, or evinced a greater familiarity with the details of Indian politics, more desire to promote the good of India, or a stricter impartiality in the dispensation of patronage.

On the accession to power of the Duke of Wellington, in 1828, the presidency of the India Board was not offered to Mr. Wynn, but was conferred, first, on Lord Melville, and subsequently on the present Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, in whom the Duke always appeared to repose a remarkable degree of confidence. The Wellington ministry having retired from office, Lord Grey, when called upon to form the new government, found in Mr. Wynn an old companion, who probably might have thought himself not very well treated by the last Tory administration; and who, on that account, as well as for other reasons, might not feel indisposed to rejoin the ranks of the Whig party. An assurance that no very violent changes in the constitution were intended, combined with the offer of the post of Secretary at War, overcame any reluctance which he might otherwise have entertained to co-operate with his former associates, and the next session of Parliament saw him once more seated on the Treasury Bench. He was not a member of the Cabinet, and therefore the details of the intended Reform Bill were to him unknown, until he heard them announced in Parliament by Lord John Russell. He was alarmed, like many others, at the extent of the measure; as a member behind him said "it took away

his breath." He had not the remotest idea that his colleagues intended to go so far. He was convinced that the constitution of the House of Commons required amendment; but a reform so comprehensive—so radical—could find no favour in the sight of one who had been the coadjutor of Canning, and in whose political creed it was a fundamental article, that the British constitution, in the form which it had acquired at the Revolution, was as near perfection as human wisdom could attain; Mr. Wynn, therefore, resigned his office, and retired from this temporary connection with the Whigs.

On the benches of Opposition, he found the Tory party diminished in number, but not destroyed, and he cordially gave them the full benefit of his support throughout the whole of the stormy conflicts to which the Reform Bill gave rise. When that measure became law, and a new general election "infused fresh blood into the House of Commons," the Ministers possessed an overwhelming majority, and the Opposition, thenceforth called "Conservatives," proved to be but a slender remnant of the old Tory party, and did not equal in number one-fourth part of the supporters of the Government. Mr. Wynn, however, shared their fortunes, and came into power again with them, in 1834-5, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He went once more into opposition when his friends were obliged to resign; and, before their last accession to power, in 1841, age and infirmity disqualified him for the toils of office, and disposed him to court the repose proper to his time of life, rather than exhaust the remnant of his declining strength in the hopes and fears of party contention. Mr. Wynn is found, therefore, rarely in the House of Commons, though occasionally he delivers a short speech on some of the subjects to which his early reading was directed; but he leaves to fresher minds and more vigorous constitutions the task of administration, in which he once took a warm interest and a prominent part.

THE GATES OF SOMNATH.

Report of a Committee assembled by order of Major-General Nott, to report on the state of the Gates brought from Ghuznee.

“ Camp, near Peshawur, 8th November, 1842.

“ Considering the great age of these gates, the probable injury sustained by them in their displacement from the temple of Somnath and transport to Ghuznee, the circumstances of their having been taken down and buried during the invasion of Affghanistan by Chenghiz Khan, to preserve them from destruction by the troops of that conqueror, and their subsequent disinterment and re-erection, they must be deemed in good preservation. Great care has been observed in their packing and carriage since their removal from the tomb of Mahmood at Ghuznee, and they do not appear to have sustained any material damage from their transport thus far on their return to India.

“ The tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee has been for ages a place of pilgrimage, almost of adoration, to Mahomedans, and the gates objects of especial attention; it is not, therefore, matter of surprise that the lower portions of the gates, within the reach of a man's hand, have suffered greatly; the carved work has in some places disappeared, small portions having, probably, from time to time, been abstracted as relics. Here and there, pieces of carved wood, perhaps of the same antiquity as the gates brought with them from Somnath, dissimilar in pattern, have been used to replace the original carving, and in other places inferior material and workmanship have been employed to repair the fabric. But the upper portions of the gates still retain much of the original carving, which is in high relief, of beautiful execution, and in a wonderful state of preservation.

“ The gates appear to have been formerly decorated with plates of some precious metal, fixed to the wood-work round the carved compartments by small slips of iron. Many of these slips still remain, in regular patterns, over the top of the gates; lower down they have altogether disappeared.

“ The frames of the gates are in double folds, hinged in the centre; their height is eleven feet, and their aggregate width nine and a half feet.

“ The gates are surrounded by a framing, composed of small pieces of carved wood, united by numerous joints in regular pattern. This portion of the work, though of great age, seems of more modern and slighter manufacture than the gates themselves. The exterior dimensions of their framing (now in four separate portions) are sixteen and a half feet in height, and thirteen and a half in width. The framing is in very fair preservation, excepting near the ground, where seats seem to have existed on either side the gateway, and the portions of the framing in this position, to the height of a man's shoulders, have been fairly rubbed away. The construction of either framing, and the numerous joints of the work, render it peculiarly liable to damage from travelling over rough roads, or from frequent removal.

“ We are of opinion, that it will not be difficult to restore all essential portions of the gates that are now wanting, and to fix them in serviceable condition in any building destined to their reception; but some judgment would be required to make any repair or restoration harmonize with the air of extreme antiquity possessed by the original portions of the gates.

" In consonance with the Major-General's request, we have the honour to forward herewith sketches of the gates, with the dimensions accurately entered on the face of the drawing.

" The Major-General having desired the Committee to state their opinion as to the expediency of conveying the gates in a frame adapted to elephant-carriage, we beg to state our apprehension that such a mode of conveyance might be productive of serious injury to them. The wood is extremely dry and brittle, and the greatest care is requisite to guard against the more delicate portions of the work being even touched. The gates are not heavy—they do not probably exceed 500 lb. in weight—and we estimate the entire weight of the gates and framing at less than half a ton; but their surface is great compared with the scantling of the frame-work; and the swaying motion of the elephant, and the necessity that would exist for daily loading and unloading the animal, could scarcely fail to open the joints and dislodge the frailer portions of the work, however carefully secured.

" We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that a car, with a double framing, between which the gates should be placed, and to which they should be secured by wedges well padded, measures being taken to prevent the entire weight of the gates falling on any portion of their own frame-work, might be expediently prepared at Ferozepore to receive them, such car being adapted to elephant-draft. But the gates alone should, we think, be thus carried, the framing being transported to its destination, packed as (with the gates) it is at present, in felts and tarpaulins. In any case, we would recommend that, on their arrival at Ferozepore, both gates and framing should be carefully examined, and some strengthening, by ties and braces, given to the slighter portions, to guard, as far as possible, against the chance of small pieces becoming dislodged, and perhaps lost on the road.

" In examining, on this occasion, the framing surrounding the gates, the Committee observed a Cufic inscription carved in the wood, with a copy and translation of which, appended to our report, we have been furnished by Major Rawlinson. We think that it will give an interest to this document if we attach to it a translation of the inscription on Mahmood's tomb, with which we have been favoured by the same distinguished Orientalist. Lieut. Studdart has also enabled us to annex a drawing of the sarcophagus, with an exact copy of the Cufic inscription thereon."

(Signed) EDW. SANDERS, Major, Eng., and President.
C. BLOOD, Capt., Bombay Art., and Member.
JOHN STUDDART, Lieut., Bombay Eng., and Member.
C. F. NORTH, Lieut., Bombay Eng., and Member.

Translation of an Arabic Inscription on the Gates of Somnath.

" In the name of the most merciful God! (May there be) forgiveness from God for the most noble Ameer, the great King, (he who was) born to become the lord of the state and the lord of religion, Abul Kasim Mahmúd, the son of Subaktagin! May the mercy of God be upon him! [the remaining phrase illegible.]"

Translation of the Inscription in Cufic Characters on the Sarcophagus of the Tomb of the Sultan Mahmúd at Ghuznee.

" May there be forgiveness from God upon him, who is the great lord, the

noble Nizam-ud-din Abul Kasim Mahmúd, the son of Subaktagin ! May God have mercy upon him !”

Mem.—On the reverse of the sarcophagus there is an inscription, in the Neskhi character, recording the date of the decease of Sultan Mahmúd as Thursday, the 7th remaining day (i.e. the 22nd or 23rd) of the month of Rabi Akhri, A. H. 421.

Translation of the Cufic Inscription, in the Suls character, on the Minaret nearest the village of Rozah.

“ In the name of God the most merciful !

“ The high and mighty Sultan, the melic of Islam, the right arm of the state, trustee of the faith, the victory-crowned, the patron of Moslems, the aid of the destitute, the munificence-endowed Mahmúd (may God glorify his testimony !), son of Subaktagin, the champion of champions, the emir of Moslems, ordered the construction of this lofty of loftiest of monuments : and of a certainty it has been happily and prosperously completed.”

Translation of the Cufic Inscription, in the Suls character, on the Minaret nearest the town of Ghuznee.

“ In the name of God the most merciful !

“ (Erected.) By order of the mighty Sultan, the melic of Islam, the standard of dominion and wealth, the august Maso'od, son of the supporter of the state, Mahmúd, father of Ibraheem, defender of the faith, emir of Moslems, the right arm of dominion, the trustee of the faith, the master of the necks of the nations, the noble and imperial Sultan, lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia. May the great God perpetuate his throne and kingdom ! Commemorated be his beneficence ! May God forgive the sins of himself, his parents, and of all Moslems !”

LINES FROM A PERSIAN POET.

گر جهانی زدستِ تو برود
مخور اندوه آن که چیزی نیست
عالمی نیزت از بدست آید
هم مشو شادمان که چیزی نیست
بد و نیک جهان چو برگذشت
درگذرد از جهان که چیزی نیست

A HOMEWARD TRIP, "PER MARE ET TERRAS."

BY THE AUTHOR OF "CALCUTTA AS IT IS."

NO. II.

THE descent from the summit of the Great Pyramid is rather more fatiguing than the ascent. Perhaps neither the one nor the other would weary an athletic man of temperate habits ; but a month's confinement in a steamer, and its concomitant animal indulgences, do somewhat impair the climbing faculties. The intending traveller in Egypt should bear this wholesome fact in mind, and carefully resist the wiles and blandishments which, in the form of basins of mock-turtle and flagons of iced champagne, woo him to obesity.

At the foot of the pyramid, on the slope of a hill, are certain subterraneous excavations, which answer the purpose of resting-places, refectories, and dormitories, for the visitor. The Bedouins, who people a village in the neighbourhood, have established a proprietary right to these desert hotels, and claim a few piastres for permitting you to lodge therein. Pay the sum asked, and keep the fellows and their sheiks from your threshold, or you may hunt and hunt in vain for the silver fork and spoon which you have probably brought in your pocket, to assist at the breakfast and luncheon table.

There is another pyramid, popularly called Belzoni's, in the immediate neighbourhood of that which bears the name of Cheops. A few yards from the apex of this second monument, the stones are glazed, which renders the ascent a feat of dexterity very few travellers can boast of accomplishing. The Arabs will undertake to reach the top in five minutes, for the bonus of half a dollar. Of the two, it will, perhaps, be more agreeable to let these gentlemen scale the height, at the cost proposed, than to attempt it yourself, unless you particularly wish to *say* you have been at the summit ; and even in such case Tom Sheridan's advice conveniently comes to your aid.

After bivouacking a couple of hours in the rocky hollows, consuming half a dozen of the minute chickens and diminutive doves which form the *toujours perdrix* of a Cairo dinner, we strutted out to see the Sphinx, and some recently discovered sarcophagi. The Sphinx is said, by certain travellers, to wear a peculiarly benignant expression of countenance, and to retain many traces of the beauty of the original sculpture. There is no ascertaining at this date, whether the travellers who so spoke of this remnant of antiquity were gifted with powerful imaginations, or adhered religiously to matter of fact : it is certain, however, that age, or that neglect which imparts, in time, a vinegar aspect to the countenance of the most comely belle, has bereft the Sphinx of her benignity. To my perception, the colossal head—all that now remains—very closely resembles, when seen in profile, a cynical doctor of laws, with wig awry, suffering strangulation per tight cravat.

Seven or eight miles beyond the pyramids of Djeezah, lie the smaller pyramids of Sercara, and the celebrated mummy-pits. These tempted some of our party to linger another day in the desert, while the rest returned to Cairo. For the peculiar guidance and information of those who may wish to creep into mummy-pits, and to wander in darkness and foul air, amidst dust, and slime, and ordure, saluted with occasional flaps from the wings of disturbed owls and confused bats, I would beg to refer to Mr. St. John's interesting book, *Egypt and Mahomed Ali*. The other sights of Cairo and its neighbourhood, after the pyramids, are the Pasha's palace in the citadel (where rich damask curtains and satin hangings *à la Française* are associated with coarse arabesques and wretched attempts at perspective by a Greek, and divans and sofas *à la Turque*), the country-seat at Shoubra (where myrtles under severe restraint, box disciplined to represent ships and peacocks, and pavilions built in humble imitation of the Trianons, remind one of the French gardens, *siècle* Louis XIV.), the Mint, the chicken-ovens, Joseph's Well, Hassan's Mosque, the hospital, the slave-market, the petrified forest, and the obelisk at Heliopolis. All these, and other points of attraction, including Mahomed Ali himself, have been so frequently described, that it is unnecessary to speak particularly of them in this place. The Mint, intended to shew how far the Pasha of Egypt is in advance of other Oriental potentates, merely demonstrates how much his machinery for coining is in arrear of that in use in England and in India. Joseph's Well, curious for its depth, confuses people who associate it with an incident in the history of one or other of the Scriptural Josephs, instead of ascribing its construction to the vizier Yusuf, who lived in A.D. 1100; while the *chicken-ovens* leave the curious traveller in amaze that such a hatching process should be resorted to when the natural course could be adopted with smaller risk and cost, and the certainty of a larger and better breed of birds being produced. To the other objects of interest at Cairo, accessible to those who will be at the trouble of soliciting the privilege of inspection, I may add the private museum of Dr. Henry Abbott, the secretary to the Egyptian Literary Association. There are many curious antique remains in this collection; coins, gems, household deities, implements of daily use among the Egyptians, MSS., ornaments, &c., which would be a prize in the British Museum, and for which the French government would pay *any* equivalent. Amongst the reliques, the doctor shews his visitors a piece of *virtù*, evidently of Greek origin, for the Egyptians never could conceive of any thing so perfectly natural and beautiful. It consists of two bronze figures of lizards, as large as life, engaged in mortal combat. One has seized the other by the middle of the body, pressing down his head with a fore-paw, and the root of his tail with a hind-paw, while the lower parts of the two rival tails are entwined, and distended by muscular exertion. Nothing can be more true to nature than the representation of the sinews of the animals in the fury of the contest. The prostrate lizard's head and neck, however, exhibits helplessness and suffering. Pressed by the vigorous claw of his antagonist, his upper ex-

tremities appear quite paralysed, and it is obvious, that if he can be held in that attitude for many minutes, the victory is assured. The convolutions of the bodies of these figures, and the development of the muscles in a state of violent action, are worthy of a comparison with the famous Laocoon.

A bath at Cairo, after a voyage, is an *agrément* which few will deny themselves. It is neither as elaborate nor as effective an affair as a Persian bath, but, like Mercutio's wound, “it will *do*.” The soft coir, or fibrous matter, which is used instead of flannel or the hair-glove, is not by any means as efficacious as the latter in removing the sordid matter, or *papier maché*, which covers the human cuticle. Then there is neither shampooing, nor joint-cracking, nor mustachio-dyeing; nevertheless, it is pleasant to *get into hot water* after a month's exclusion from the indulgence, even though some of the accessories to the hummaum are wanting.

The slave-market at Cairo will disappoint the visitor who expects to behold ranges of romantic Circassians, poetical Greeks, and voluptuous Georgians, inviting purchasers by the display of their charms and the glances of their black eyes, or exciting sympathy by the cruel helplessness of their condition. Instead of this interesting spectacle, the stranger will be fortunate if he sees half a dozen forbidding Nubians and Abyssinians, as black as jet, and possessing no other recommendation than their obvious capacity to undergo the drudgery to which they may be subjected by their future proprietors.

The telegraphs established between Cairo and Suez having announced the arrival of the Bombay steamer at the latter place, we paid our bills and embarked at Boulac, on the river steamer *Little Cairo*, and in twelve hours were carried down the Nile to Atfé, where we were transferred, with our baggage, to a couple of long narrow boats, and towed down the Mahmoudie Canal by a small steamer, fitted with the Archimedean screw, to Alexandria. This is the only part of the whole trip from India that is positively disagreeable. There is no room for lying down in the canal boats, unless you take possession of the narrow tables or the floor beneath the tables, and then you are assailed by vermin. With this uninviting exception, it is your doom to sit bolt upright, on a hard seat, and keep yourself awake with talking, or get a crick in your neck by falling asleep without a support for your head.

Arrived at Alexandria, we proceeded, a-donkey-back, to the *Hôtel de l'Europe*. There are two tolerable hotels at this place—the *Hôtel de l'Orient* and the *Hôtel de l'Europe*. The charges are much the same (fifty piastres per day, wines not included) at each; but at the former, the style of living is French; at the latter, things are conducted more upon English principles. Dismissing your donkeys, *do not pay their drivers* (we foolishly did), neither should you do so going from Cairo to Boulac. These charges are borne by the Transit Company; it is part of the contract for the “*right through*” passage to England. At Alexandria—where, when you have seen Pompey's Pillar, Cleopatra's

Needle, the Pasha's palace and dock-yards, and useless vessels of war, you have seen all—you will have your attention engaged by the business arrangements for proceeding onwards. Such of us as meditated the direct voyage in the *Oriental* steamer had nothing to do but ascertain where we were to be stowed away, and effect, if requisite, transfers of cabin camarados, get a few shirts washed, and lay in a stock of red *tabooshes* and bad cigars. Those who had only stipulated for the conveyance to Alexandria, cast about for the best means of effecting the remainder of the trip. The temptations offered to the man of pleasure, the antiquary, or the enterprising traveller, are here numerous. Constantinople, Syria, the Holy Land, the shores of the Black Sea, the Grecian Archipelago woo him in one direction; Italy, Germany, and France invite him in another. I had previously decided to proceed to Malta, and serve quarantine, preparatory to visiting Italy. There are two ways of getting to Malta, namely, by the large monthly steamers of the P. and O. Company, or by the French steamers, which leave Alexandria every ten days. On board the former, the passenger pays £17. 10s., and not £12., as heretofore announced; and if the vessel has her complement of passengers for *Southampton direct*, the party who proceeds only to Malta must be content to go without a berth to sleep in, and even without a seat at the dinner-table. The deck will be at once his *salon* and bedchamber. On board the French steamers, the charge is £11 for an assured berth; but the table is paid for separately to the *restaurateur* on board, and the voyage occupies seven days. The English steamer proceeds direct to Malta—the French vessel steers for Syra (Athens), to meet the steamer from Constantinople, and *then* shapes her course for Malta. Previous to leaving Alexandria, the traveller arranges his pecuniary affairs for the rest of his trip, and, if he be wise, he will provide himself with English gold (sovereigns) in preference to any other coin or letters of credit. When the sovereigns can be procured in India at a little above par, it is better to buy them there, for all bills on Alexandria sustain a discount of two per cent., and bills given at that place on bankers at Malta and in Italy suffer a similar deduction.

Upwards of 140 passengers left Alexandria in the *Oriental*, at the end of May last, for some fifty had joined it from Bombay; amongst the latter were several heroes of Meanee and Hyderabad—fine young soldiers, who were covered with honourable scars received in the desperate engagements between Sir C. Napier and the Beloochees. Never, perhaps, was a vessel freighted with so many who had distinguished themselves in conflict with the enemies of their country. Not less than twenty-six officers who had seen service in Affghanistan, China, and Scinde paced the deck every day, and described the scenes which their own prowess and that of their comrades had, for the previous three or four years, rendered memorable in the history of British India. But of this large number of homeward-bound passengers, only three (one having two ladies in his family) quitted the *Oriental* at Malta. Those

who *wished* to prosecute the rest of their journey by land had either failed to make the necessary provision,* or shuddered at the prospect of twenty days' imprisonment in the lazaretto. Moreover, they flattered themselves with the belief, that they would be enabled to make the tour of the Continent when they had exhausted (as if they were exhaustible!) the various pleasures of glorious England. And so they steamed away to Southampton, leaving the half-dozen above alluded to—the writer of this among them—in the lazaretto, under suspicion of the crime of being afflicted with the plague.

There can be no question that the subjecting goods and persons coming from Egypt to a certain amount of quarantine, when the plague is known to exist in that ill-fated country, is prudent and necessary. Malta, most particularly, deserves protection from the risk of infection, for not only has the island been once severely scourged by a terrible pest, but the neighbouring states, Sicily, Italy, and southern France, from whence she derives the largest portion of her indispensable supplies, make it a condition of the resort of their vessels to her harbours, that she should retain a good character. If she be once suspected, she is lost. To the protection, however, which Europe claims from the curse of northern Africa, it is high time that there should be some reasonable limitations. Precautionary measures, strained beyond an actual necessity, become a great public inconvenience, as well as a source of infinite private annoyance. Neither the trader nor the traveller can afford a useless consumption of time; the one often losing a market by the detention of his goods; the other frequently sacrificing a favourable season for a Continental journey during the tedious process of purification. It has been ascertained by the health officers at Malta, that seven days constitute the *maximum* period within which the plague will develop itself in one assailed. Recent experiments have served to shew that infection by contact with goods is almost impossible; at all events, it is proved that the depuration of cloths, stuffs, hides, &c. is so rapidly effected as to render the embargo of twenty days, now insisted on, as superfluous as, in a commercial sense, it is mischievous. Counting the time, therefore, occupied by persons and merchandize on the *trajet* from Alexandria to Malta, the quarantine might safely be limited to ten days, upon satisfactory proof, at the termination of that period, that the *détenus* are free from contagion. It is true, that sundry health officers, guardians, *traiteurs*, domestic servants, and other functionaries, will be thrown out of bread by the reduction of the period of detention; but while this must be regarded as of small account in competition with the great public interests involved, it should be borne in mind that Malta will largely benefit by the numbers who will, under the change, resort to the island on their way from Egypt, either for the gratification of personal curiosity, or because the

* Eighty pounds will carry a man through Italy, Switzerland, and France, with comfort, allowing for several days' stay at each place of interest.

facility of crossing to Sicily and Italy will be cheaply obtained at the price of a week's confinement.

Meanwhile, let me assure the traveller from India, that even a three weeks' incarceration in the Malta lazaretto is not intolerable, if, which is generally the case with the imprisoned, he is lucky enough to have one or two pleasant and intelligent companions. I have before me at this moment a memorandum, written after twelve days of captivity, and as it may serve to reassure future prisoners, by conveying some idea of the scenes, impressions, and occupations which diversify existence in the durance they are compelled to support, I here transcribe it :—

“ Let me survey my prison, and its *agrémens*. I am lodged in two commodious apartments, overlooking the quarantine bay. I look out of the southern window of my verandah, and have the waters of the Mediterranean forty feet only below me. Opposite, at the distance of about 300 yards, and divided from me by these waters and the quarantine harbour, are the ramparts of the fortifications, surmounted by windmills, flag-staves, and a small Roman Catholic chapel. To the right is the termination of the bay, where a dozen of Greek, Austrian, and English brigs and barques lie in quarantine, sufficiently near to allow me to observe the operations on board. Behind all these, a little more to the south-eastward, is part of the suburbs of La Valletta, the evening promenade, gardens, hills, &c. To my left, is the entrance to the bay, overlooked on one side by part of the city of La Valletta, and on the other side by Fort Manvel, now used as a part of the lazaretto. This view greets me whenever I stand in the verandah, a recreation to which one is often tempted by the clearness, coolness, and crispness of the air, the beauty of the sky, and the rich blue of the water. Well, this of itself is something. Then, for moving sights, we have occasionally the arrival or departure of a steamer from Alexandria, or Greece, or the coast of Spain; of vessels from Tripoli, and Smyrna, and Syra; of speronaros from Sicily, or the Italian coast; or we see a vessel released from quarantine, working her way out of the harbour. Early in the morning, four times in the week, the bell of the little chapel on the summit of a rock opposite the lazaretto tolls to prayers. The chapel is not more than twenty feet in breadth, and the same in depth. The altar occupies the back or southern side, and exactly faces us. The bell ceases, the priest dons his canonicals, and the matin mass commences, the responses being audibly chanted or muttered by the crews of Maltese and Italian vessels, who are either quartered in apartments beneath us, or employed on board the vessels. The door of the chapel closes, and the work or pastime of the day commences.

“ Ha! there's a splash!—a sailor in quarantine has stripped himself, and plunged into the water beneath his prison-door. Another and another follow him! How admirably they swim! the ease of the water-fowl, and the rapidity of the fish. See! one of them dives! How long he remains under water! Will he drown? will he not be

suffocated? not a bit of it; he rises to the surface, bearing in his hands some of the black, starry, thorny members of the crustaceous tribe. He has a knife in his right hand, which I did not observe before, and which he evidently took with him to dislodge the fish from their location in the rocky depths. Splash! and the strong swimmer is again twenty feet below the surface. Again he rises—and again descends—and behold! he has accumulated a perfect breakfast of shell-fish! Meanwhile, the others breast the waves, diving, floating, playing, and rejoicing in all the muscular strength which the noble, healthful, and refreshing science calls into action. Well, a walk will do no harm—the verandah is sixty paces long, and forty or fifty turns will give one an appetite for breakfast. A. and B. have abundance of conversation for the promenade, and when we have exhausted the pleasures of memory, we can turn to the pleasures of hope, and debate the possibility of an abatement of the quarantine, or at any rate discuss the respective advantages and pleasures of going to Syra, to Naples, or Marseilles. We are tired now, and it is time to dress. Breakfast is ready—can any thing be more satisfactory, or any thing more tempting or wholesome? There is coffee and tea, and three times as many rolls as we can eat! The eggs are as large as the finest production of the English barn-door hen, and boiled to the *exact* point—half a minute less, and the albumen would not have coagulated; half a minute more, and they would have been as hard as a stone. And *there's* a delicious dish of strawberries, brought only yesterday from the coast of Sicily, and plucked but an hour before their embarkation! And flowers, too!

The captive soothers of a captive's hours.

“Carlo, best of servitors, knows my *penchant*, and decks the table with the rose, the pink, the carnation, and the fragrant thyme.

“Breakfast over, Mr. Cassolani is announced. He is the captain of the lazaretto; a courteous, intelligent old gentleman, of very correct notions and kind disposition. He is come to give us a list of the passengers who have just arrived from Marseilles, and to ask us to subscribe a trifle for a poor widow, whose husband, a guardiano of the lazaretto, died of apoplexy the day of our arrival. We have dropped our mites for the widow's benefit, and Cassolani condescends to pick them up, though he will not receive them from our hands. This painfully reminds us that we are prisoners on suspicion of the crime of plague—*gens suspects*. People ‘in *pratique*,’ as freedom from the lazaretto is called, will ‘walk with us, talk with us, buy with us, sell with us—but they will not eat with us, drink with us,’ nor pollute themselves by touching our persons or our clothes. Cassolani carries a stick, to keep us at a respectful distance, and there is a soldier of the 42nd Highlanders on the opposite rampart, prepared to send a bullet through us if we attempt to go abroad until we are fairly cleansed of the foul imputation.

“Cassolani departs, and S. and I go to chess. From chess we fly to books. It is three o'clock, and dinner is announced. For economy and

society's sake, we have made a *table d'hôte*, and the whole seven dine together. It is true that B. looks suspiciously at one dish, and C. distrusts another; but, nevertheless, the whole style of the thing is good and clean, comprising the English and French modes *de cuisine* as well as could be desired. There is, for example, soup à la *Julienne*, and a dish of horse mackerel; roast beef à l'*Anglais* (the beef comes to Malta from Tunis, and after serving quarantine, is fattened for the table); a *fricandeau* of sweetbread in a well-flavoured sauce; a stewed breast of mutton, mashed potatoes, a macaroni, peas or French beans, or artichokes, an apricot tart, cheese, and a salad. Oranges, cherries, and strawberries compose our dessert, and we drink a pint of Marsala. What more would a man have?

"The sun declines, and the Maltese world emerges from its confinement. The telescopes now come into play, and we direct our views to the part of the town where the sempstresses congregate, and gaze out of the balcony windows, to catch the evening breeze, or any thing else that may be passing. The fall of night brings with it tea and candles, and then 'to bed!'"

Of the other *agrémens* of the lazaretto there remains nothing to notice, if I except the numerous boats which are continually coming and going across the harbour, often laden with females, who, in their black mantillas, with sparkling black eyes, and hair à la *Madonna*, resemble Spanish women.

The expense of living in the Malta lazaretto is about ten shillings *per diem*, as thus:—

			s.	d.
Breakfast	...	...	1	8
Dinner	...	...	3	0
A bottle of Marsala	...	...	1	3
Hire of furniture	...	...	0	8
Servants' wages (including diet)			2	3
The guardian	(ditto)	...	1	10
			10	8

This can be increased, if necessary, by a more abundant dinner, tea or coffee in the evening, spirituous liquors, and a greater quantity of furniture; but it cannot be diminished. Washing costs about one shilling per dozen pieces, and sevenpence *per diem* for the diet of the *blanchisseuse*, who must come into the lazaretto to perform her functions. A capital circulating library keeps the incarcerated well supplied with books (at one penny per volume per day), and *Galignani's Messenger*, and the Maltese papers can also be had on application to Mr. Mure's establishment.

Escaped from the lazaretto, I took a hasty glance at the principal objects of interest in Malta, and prepared to embark on the French (Marseilles) steamer for Naples. The buildings in Valletta, always excepting the ancient and magnificent church of St. John's, with its gilded altars, marble monuments, bronze effigies, and mosaic floor—the

palace and its armoury, and some of the auberges of the famous Knights of St. John ; and lastly, the beautiful church which owes its origin to the piety and munificence of the Dowager Queen Adelaide—are few in number and unimportant with reference either to their purposes or architectural beauty. The chief feature in Malta is its motley population. I think it is poor Basil Hall who remarks that, when travelling by land, we are so insensibly introduced to new scenes and manners, owing to the customs and topographical features of one country blending, as it were, with its neighbour, that we do not at once remark the broad distinctions between that which we have entered and the one we have left ; whereas, in going from place to place by sea, we are at once cast among an entire new set of objects, differing in every essential from those with which the eye has been long familiar. This may be, and no doubt is, quite true in a general way, but it does not hold good with regard to Malta, which is reached by sea. It would seem as if nature had destined this island to fulfil the purposes of a moral *entrepôt*, where nations may meet and illustrate the amalgam of a land communication. You are here neither *out* of Africa, nor *in* Europe, for though an Act of Parliament has rendered the island an integral part of the British dominions, and modern geographers assign to it a place in the last-named quarter of the globe, the features and complexion of the great majority of the population denote the claims of Africa. At Malta you meet the Englishman and the Tunisian—the Italian and the Egyptian—the Greek and the Ethiopian ; but the bulk of the inhabitants are Maltese, who trace their origin through a long line of conquerors—Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Goths, Romans, Arabs, Spaniards, Germans, Turks, and French, and who speak in a jargon which you would believe to be pure Arabic, did not an occasional Italian word assure you that even the tongue is in a state of transmutation in this singular social crucible.

I left Malta on the 16th June, in, as I have said, a French steamer. A Neapolitan company, under the patronage of the King of Naples and the Two Sicilies, employs steam-boats between the port and the south-eastern coasts of Sicily and Italy, but they are neither so commodious nor so well-managed as the French steamers, and are not, therefore, cordially recommended to other travellers.

I left Malta—"thrice the brindled cat hath mewed,"—and here, before I proceed any further, it may not be amiss to add a few words to what I formerly said upon the subject of outfits for an *overland*(!) trip from, or to, India. These equipments are always overdone, and as it often happens that what is purchased in London is unserviceable in Calcutta, and the reverse, the travelling public cannot be sufficiently warned against a needless outlay. I will state what I consider would be a very complete bachelor's wardrobe, &c. ; premising that, under the present arrangements in the large steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, there is *no occasion* for bed or table linen, a sofa, washhand-stand, looking-glass, boot-hooks, jugs, tumbler, blacking

and brushes, writing-desk, or books: all these are provided in the steamers. Take with you only ~~six~~ dozen shirts, three dozen pairs of socks, a couple of brown Holland blouses, two dozen pairs of white pantaloons, a couple of pair of merino or gambroon trowsers, ~~two~~ dozen pocket handkerchiefs, three dozen pairs of long drawers, a forage-cap, a straw hat, shoes, slippers, and your razors and tooth-brushes. I say nothing of waistcoats, boots, cloth coats and trowsers, cloak or great coat, because the stock which a man may have with him when he engages his passage will generally suffice; but it will be prudent to be provided with a mat or rug, a pillow, and a counterpane (or *resai*), for it is very probable that, when the passenger gets into a warm climate, he will prefer sleeping on deck, and the steamer bedding is not allowed to be used for that purpose. The best packages are, beyond all question, portmantaus and a carpet bag; for besides being more easily stowable in a cabin (*one* may generally be kept there), they can bear a good deal of tumbling about in holds and baggage-rooms, on camels' backs, and in river-steamers, while the wooden chest or trunk, as I know to my cost, is very liable to get knocked to pieces or wetted through.

The French steamer was two days and nights running across to Naples, and brief as was the trip, beautiful the weather, and enchanting the scenery of the Straits of Messina, I left her without regret. The noisy way in which business is done on board a French vessel of war, the distant reserve of the officers, and the greasy cookery of the *restaurant*, constitute an *ensemble* unsuitable to English notions of naval discipline, English tastes, and English stomachs.

Naples!—bright, beautiful, laughing, lazy Naples!—how any man released from the wearisome monotony of vegetation in India can pass westward of thy bay without calling in to cleanse himself of his accumulated rust, and catch some part of the joyous spirit of thy people, passeth all comprehension! Though Capræ, like a huge marine monster, “peaceful slumbering” at thy portals, does not invite the traveller to partake thy treasures; though Vesuvius, placid and smoke-capped, illustrates the deceitfulness of appearances where male fidelity, female constancy, or volcanic exhaustion is in question, the softness of thy climate, the renown of thine exhumed neighbours, Pompeii and Herculaneum, the riches of thy museum, the musical attractions of thy salons and superb San Carlo, thy churches, and above all, the beauty of thy bay, form an attraction which only adamant hearts and leaden heads can possibly resist.

We landed, and at once proceeded to the *Hôtel de la Ville de Rome*, after leaving the books, which formed part of our baggage, in the custody of his Neapolitan Majesty's political health officers. It is impossible to say what might not have been the consequence of the ingress of such a combination of inflammable materials as was to be found in the trunks of at least one of our party. There were not only volumes of travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, guide-books and illustrations of Syrian manners, but vocabularies, and even dictionaries! All these

were deposited in the Dogana, and we awaited, in trembling anxiety, the judicial fiat that should condemn us to a dungeon in Porto Ferrajo, as political incendiaries or republican spies.

The *Hôtel de la Ville de Rome* is admirably situated for a view of the bay, Portici, Vesuvius, Castel Mare, Capræ, the mole, and the shipping. The rooms, too, are pretty and well furnished, and the charges by no means exorbitant. But there is a drawback to the comfort of the hotel in its close proximity to the sea-shore, which people of delicate noses and very nice ideas will consider peculiarly formidable. An "ancient and fish-like" perfume rises to the upper apartments, and youths of all ages, from toddling five to vigorous nineteen, assemble *in puris naturalibus*, to lave their limbs in the cooling ocean, or dive to its depths for the *grana* which you may cast forth as a tribute to their natatory skill.

THE "JOURNAL ASIATIQUE."

THE Asiatic Society of Paris has commenced a Fourth Series of its *Journal*, or collection of papers and extracts relative to the history, the philosophy, the languages, and the literature of Oriental nations. This work has, from its commencement, been the depository of documents and disquisitions of great value, edited with scrupulous care and accuracy, which have illuminated every path of Eastern learning, and contributed more than any other similar publication to promote the study and extend the knowledge of Oriental philology. Unhappily, in this age of "light reading," the labours of the profound scholars who fill its pages can be appreciated only by the few who take an interest in investigations the object of which is to recover the literary relics of past ages, and to trace back, as it were, the footsteps of science to her earliest haunts. Without any intimate connection, political or commercial, with the East, France has made more strenuous efforts than any European nation to cultivate its languages and recommend its literature; generation after generation of able scholars have devoted their lives to those studies, and the loss of De Sacy, De Chézy, Abel-Rémusat, Von Klaproth, and Saint Martin, has been supplied by a numerous succession of young Orientalists, who are daily removing further the boundaries which once confined within very narrow limits the knowledge possessed by Europeans of Oriental literature.

Believing that it will not be unacceptable to one class, at least, of our readers to be made acquainted with the labours of the Parisian Asiatic Society, it is our intention to furnish occasionally a short

review of the contents of their *Journal*, and we begin with the new series.

The first number, for January, 1843, commences with a notice of the celebrated Persian poet Saadi, by M. Garcin de Tassy, who has discovered him to be the author of the earliest pieces of Hindustani verse:—

Who would have thought (observes M. de Tassy) that the most renowned of Persian poets, the great moralist, whose vast reputation has resounded even in Europe, where his works are known, not only by Orientalists, but by literati and men of the world, had written verses in the language which was formed by the contact of Musulmans with Hindus, following upon that which had, in the North, filled the place of the Sanscrit, when that sacred tongue had fallen into desuetude for the ordinary intercourse of society. Nevertheless, we are informed of this fact by those original authors who have recorded in Persian the biography of Hindustani writers.

It is certain that Saadi, who was born at Shiraz, A.H. 571 (A.D. 1175-76), and died A.H. 691 (A.D. 1291-92), travelled into many countries, partly from necessity—for he was driven from Persia by the Turks—and partly for instruction. "There is not a corner of the earth," he observes, in his *Bostan*, "where I have not reaped some profit; there has been no harvest whence I have not gleaned an ear of corn." Amongst other places, he visited India, and his own amusing account of his adventures at the celebrated shrine of Somnath has been already given to our readers.* He afterwards proceeded to Delhi, to pay a visit to the poet Khosrou, "the paroquet of Delhi," who likewise became a writer of Hindustani verses, in imitation of Saadi. The latter is represented by some authorities to have been acquainted not only with Hindustani, but with Latin; this accomplishment, however, M. de Tassy will not concede to him.

Saadi's knowledge of Hindustani, and the fact of his having composed verses in that dialect, M. de Tassy considers to have been hitherto unknown in Europe. "More singular still," he adds, "these verses, some of which are preserved in the original lives of the Hindustani poets, are the most ancient known in the familiar dialect of the Musulmans of India." The place where these poems were written was Somnath, in the province (Guzerat) where the celebrated Hindustani poet Wali resided; the time, M. de Tassy thinks, was the middle of the thirteenth century, when the poet was nearly eighty years of age.

From the fact that the original biographies cite only Oordoo (Hindi) verses as made by Saadi at Somnath, it does not follow that he did not

write others in the dialect which he was desirous of exalting to poetic dignity. For example; must he not have written some when he visited Khosrou, at Delhi, his rival in glory and talents, since it is related that by his example alone that poet sometimes deserted the Persian language, which had already ceased to be the familiar medium of the Musulmans of India, and employed in his poetical compositions the Hindi dialect, timidly, it is true, and accompanying almost every hemistich with one in Persian? At all events, it is very difficult to conceive that Saadi should have written only the two or three Hindustani verses cited from him, more especially since they evidently form part of a ghazl, which would not have consisted, contrary to the received rule, of only three verses.

It is alleged that it was not until after the sack of Delhi, by Timur A.H. 801 (A.D. 1398), that the Oordoo, or Musulman Hindi of the North, took the definitive form which it has preserved. This opinion is founded upon an anecdote related by certain Hindustani writers, according to whom their language was produced in the camp and market of Delhi, after the conquest of Timur. But this is, I think, a mistake. It is probable that the dialect, being spoken at that period in the Musulman camps, received the name of *Oordoo*, or 'Language of the Camp,' which it had not before; but this is no ground for believing that it was formed at that period. There are verses written by Saadi about the middle of the thirteenth century; there exist numerous verses by Khosrou from the close of that century to the commencement of the next. These verses are in genuine Oordoo. This is, therefore, an irrefragable proof that the anecdote in question must relate to the denomination of the dialect, and not its formation.

A remarkable circumstance attending these primitive specimens of the Hindustani Oordoo is, that the language of them is as pure as that of the most unexceptionable modern compositions. Six centuries ago, therefore, this dialect must have been fixed, and brought to its present perfection.

The work in which M. de Tassy found the Hindustani verses of Saadi, is entitled *Majma Ulintikhab*, or abridged collection of Hindustani poems, with notes in Persian, by Shah Mahomed Kamal, A.D. 1804. It is a large folio manuscript, belonging to our Royal Asiatic Society. Kamal, who is a distinguished Hindustani poet, has copied what he has related of Saadi from the biography of Kaim, a Hindustani writer of great reputation, who died about fifty years ago. The following is the passage in which the mention of Saadi's verses occurs:—

Meyan Muhammed Kaim Sahib says in his *Tazkira*, respecting what relates to Saadi of Shiraz, that, in his travels, he honoured Guzarat with his presence, to participate in the pilgrimage of Somnath, as he

mentions himself in his *Bostan*. There, having learned the dialect of the country, he took delight in composing some verses in that tongue, which we subjoin. It is, therefore, proved that Saadi of Shiraz was the first who conceived the poetical composition called *rekhta* ('fantastical.') After him, his lordship the Amir Khosrou published a great number of pieces on the same model.

Oh men! what is then the ritual which you follow in this city? Was there ever any thing like it? Oh strangers! will no one ask me what is my religion?

I have given you my heart, and you have taken it; in exchange, you have given me sorrow. Thus have you acted, and thus have I acted: is this proceeding right?

With the energy of Saadi, having mingled honey with sugar, let us make verses and songs in *rekhta*, strewing thus the pearls (of eloquence.)

These verses, M. de Tassy is of opinion, furnish intrinsic evidence that they are Saadi's, in the horror which they express for idolatry, and in the vivacity of his faith.

The same verses are cited in another *Tazkira*, written in Persian by Fath-Ali-Husayni, who attributes them to a Deccan poet, also named Saadi, and often confounded with the Shirazi, just as some biographers have confounded the celebrated Wali of Guzarat, with an obscure poet of the same name, of Delhi.

M. de Tassy justly regards it as a remarkable circumstance, that Saadi should have encouraged the Musulmans of India to employ the Hindustani as the vehicle of their poetical compositions. "He foresaw, like a man of genius, what might be done with this rich dialect: his mind was occupied with two objects—the interests of religion and those of literature."

The next article in the January *Journal* is a very long and learned communication from M. Dubeux, upon an article by M. Eugène Boré, relative to the Pehlvi inscriptions of Kirmanshah, translated by the late Baron Silvestre de Sacy. The letter of M. Boré, dated from Julfa, near Ispahan, in Persia, was addressed to M. Eugène Burnouf, and published in the *Journal Asiatique* for June, 1841. The object of M. Dubeux's paper is to justify the late M. de Sacy from criticisms of M. Boré which he esteems unjust; but, in this office, he has thrown much light upon the very curious inscriptions which are the subject of dispute.

M. de Sacy, in 1790, decyphered and translated these inscriptions from a very defective copy, taken upon the spot, by the Abbé de Beauchamps. In 1803, the Abbé Morelli, of Venice, published, in a collection of travels, an account of the monuments of Kirmanshah, furnished by a Venetian named Bembo, and he transmitted

to M. de Sacy a copy of the Pehlvi inscriptions, made under the directions of Bombo, by a French artist, named Grelot, who had been in the service of the celebrated Chardin, which was executed with more care and skill than that of the Abbé de Beauchamps, and having been taken in 1673 or 1674, the monuments were then in a better state of preservation. This copy enabled M. de Sacy to rectify his reading of some words, but in other respects it confirmed his conjectures and the accuracy of his translation. He published the corrected translation in 1809. In 1840, M. Coste, an artist appointed to accompany the French ambassador to Persia, took a fresh copy of these inscriptions, a transcript of which he gave M. Boré, who, by its aid, attacked the *first* interpretation of M. de Sacy, and, without referring to the corrections of 1809, censured it with extreme rigour. M. Dubeux assumes that M. Boré was ignorant of the Memoir of 1809, and regrets that such ignorance should have led him to treat the late illustrious Orientalist with so much and such unjust severity.

We subjoin the following extract from M. Dubeux's communication, which, whilst it justifies his late venerable preceptor, illustrates in some degree the ancient faith of the Persians.

M. de Sacy had rendered the word *Mazdiesn* in the inscription by 'Adorer of Ormuzd.' This translation, which accords perfectly with what had been known for half a century, and all that we are able to learn up to the present time, displeases M. Boré, who asks how *Mazd* can by itself alone signify 'Ormuzd,' a name the first syllable of which appears, according to him, to have much analogy with אור 'light' and 'fire,' in Hebrew, and seems not to be separable from the rest of the name. These assertions, and many others, touching the sense and formation of *Mazdiesn*, appear to us so at variance with all that has been written concerning this well-known word, that we think it indispensable to cite the very words of M. Boré :—

The third word is, according to M. de Sacy, *Mazdiesn*—that is, 'Adorer of Ormuzd.' We have too much confidence in the learning of that scholar, and, on the other hand, our distance from France keeps us too little acquainted with the studies which are still prosecuted with success of the Pehlvi, to attack this etymology. Nevertheless, our conscience constrains us to offer here one observation, at the risk of appearing presumptuous. How can *Mazd* alone signify 'Ormuzd,' a word the first syllable of which, having, it appears to us, so much analogy with אור *or, oor*, 'light,' or 'fire,' must be inseparable from it? On the cuneiform tables of Alvend and of Van, it is written *اورمزد* *Aormuzdá*, otherwise *هورمزد* *Hormuzd*, and with the Mogols it becomes, with an aspirate, *Khurmuzda*. Moreover, as M. de Sacy has remarked, in the system of Zoroaster, Ormuzd is not the final object to whom the homage and respect of mortals should be addressed; he is but the chief of the Amshaspands, or good

genii of the first order, and the ministerial agent who executes the will of the Deity, who employs him in combating the influence of Ahriman, the chief of the maleficent genii. If ignorance confounded him subsequently with Iezd, or God himself, the sages would avoid this vulgar error, and especially those monarchs who professed to re-establish the ancient worship. The inscription of Alvend declares Ormuzd a divine being—that is, an emanation of the infinite being, and his agent in the creation of the universe. This may be said without contradicting the symbol of Zoroaster, who represents him as having been created by the author and sovereign master of genii and beings. It is thus that the monarchs of these inscriptions are called sons of the Iezdan, or inferior gods, and this plural form of *Iezdan* indicates sufficiently that these good genii are distinct from the Iezd, or Supreme Iezd. We insist upon this point, because it establishes an essential difference in the translation. Thus, in *mazd*, we recognize the radical *iezd*, or *azd*, as it is preserved in the Armenian language, which has more affinity with the Arian dialects than had been formerly supposed. The radical *iesn* holding the signification of 'adorer,' we shall have, with the *mim* which precedes it, a regular form of a Chaldee participle, and the orthodox sense of 'adorer of Iezd or God.' When we say that the thema *azd* subsists in the Armenian, it is because the word *Asdoorazd*, 'God,' appears to us equivalent to *Asdants*, *Asd*, or *Azd*, the *dza* doubling itself in *sd*, a compound which gives *deorum Deus*, or *Iezdan Iezd*, a sense very conformable to the symbol of Magism which heretofore was dominant in those countries. The word *Mazdiezants*, preserved by the historian Moses Choriensis, and which is merely *Mazdiesn* Armenianized, in taking the termination of a genitive plural, would signify likewise 'adorer of God and disciple of the religion denominated good and excellent,' precisely because it would rest upon the true dogma of unity, at least in respect to its origin. The same historian cites a letter from the emperor Julian to Tigranes, king of Armenia, in which this prince-philosopher takes the title of "son of Ormuzd." But, as M. de Sacy himself observes, he does not employ the word *Mazdiezants*, but the expression *Aramasdai vorti*, that is, 'child of Ormuzd.' The name of *Aramasd* was, therefore, distinct from *Mazd*, and had not the same signification. We repeat, the Sassanides ought, for policy's sake, to have avoided the appearance of a heresy lowering the worship of Zoroaster down to the adoration of Ormuzd and the other genii—they who wished to regenerate the dogma adulterated under the Arsacides, and whose religious zeal was the mask which covered their ambition. Their faith was externally pure, since a tradition, transmitted by the early Musulman writers, affirms that some of them were attached to the Christian religion. The Greek polytheists, not knowing how to translate *Mazdiesn*, gave it an Hellenic termination, and made of it *Masdasnou*.

The first syllable of the name of Ormuzd, in which M. Boré thinks he recognizes the Semitic *אור*, 'light' or 'fire,' in reality has merely a resemblance of sound with that radical which is purely fortuitous. This first syllable represents the Zend *Ahara*, which, according to the traditional sense retained amongst the Parsees, and which nothing appears to contradict, signifies 'king' or 'lord.' *Mazd* is the Zend *Mazda*, compounded of *Maz*, 'great,' in Sanscrit, *mahat*, and of the radical *dá*, which means, 'to give,' 'to create.' These two elements united afford the sense of 'great,' or, more literally, 'greatly creator,'

an epithet which very well becomes Ormuzd. The two expressions, *Ahara mazda*, signify 'king' or 'lord great creator.' M. Boré thinks that the first syllable of the name of Ormuzd cannot be separated from the second. We, however, see in Zend *Ahara mazda* written in two distinct words, and very often *Mazda* alone, and having the sense of Ormuzd, as in *Mazdadhâta*, 'given or created by Ormuzd.'

It now remains to be proved that Mazda, whose identity with Ormuzd we have recognized, is not God, and that God, properly speaking, did not enter into the theological system of the ancient Persians, as M. Boré has several times stated. According to the doctrine of Zoroaster, Time-without-Bounds, the principle of all things, created the first water, the first fire, the first moon, and finally the two secondary principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman, one of good, the other of evil. After their creation, the Time-without-Bounds remained inactive, and consigned to them the office of creating each a world agreeably to their inclinations. Ormuzd created a world of light, and all that is good—Ahriman created a world of darkness, and all that is evil. The earth we inhabit, which is the scene of the incessant contests betwixt these two secondary principles, is tranquil and happy, or afflicted by innumerable calamities, according as success attends Ormuzd or Ahriman. The power of these two principles will endure for twelve thousand years, when Ormuzd will triumph over Ahriman, the world of darkness will be destroyed, and sinners, purified from their crimes by the fire of metals, will enjoy the reward of the just; Ahriman himself will be converted to goodness, with the evil genii of whom he is the father, and all will together celebrate with Ormuzd the praises of the Time-without-Bounds. Where, we ask, are we to find in this monstrous system a place for the Deity? Shall we recognize this Supreme Being in the Time-without-Bounds, the creator of evil, and the indifferent spectator of the conflicts of Ormuzd and Ahriman? or shall we seek him in Ormuzd, a created secondary principle, and whose power is balanced and sometimes even surpassed by that of Ahriman? No; we must, to be accurate, employ the same denominations as the ancient followers of Zoroaster, and recognize in Time-without-Bounds, Ormuzd and Ahriman, the characters and attributes we have stated. This fact being settled, it is clear that the idea of God, as we conceive it, exists not in the religion of the ancient Persians.

Nothing more remains, to obtain a correct knowledge of the sense of *Mazdiesn*, than to analyze the latter part of this word, *iesn*, which is the Zend *yasna*, the Sanscrit *yajna*, 'sacrifice.' *Mazdiesn* thus signifies 'he who sacrifices to Ormuzd,' 'he who renders worship to Ormuzd.' M. de Sacy has, therefore, accurately translated this word by 'Adorer of Ormuzd.'

The third and remaining paper consists of observations, by M. Defrémery, on two particulars in the history of the kings of Akh-lath and Mardin, which is the subject of a notice, by M. de Sauley, in the *Journal* for April, 1842, clearing up some errors committed

by M. de Guignes in his *History of the Huns*. The facts are of no great historical importance.

The number for February contains but two papers. The first is a letter from M. de Saulcy to M. Quatremère, on the inscriptions of Thugga, in Tunis, in two languages, Punic and Lybian or Numidian, which have been known to European scholars for more than two centuries, but have defied every effort to interpret them satisfactorily, till M. Gesenius applied himself to a copy of these inscriptions, taken by Sir Grenville Temple, in 1833.

The stone which bears these inscriptions is one entire block; the Punic portion is on the left side, the other on the right. Both are written from the right to the left. The Numidian portion is engraved with great care, whilst the Punic is very negligently executed.

The Punic inscription M. Gesenius renders thus:—

Cippus Maolami, filii Jophischat, filii regis Banasæ ex Banasa Tobarami, filii Abd-mocarthis principis, filii A'ebed, filii Jophischat, filii regis Schalgi, filii Carsachal.

Quum intrasset in domum plenam.....et esset luctus ob memoriam sapientis

Principis adamante fortioris, qui tulit omnis generis conculcationes, ut viduus matris meæ.

Ecce positum est hoc sepulcrum a Phoa, filio Balali Cipipite, filii Babi.

M. de Saulcy examines this interpretation word by word, and, pointing out its alleged errors, reads the inscription thus:—

The grave-stone or tomb of Ataban, son of Jofnathat, son of F'alu. The constructors of, or the children who have raised, this monument (are) Abaras, son of Abdastaret,—Comer, son of Ataban, son of Jofmathat, son of F'alu,—Menegi, son of Oorasoon.—[Of the fifth line, he can make no sense: it must express, he thinks, a very simple idea, since it is represented in the Numidian inscription by a single word.]—Mesedil, son of Nenifsen, and Anun, son of Asi. . . . Sufet, son of Belal, and Fafy, son of Babi.

By the help of the values obtained in the Thugga inscription for the different signs which compose the Numidian portion, M. de Saulcy concludes that another inscription, brought from Africa by Honegger, who copied it from a rock near Thugga, may be translated. Copies of three other Numidian inscriptions are contained in the Royal Library at Paris, which M. de Saulcy does not hesitate to consider as sepulchral.

The other paper is the continuation of an investigation into the constitution of the territorial right in Musulman countries, by Dr.

Worms,—a very curious subject of inquiry. The countries to which this portion of the investigation relates are—1, Persia and India ; 2, Egypt.

According to Chardin, Persia is divided into territory of the state and territory of demesne, called *mokufat* and *kasseh*, or general and particular. State territory is also called *mamalek*, that is, 'kingdoms,' the difference consisting in their being under the administration of a governor, who receives the principal revenue, out of which he pays his officers and troops, giving the king only a small part in presents, or in discharge of certain rights ; whereas the demesne territory is under the administration of the vizir or intendant, who receives the revenues for the king. The pay of the militia is assigned on the lands of the province.

Land in Persia is divided into lands in use, and lands out of use, that is, cultivated and uncultivated. The former are of four sorts : state lands, demesne lands, the property of the church, and the property of individuals. The state lands (the *mokufat*), which include the greatest part of the kingdom, are in the possession of the governors ; the demesne lands (the *kasseh*) are the peculiar property of the king, part of which are alienated for a term or for life, sometimes continued from father to son for several generations. Church lands are donations from the king or private individuals, which cannot be resumed or confiscated. The lands of individuals are their property for ninety-nine years, never longer, during which period they may sell and dispose of them at pleasure, and at the expiration of the term it may be renewed on payment of a year's revenue. The greater part of private landed property is charged with a small annual tax to the king.

The lands out of use belong to the state or the king, according to the territory in which they are situated ; but since the king is master of the property of the state, and may render it demesne property whenever he pleases, it may be said that all land not actually occupied, or in a condition to be so, belongs to the king. Land out of use may be obtained, on application, for a term of ninety-nine years, either without condition, or on payment of so much a year.

On the estates of individuals, generally, an agreement is made with the cultivator ; the lord furnishes the land, and sometimes supplies manure and water ; commonly, he has one-third of the crop for his share. An ancient valuation of what the lands will yield is the rule for what is due to the lord as his share. On the royal estates, the peasants are subject to many vexations and to extraor-

dinary charges, which tempt them to defraud their lord, who revenges himself by the *corvées* which he imposes upon them.

Dr. Worms remarks that the third of the produce of the lands, which forms the revenue of the king and the lords, is the *kharaj*, and the tax of a ducat a head on persons who are not of the religion of the country (of which Chardin speaks) is the *jezia*; and these and other analogies, which are found in Persia, Turkey, India, and Egypt, confirm the proposition which he had before enunciated, "that all the Musulman states are but fractions of one great society, subject to the same law and the same administrative and political code, and where all is identical and common, even to the least important customs."

Dr. Worms then examines the question with reference to India. He notices the assertion of Col. Dow, that the sovereign is, in (Mahomedan) India, the sole proprietor of the soil, except some hereditary districts possessed by Hindu princes on the condition of paying an annual tribute, and that he is the universal heir of his subjects; both which propositions are asserted by Bernier. Dr. Worms enters into this knotty question, which has divided the opinions of the ablest Indian statical writers, without, however, diffusing much light upon it: he has evidently something to learn respecting the nature of landed tenures in India, which, especially in the southern provinces, are infinitely varied. Dr. Worms is one of those who deny the right of the zemindars to the fee-simple of the land; he considers, as most authorities now do, that "the office of zemindar, or rather of jaghiredar, conferred no right to the fee-simple, but only a precarious authority, with an assignment of the revenues of the state." He grounds this doctrine upon the Institutes of Timur. Neither does he admit that the right to the soil belonged to the ryot. "An examination of the regulations of Timur, Akhbar, and Aurungzebe," he observes, "proves irrefragably that the government alone had, in India, power over the soil, and that neither the zemindar nor the ryot had any right of property in it."

Dr. Worms then inquires into the territorial right in Egypt, a question which has been exhausted by the late Baron de Sacy, to whose work every writer upon the subject has recourse. That great writer concluded that the property of the lands in Egypt, excepting pious endowments and the *oossyeh*, or reserved estates, was divided between the sovereign (the Grand Seigneur), the mooltazims (feudal lords), and the fellahs, or cultivators. "The sovereign is considered as primitive proprietor, but his right of property in the soil is

never found joined with the usufruct ; there must always be an intermediate party between him and the fellah. The mooltazim, the bey, the mamaluk, or the private individual, possesses, by grant from the sovereign, and on the responsibility of paying the government claims, the territory of one or more villages, and receives such a portion of the produce, either in money or kind, as law or custom gives him. His property is not absolute, for he cannot deprive the fellahs settled upon the lands of the right of cultivating them. The fellahs are thus proprietors each of that portion of land allotted to him, not of the soil, or of the absolute usufruct, but of the right to make the most of it, exclusively of any other, from that portion of its fruits which the law gives them. This right is, at the same time, a duty which they may be compelled by force to perform." Dr. Worms remarks that, in Egypt, as well as in India, the right of property in the soil was neutralized by the circumstance that both were conquered territories, which thus became *arakf*. The condition of conquered people (non-Musulman) is expressed in two citations given by Dr. Worms from Mahomedan writers :—

The country which the iman conquers by force he divides amongst Musulmans, or leaves it to the ancient inhabitants, imposing upon them the *jezia* (capitation tax), and upon this land the *kheraj* (land-tax). The individual conquered (and paying the *jezia*) is free in condition ; when he dies, or if he becomes Musulman, his land alone reverts of right to Musulmans.

"This doctrine," Dr. Worms remarks, "proves that the payment of the *jezia* does not guarantee to the conquered nation the integrity of its right of property in the soil, since, after the death or on the conversion of the inhabitants to Islam, their lands belong to the Musulman state."

Here we interrupt, for the present, our review of the contents of the *Journal*.

CALCUTTA AS IT IS.

BY J. H. STOCQUELER, ESQ.

No. III. — DOMESTIC EXPENDITURE.

ALTHOUGH in this paper we shall lay down a full establishment, such as is kept up by a person of local rank or mercantile affluence in Calcutta, yet our details will be designed for the information and guidance of those who go to India to seek their fortunes, and whose mode of living must, or in prudence should, be rather in accordance with their immediate means and near prospects, than with any air-located castles which they may amuse themselves with raising, or even with any *certain* prospective advantages which many of them (writers, cadets, &c.) must possess—if they only live long enough, and continue in the service.

The few persons who are sent to India at years of discretion, and with their fortunes, rank, and stations ready cut out for them—such as members of council, commanders-in-chief, bishops, judges, law commissioners, and a few more of the same description—are at no loss about their domestic settlements; nor will it inchoate *their* ruin to expend a few rupees more than an accurate calculation of comforts might allow; whereas if the cadet, the merchant's clerk, or the tradesman were to *begin* imprudently, the consequences to them would be the “bread of sorrow” in after-days, when reflection, coming too late, could only serve for punishment. Young men who enter the civil service, and cadets, have a fixed and regularly-paid monthly salary from the day of their landing—the former having Rs. 300 and the latter Rs. 200 *per mensem*; with this farther difference, that the former, if a diligent student of the native languages, may in two years, or even less, acquire a material addition to his original income, while the latter may, and usually does, remain from six to twelve years in rank and emolument exactly where he started. They who come out in a good mercantile connection are also generally provided for at once, as clerks or assistants; but the tradesman or mechanic has to rely on the produce of his brow's sweat from the beginning, unless he chooses to eat into his little capital, which is just the last sort of meal we should advise him to make.

With reference to the frequent mention of the local coin which the nature of this paper will render it necessary for us to make, we may mention at once that, although the rupee fluctuates in exchangeable value (in remittances to England) from 1s. 11d. to 2s. 1d., and is sometimes lower and higher than these two points, respectively; yet it will give the reader a sufficiently correct estimate of our price-current observations, to consider it, in round numbers, as representing two shillings sterling. This scale will keep him, commercially and arithmetically speaking, very nearly right; but it will not (and nothing but local experience will) make him accurately acquainted with the great diffe-

rence in what we may call the moral value of money in England and in India. A rupee is constantly given where even one shilling would be hesitated about by the better home economist, and is very frequently expended where even a sixpence would serve the turn in England ; but the grounding of the adventurer in this description of unconveyable knowledge must be the work of experience and observations on the spot. Book learning will not assist him. If the “young gentleman” get into a mess, or to *chum* with an old hand, it will be financially much the better for him at the outset, if he have common sense and ordinary prudence ; but if circumstances so shape his lot that he shall have to keep house for himself, he will then find some benefit from remembering the information we design to supply. As a general rule, we recommend to him worthy Mrs. John Gilpin’s accomplishment—“a frugal mind”—and with that aphorism, we shall proceed to set out a list of the expenses attending an Anglo-Indian establishment upon an entire scale, and subsequently point out the reductions in it which are applicable to inferior conditions of white mankind in the East. The cost named is the monthly cost.

ANGLO-INDIAN ESTABLISHMENT.

House	...	...	From thirty to six hundred rupees.
Khansama	...	...	From ten to fifty rupees.
Khidmutgar	...	...	From six to eight rupees.
Musalchee	...	...	Four rupees.
Cook	...	...	From seven to twenty rupees.
Sirdar-bearer	...	...	Six rupees.
Mate-bearer...	...	...	Five rupees.
Palkee-bearers	...	...	Four rupees each.
Bheesty	...	...	Five rupees.
Mihtur	...	...	From three to four rupees.
Dhobee	...	...	Six rupees.
Tailor	...	...	Six rupees.
Peon or chupprassy	...	...	Five rupees.
Syce	...	...	Five rupees.
Grasscutter	...	...	Three rupees.
Coachman	...	...	From eight to twenty rupees.
Ayah	...	...	From seven to sixteen rupees.
Mihturance...	...	...	Five rupees.
Abdar	...	...	From eight to twelve rupees.
Hookahburdar	...	...	Eight rupees.
Sircar or baboo	...	...	From ten rupees— <i>up</i> to any thing.

Now we shall endeavour to give such a description of each of these human items as shall convey to the tyro an intelligible, if not a very vivid, notion of their several duties and peculiarities ; but before entering upon the “humanities,” let us offer two or three hints concerning the domicile. As in almost every town “where men do congregate,” so in Calcutta, there are houses in as great variety, in size, situation, and rent-charge, as there were dogs, after their kinds, in Islington, at the

time Oliver Goldsmith classified the canine species of that ancient place into

Mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
And cur of low degree;

and of course, in this variety of dwelling-places, the purse may be suited even at the lowest ebb which will allow its possessor a roof over his unhappy head at all; but it is not easy for any respectably-situated person to procure a tenement which will insure him the lowest degree of comfort, with reference to the skiey influences, for a less rentage than fifty rupees a month; and such a house will probably be deficient as to convenience of site for any one whose daily business requires his presence in the town. Certainly, two, or even more, young men may take a house among them, even if circumstances should not allow of their living together throughout; but the adventurer who comes to India in a state of double-blessedness, or who imprudently gets into such a state too soon, financially speaking, afterwards will find himself compelled to put up with but sorry accommodation, compared with what the lowest Calcutta rent for a decent European—say thirty rupees a month, or nearly forty pounds per annum—would obtain for him in most parts of England. Houses, in fact, are very dear in Calcutta, the higher class letting, without an atom of furnishing, at from £400 to £800 per annum, and no really respectable abode being to be had, in a convenient position, under £250 or £300 per annum (paid, like every thing else connected with the “domicile,” in rupees, monthly), though without the addition, to the *renter*, of any description of municipal taxes. And now for the menials.

The khansama, who, by the various corruptions of the title, is called *consumer* and *consumma*, and *kansaman*, and other nomenclatural errors (his true orthoepe being thus denotable—*khansama*—and the first syllable, *khan*, being pronounced with as much of a guttural as you would require to hawk up a midge which might choose to try to fly down your throat), is a personage who is often “done into English” by the terms “butler,” “steward,” &c., but who is not very analogous, in his vocation, to either the one or the other. He acts the part which, in a moderate English establishment, is acted by the mistress and the cook together; that is to say, he markets, prepares the pastry and the made dishes, makes preserves, superintends the whole kitchen arrangement, and in general leaves nothing to the cook but the actual cooking. It is the custom to think him a rogue, and the theory is discreet, inasmuch as it induces a strict scrutiny of his accounts; but to infer from it that he is less honest than an English servant would be under like facilities, were to libel the khansama. In the first place, a poor or only a middling rich man—one of the happy *juste milieu*,—has no business to have this functionary upon his establishment at all. He is a luxury for but the rich, and in their houses he has such scope for “knavish tricks,” that his not plundering his employer on a large scale is to be noted to his credit, under the head of the virtue denominated abstinence. He is

entitled by prescriptive right to charge the round rupee for any thing which falls but a little short of it : thus, as there are sixteen annas in the rupee, he would debit "master" with the integral coin, though he might have obtained the article for fourteen annas ; and, in addition to this, he obtains, as a matter of course (the rule in all native dealings), what is termed *dustooree*, which means 'custom ;' and this is levied from the vender at the rate of half an anna out of every rupee, so that, in every thirty-two rupees, the purchaser gains *one*,—being upwards of three per cent.,—and we believe there are cases where the exaction is extended to double that amount. Scarcely any but the lower orders of Anglo-Indians go to market for themselves. Now and then, individuals may make the principal bazar in the Durrumtollah a part of their morning recreation (the marketing begins at daylight), and, as a novelty, it is an agreeable sight enough : but the thing would not answer for a system, as in England, nor would the gentleman marketer (ladies going for such a purpose is quite out of the question) succeed in either getting better or cheaper meat, at least not better and cheaper, than through his *khansama*, as a concert would soon be established between the latter and the butchers which the master would find it impossible to counteract. In even the humblest establishments, where a *khansama*, as such, is no more dreamt of than any other philosophy of grandeur, the solitary *khidmutgar* will dub himself, and be dubbed by his inferiors, by that much-usurped culinary title ; but in houses of degree, where he is an avowed functionary, his wages are according to his cunning in his art, and one who is an *Ude* among the numerous members of his tribe will get fifty rupees a month, though that rate is rare : ten, twelve, and sixteen rupees may be taken as the running averages of the species. They are always intelligent, respectful, and well-mannered men—Mussulmans, of course—and have much influence in the house, being treated very familiarly (within perfectly becoming bounds) by their masters and mistresses, of whose interests they are usually watchful against all depredators but themselves.

The *khidmutgar* is of the *khansama* genus, and often assumes the title, where no regular one is kept. His own business, however, is (in a full establishment) solely to lay the table, bring up the dinner, and wait during the meal. A couple "well to do" in the Calcutta world would probably keep four of these menials, and more than that if the domestic quiver were full—for the children of such magnates have *khidmutgars* of their own. General honesty, amid much temptation and many facilities for a lapse from virtue, cannot but be conceded to them ; for they have constant access to the plate, wines, tea, table linen, and similar valuables, and might decamp with various spoons under all reasonable chances of impunity, as the Calcutta police is rather inferior to that of Paris when Fouché had its management. The *khidmutgar* is a clean and smart-looking servant, not at all *mal-adroit* in the practice of waiting, though inferior in nimbleness to the true English waiter, to whom, however, it must be remembered, there is no necessity for his being equal, because, as at all Indian parties every guest brings his or her

own attendant (and seldom so few as one apiece), the entertainer's servants have little or nothing to do with that part of the convivial business. Small people, if bachelors, are for the most part content with one khidmutgar, and dream not of a khansama; but whether there be one or half-a-dozen, the breakfast and dinner-table exhibits the same fanciful neatness of arrangement. All the spoons in the house are displayed in the centre of the table, in various tasteful ways, and are interspersed with wine-glasses, flowers, silver forks, &c., while in the midst rises the butter-pot—of cut glass or silver, as the case may be—in which the butter appears like a piece of beautiful carved work, and, with the appliance of sparkling ice, is really tempting to behold. Indeed, the khidmutgar contrives to lay out a very enchanting breakfast with sufficiently simple means. The snowy whiteness of the daily-clean cloth, the green chillies floating in the clean water of the half-filled wine-glass, the eye-refreshing mustard and cress, the brightness of the silver, the pots or glass-ware recipients of various preserves, and lastly the substantials—the omelette, the rice, the fish, the muffins, the *chitnee*, the cold meats, and the fresh and fragrant tea—all have a tendency to create an appetite beneath the ribs of death, and to render gaunt famine, or penurious scarcity, quite impossible visitants.

Next in descent to the above-described "obedient humble servant" comes the musalchee, who is like unto the scullion in British households, but who looks to being one day a khidmutgar, and who has even attained, though in rare instances, the khansamaship itself—just as a clerk in the Treasury *might* rise to be a lord of it, or the cook of the home old bachelor get exalted into ruling the *whole* roast of the establishment. The analogy between the musalchee and the scullion, indeed, is not complete in all its parts; for the former cleans knives, plates, spoons, glasses, &c., and does, in a word, the underwork of the butler's pantry, which is somewhat above the performances of the nymph of the scullery.

The cook, or *bawurchee*, called *bobberjee* by the English, who are the vilest corrupters on earth of both foreign languages and their own, is in a rank by himself, and composed of himself solely, unless he has a *mate* (not meaning a wife), as in large houses he has. To the establishments of the smaller orders he is not essential, for the khidmutgar and musalchee will there manage that business very creditably between them; and where he is kept, he is paid according to his excellence. Pity 'tis that neither he nor any of the rest, who have a hand in the preparation of the meals, will ever taste any thing, though, under that disadvantage, it is "most wonderful, and after that out of all whooping," to see how accurate they are in the flavourings of the various dishes. Still, it bars them from attaining to that delicacy of touch and variety of savour which the cook at the Clarendon knows well enough; but if the said Clarendon cook were suddenly, by fairy power, wafted to, and set down in, an Oriental kitchen, and there told to prepare a dinner, consisting of every delicacy in fish, flesh, and pudding, for twenty people, by seven o'clock P.M., his first emotion would have a

No. III.—Domestic Expenditure.

direct tendency to suicide, and his eventual calmness would be nothing more comfortable than a settled despair. Nothing that *he* would call a spit, a grate, an oven, or any one convenience would meet his wildered eye; and he might as well go to the Highlands to look for knee-buckles, as there to search for a dripping-pan, or a roller; sieves, dredgers, culenders, and such like would be just as plentiful as blackberries are in Hyde Park, and even a dishelout would be very difficult to procure. Yet the indigenous cook will, out of this nettle, deficiency, pluck the flower, good dinner, and send up some things, at least, which Lord Sefton would not disdain, and even which perhaps *his* cook would “gaze with wonder at.”

But, leaving the culinary precincts, let us proceed into the body of the house, and there we meet with the dignitary called the sirdar, or chief of the bearers, who is the person equivalent to that European functionary in whose eyes no man seems a hero—so levelled are we all by our mortal imperfections! The sirdar-bearer, called *sirdar*, in brevity, is, among other things, the valet-de-chambre; but he is, like some of Lord Lyndhurst's Whigs, also “something more.” He prepares—he and his mate, if a mate be kept—the evening lights, a duty which naturally involves the furbishment of the candlesticks, glass shades, and snuffers. He also, like Nathaniel Jennings in the *Rejected Addresses*, “polishes Stubbs's shoes,” whenever it happens that Stubbs is his master's name; otherwise he polishes the shoes, boots, straps, and so forth of Smith, Brown, Jones, or Robinson, exactly as the nominative case may chance to be. Moreover, he rubs tables into brightness, with coco-nut shell and wax-cloth, makes the beds (for housemaids are things unknown), and performs a variety of little nameless items, which need not to be enumerated.

Among the upper classes (the upper in point of salary we mean), there are four or six palankeen-bearers retained, besides the sirdar and mate; but the two latter are to be found in almost every house, and may be considered indispensable. The former of these carries an immense bunch of keys at his girdle, and whether his master have boxes enough to demand a large bunch or not, such bunch there is sure to be, for the dignity of the office.

The bleesty (properly *bihishtee*) provides the water for the use of the whole establishment; hanging a sheepskin on his recreant *hip*, and carrying it along with apparent awkwardness, though with real ease.

The miltur—a word signifying ‘a prince!’—is the Pariah of the establishment, but has no small opinion of himself, and is wise enough to eat of the crumbs (a phrase including every good thing) which fall from his master's table. He sweeps the house, cleans out the bathing-room, and does all the dirty work, in fact, as well as takes care of a dog or two, if necessary; and is usually the happiest and often the sprucest, and the most prettily-wived, of all the domestics.

The dhobee, or washerman, is fully explained to the English reader by his English name; though he differs in some respects from the English washer-woman, as well as in being of a different sex. For instance,

while she is up to her elbows in a wash-tub, he is up to his knees in a tank, or may be in a river ; while she rubs her knuckles into a shrivelled and blistered-looking skin, he bangs the linen raiment of master, mistress, and child against a serrated log or a roughened stone ; while she is all suds, the frothy article is scarcely known to him, and yet he is well off for soap, but the *modus operandi* is unfavourable for the accumulation of the frothy pile ; while she mangles, he is ironing, with an enormous brazen iron, of which the weight has an effect equivalent to mangling, on the cloth ; and finally, while she brings home her linen as yellow as saffron, he brings his home as white as snow. The dhobee of a bachelor gets the pay opposite to his name in the foregoing list ; but where there is a lady in the case, his wages are at least doubled, and increased also by a rupee or two for every child.

The durzee, or tailor, is an indispensable adjunct, his business being to mend the clothes as fast as the dhobee tears them, and for this purpose, chiefly, he works daily from morn till dewy eve—from nine o'clock till five in Calcutta, but from sunrise till sunset in the upper provinces, or (more comprehensively) in the Mofussil. A lady's tailor gets from eight to ten rupees a month, and has no very quiet life of it ; but the scolding is systematic, and he cares little about the matter, though he never may have "heard great ordnance in the field." But the bachelor's tailor hath a life of ease and pleasure—working half the time for the servants, who pay him for that same.

The peon, chuprassy, or messenger, carries letters, runs by palankeens, stands behind carriages, and is altogether a functionary of consequence. When forming part of the official establishment of a civil servant, he is feared, hated, and outwardly revered, by the natives of the district—for then he acts as bailiff, process-server, and all manner of hateful things ; and invariably turns his power into a source of unlawful profit, from exactions and general corruption.

The syce, or groom, does what his translated name denotes ; but in a way very different from his English namesake. Smart and vigorous grooming is unknown in India, and, judging from the fair condition of the horses, would not appear to be needed. He, moreover, runs behind the horse, or vehicle, as the case may be ; and will keep up with the latter for miles, without any apparent effort, as also with a horse going at an easy canter. He is a good and generally trustworthy servant.

The grasscutter is, now-a-days, more a Mofussil appendage than a Calcutta one ; for in the latter place, grass or hay is purchasable ; whereas in the former regions the grass has to be daily rooted up for the horses, and this labour is, in the dry and hot months, especially severe.

The coachman (in native corruption, *coachwaan*) would be out of his element in the crowded streets of London, or in a throng at the Opera, but he is sufficiently expert for his vocation in the East, where crowds of carriages are unknown, and where all cart-drivers, &c., are forced to get out of the way. He has no great delicacy of rein-touch, and not the smallest pride in his harness or other appointments, which, if the

master chooses, will go dim and dirty enough. Indeed, the best Calcutta turn-out is but a poor affair compared to the second-best London one. The entire cost of a carriage and pair—including not only the above-named stable-servants, but the periodical repairs, varnishings, &c.—is calculated to come within a hundred rupees a month, or about £100 sterling per annum.

The *abdar* (literally ‘keeper of the water’) is he who used to cool the wines, water, &c. with saltpetre, before the enterprise of Mr. Tudor afforded the Calcuttarians the delightful luxury of American ice; and his services are still called into requisition when the non-timely arrival of the ice-ships throws back the citizens upon their old resources. The *abdar* now manages the ice, but it is only in wealthy establishments that such a servant is retained, as the *khidmutgar* and *sirdar-bearer*, between them, can manage well enough.

The *hookah-burdar* is a domestic fast *going out*, in consequence of the gradual, or indeed fast, supersession of the *hookah* by the cigar—a change, in our humble opinion, not for the better, though we are no admirers of the recreation of the *hookah*, neither. But the *hookah*, we must say, had a gentility and dignity about it, as well as a rich and agreeable aroma; whereas the cigar deserves the whole wrath of King James’s *Counterblast*, and becomes not the mouth, nor adds to the bearing, of a gentleman.

The *ayah*, or lady’s maid, has no innate taste for dressing, but can usually plait hair well, and contrives to fasten a hook, and to stick in a pin so that it shall soon come out again. She is often the wife of one of the *khidmutgars*, and then the double wages make the service valuable to the worthy couple. Frequently, she is an Indo-Portuguese woman, and though a sad and ugly drab, is in most respects superior to the Mussulman women.

The *mihtrance* is usually the sweeper’s wife, is more intelligent than the *ayah*, and does the slop-work of “my lady’s chamber;” but is often, where there are no children, the only female on the establishment; in which case her wages are raised a rupee or so, and the arrangement answers very well. Where children are, then the women of both classes are multiplied in a concatenation accordingly.

The *sircar*, *baboo*, or whatever he may be called, is the chancellor of the exchequer, and it is not un seldom (in the olden time it was always the case) that his master is his debtor—and then the mastership is but a *roz*. They are a shrewd, intelligent race, of most respectable appearance and demeanour, talk English, and manage every thing for you so easily and so delightfully, that where you feel you can always meet the day of reckoning, a *sircar* is the most delightful servant you can have. They are almost always honest, in the sense of never absconding with your money, even where they give no security; because their great profit is made by commissions and small surcharges upon every thing you buy, and *dustoorce*, or custom (per-centage, taken from the native seller),

upon every payment you have to make. All men in business have sircars, but a mere private family, such as that of a military man, for example, seldom retains and does not require them. They are a strange compound of easiness and strictness, usuriousness and liberality, honesty and fraudulence, patience and importunity ; but a community like that of Calcutta could better spare much better men—if they had them to dispense withal.

Such is a Calcutta household ; a motley assemblage, and yet harmoniously enough conducted. Hindoo and Mussulman pull well together, and where good service is not done, it is oftener the fault of the employers than the employed.*

* This section has appeared in print already in a periodical work now defunct—a fact of which the author was not aware when he placed the paper in our hands, and we were not acquainted with it till this sheet was passing through the press. It is, nevertheless, inserted to complete the series of papers having reference to social habits in India.—EDITOR.

THE EMPEROR AKBER'S PALACE.

THE readers of the *Asiatic Journal* are sufficiently familiar with the name of the Emperor Akber to be able to recollect that that monarch was the most powerful, and probably the most virtuous, as he certainly was the wisest, of that once powerful line of sovereigns whose representative is now to be found in one corner of the vast palace which, in a mingled condition of ruin and preservation, stands on the banks of the Jumna at Delhi. Not so generally known, perhaps, is the fact that, in the tenth or twelfth year of his reign, Akber removed the seat of government from Delhi (to which it was subsequently restored by Shah Jehan, who founded the modern city on the western banks of the river, in 1631) to Agra, where he built a sumptuous residence, which he surrounded by the fort that still exists at that place. The abandonment by Shah Jehan of Akberabad, as this new city was called, after its founder, was attended with the usual consequences of so great a metropolitan revolution ; the splendid edifices, which had been erected by the omrahs, the rajahs, and the other princes and nobles of Akber's court, soon fell into decay on being deserted by their former tenants, and even the magnificent abode of the Padishah himself, as well as the fortress which enclosed and protected the palace, deep and solid as were their foundations, and lofty and durable as were the superstructures, were unable to resist the united ravages of the alternate burning and watery seasons, the destructive hand of the pillager, and, mightier than all, the unsparing tooth of Time.

The interior of Akber's palace was ornamented in a style of mingled elegance and luxuriousness, that, up to that period, had never been attempted, probably from a want of artists capable of imagining, as

well as executing, works of the exceeding beauty of design, as well as boldness of execution and delicacy of decoration, which the architecture of that and of the subsequent years of the Mogul dynasty exhibited.

If the authority of Père Catrou (the Portuguese Jesuit) is to be relied on, it may be fairly deduced from his history of Akber's reign that the native architects of that emperor's period were furnished with designs for the internal decorations of his palace by Italian artists, the age in which he lived (1556—1605) being distinguished above all preceding ones by the fertility and abundance of pictorial or artistic genins. Be that, however, as it may, the remains which still existed of the palace in question in 1822 (and which were not disturbed, or in any way meddled with, for fifteen years after that period) were sufficient to convince the most cursory inspector that, in its original state, the abode of the Great Mogul must have been unrivalled in splendour, for, notwithstanding the ruinous and dirty condition in which it then was, there were still portions of it worthy of being compared to the finest parts of that glorious monumental edifice, the Taj Mahal, which stands in all its original integrity about three miles distant from the fortress.

The portions of the imperial palace referred to were the great hall of audience, in the inner or third court of the fort, and the corresponding elevation on the other side of the quadrangle, where the Zenana or women's apartments had formerly existed. The great hall of audience (*Dewan Khaneh Aum*) was tolerably perfect only on one side; the other was a mass of ruinous rubbish. What remained were the marble linings of the chamber, which were beautifully adorned with arabesques and other devices, cut about one-eighth of an inch deep into the marble; the interstices being filled in with coloured stones of every hue and shade, so as to imitate, with equal fidelity and splendour, the flowers, fruits, leaves, and other objects comprised in the design. The Zenana was less generally perfect, though some portions of the decorations still preserved their pristine brilliancy. The ornamental designs were carried all round the doors and windows, or what served as such in these strictly secluded abodes; and there must also originally have been a sort of pauelling, of inlaid marble, extending from the floor to the ceiling or upper part of the chamber. The whole, however, was in so ruinous and rapidly decaying a state as to render it advisable to remove such of the marbles as threatened to detach themselves from the walls and to crumble and break to pieces in the fall.

This step was, accordingly, taken some years ago (by Lord W. Bentinck, as is stated by a recent tourist in the East), and the marbles and other materials of which the ruinous part of the *Dewan Khaneh Aum* and the Zenana consisted were sold by auction, and cleared away from the fort, the two outer courts of which are now converted into an arsenal and a dépôt for the artillery and battering-train of the military division stationed in Upper Hindostan. The decorative portions of the Zenana, together with the elegant pierced windows, carved or moulded into every geometrical form that the ingenuity of the artist could devise,

were purchased by the late Mr. James William Laing, who held a high civil office in the district of Agra. By this gentleman they were packed up in cases, and transmitted at a considerable expense to England, about four years ago ; his death, which took place last year, having frustrated any plans which he might have formed for reproducing in this country the architectural wonders of the Mogul emperor.

After remaining in the East-India export dock during the space of four years, these remarkable remains were again brought to the hammer and dispersed, never again to be reunited. As they laid in their cases in the warehouse, they presented a curious spectacle for the moralist to muse upon, and even the most indiscriminate observers of the sale could scarcely escape from a reflection upon the tale told by the auctioneer's hammer, as one by one were successively knocked down to the highest bidder. The marble walls of that most secret and securely guarded chamber, where Jehan-Guir and his successor Shah Jehan had drawn the first breath of life, and where the beauteous Noor-Jehan (who now occupies the splendid tomb already mentioned) was probably immured when the last-mentioned monarch sent her unfortunate husband, Shere Singh, to meet an untimely fate.

A great misapprehension existed at the sale, with respect to the origin of these marbles, it having been given out that they formerly belonged to Akber Khan's palace at Cabul, and that they had been saved from destruction when, as was stated, our soldiery pulled that chieftain's palace to pieces, in revenge of the murder of Sir W. Macnaghten. The absurdity of such a statement as this could only be equalled by the ignorance of those who believed it, and it may serve to evince the utter apathy that exists in this country with respect to India and its interests, an apathy so universal and extraordinary as to be incredible, but for the proofs daily given of its existence.

Another much more serious, because injurious, misapprehension also remains to be removed ;—namely, the idea that the beautiful marbles in question ever formed any portion of the Taj Mahal. Nothing could be more unjust to the East-India Company, or to the local government of the district in which this exquisite specimen of Mohammedan architecture is situated, than such a report, which is so far from having the slightest foundation in truth, that a sepoy guard is constantly on duty at the tomb of Noor-Jehan, and that, recently, no less a sum than a lakh and a half of rupees was liberally disbursed by the supreme government of India in restoring those portions of the edifice that had either suffered through the lapse of ages or by the more active hand of the pillager.

Correspondence.**STEAM COMMUNICATION.**

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—My attention has been directed to an article in the *Indian News*, on the subject of “Steam Communication,” in which my name has been introduced, and as the statements contained in that article, if unnoticed, may be received as correct, I request you will give insertion to a few remarks which I have to make upon it.

Of the meeting to which the article alludes, and which was held on the 19th of September, in the Hall of Commerce, I knew nothing till the advertisement convening it was pointed out to me in several of the London journals, though in the object I at once most fully concurred. What took place thereat was faithfully reported in the *Times* and other papers on the following day.

Of the mysteries contained in the Editor’s despatches from India by the *Hindostan*, of course, I can know nothing. I have looked carefully through the *Calcutta Star*, to which he alludes, and I can see nothing therein on this subject that was not previously printed in a public journal in this country : this, perhaps, clears away another mystery.

The necessity of an alteration in the dates of arrival and departure of the Indian mails had long been felt, and I was, therefore, glad to find the P. and O. Company, after much experience and consideration, had come to the conclusion that, with means at their command, such an acceleration as would enable merchants throughout the United Kingdom, and at all the presidencies of India, to reply to their correspondents in course of post, was practicable, and that they had proposed to H.M.’s Government and the East-India Company to carry the same into effect, at a considerably less cost to the State than is incurred under the present very imperfect arrangement.

I may mention here, that reports had reached me, that if this proposition should be acceded to, the P. and O. Company intended to abandon their previously-formed arrangement with the East-India Company, in respect to Calcutta and Madras. On this point I am much interested, being one of the party who advised and urged the Comprehensive Company to merge their interests in those of the P. and O. Company. On inquiry, however, I found, as I expected I should, that the rumour was circulated to serve a purpose, and that it had not the slightest foundation.

Having examined the plan proposed by the P. and O. Company, and satisfied myself that it was practicable with steamers of adequate size and power, and knowing the East-India Company had not steamers of sufficient speed to attain the object sought—an object of essential importance, not only to the commerce of both countries, but equally so, socially speaking, to every European resident in India—I determined to promote the plan by every means within my power. I, therefore, once more placed myself in communication with parties in the manu-

facturing districts, whose interests are identified with so desirable a change in the transmission of the mails, and who, the instant they understood the subject, became unanimous in favour of its adoption, and urged that no time should be lost in effecting so important a benefit as the proposed arrangement would confer.

It matters little to the public by whom it is done: the real question is, can it be accomplished? Very high authority has declared that it can; the public say, let it be done, and well done, without loss of time, and with as little cost to the State as may be consistent with the object in view.

Whoever shall carry the measure into effect, the meed of praise is surely due to the P. and O. Company, who have brought it forward.

With reference to the letter signed "Andrew Henderson," and which is declared to be written by "one of the best-informed men on the subject in England," I must briefly remark that the letter is replete with error; but as there is one paragraph in particular, which can only be inserted to mislead—for "Andrew Henderson" has been repeatedly told by me, before that letter was written, that he is wrong—I take leave to put the fact before the public. The writer asserts that the P. and O. Company "are bound by their existing contract to complete the monthly communication after the 14th January, 1845;" that is, between Calcutta, Madras, and Suez. This is wrong; and, I repeat, "Andrew Henderson" knew it to be wrong: why then write it, if it be not to mislead the public, to the prejudice of the P. and O. Company?

Being accurately informed on this subject, I declare there is no contract in existence by which the P. and O. Company are *pledged* to perform twelve voyages between Calcutta and Suez in 1845. There is an arrangement between that company and the East-India Company, under which the former will receive a contribution of £20,000, provided they are in a condition to do so;* but it is an absurdity to suppose the P. and O. Company would run their large steamers in those seas, or in any other, 120,000 miles, for £20,000; and this, no man in England knows better than "Andrew Henderson," from sad experience in the late voyages in the steamer *India*.

I will not obtrude further on your space, and remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES BARBER.

17, *St. Mary Axe*, Oct. 13, 1843.

* * At the request of the writer, we give insertion to the foregoing letter, and we are bound to say that, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the discretion used by Captain Barber during his advocacy of this great national object, there can be no doubt that his untiring zeal awakened an interest in the question in this country, and has greatly promoted the interests of steam communication with India.—
EDITOR.

* In that arrangement, it is implied that a contract will be given for this service, when the annual contribution of £20,000 will merge into the payments under the contract.

Monthly Commentary.

BY AN OBSERVER.

October.—The great topic of political interest this month has been Ireland ; every politician's head has been thinking, and his tongue wagging, about the sudden vigour displayed by the Government, and the arrest of Mr. O'Connell, who (in Ireland, at least) is the "observed of all observers." After a sort of campaign of "monster" repeal meetings, the *monstrum horrendum* was to have taken place at "Conquer Hill," Clontarf, on the 8th, a *Sunday* ! This place is only three miles from Dublin ; the executive authorities were thus bearded, and a kind of general order of "muster and march" was issued by the "committee of the great national demonstration," recommending the repealers to go in military array, formed into troops, "each troop to consist of twenty-five horsemen, to be led by one officer in front, followed by six ranks, four abreast." The Government probably thought that this was the climax of audacity ; a council, accordingly, was held in the Castle of Dublin, the day before the projected meeting, which was forbidden by proclamation. This step was followed up by the issue of warrants against Mr. O'Connell and eight prominent repealers, who gave bail on the 14th, to answer the following charge :—

Unlawfully and seditiously conspiring to excite discontent and disaffection in the minds of her Majesty's subjects, and to excite them to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established, and to unlawful and seditious opposition and resistance to such government and constitution, and to induce and procure large numbers of persons to assemble and meet together, in order, by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force, to procure changes to be made in the constitution of the realm, as by law established ; and to excite jealousies and hatred between different classes of her Majesty's subjects, and to excite discontent and disaffection amongst, and to seduce from their allegiance, divers of her Majesty's subjects, and, amongst others, her Majesty's subjects serving in the army and navy, and to disturb and prejudice divers of her Majesty's subjects in the peaceable enjoyment of their rights and properties, and to bring into contempt and disrepute the legal tribunals of the country, and to diminish the confidence of her Majesty's subjects in the same, and to assume and usurp the prerogative of the Crown, in the establishment of courts for the administration of the law, and to forward the said several objects by various seditious speeches and seditious libels ; and also by contributing amongst themselves, and by soliciting and obtaining, as well from different parts of the United Kingdom as from foreign countries, divers large sums of money, to promote and effectuate such objects ; and unlawfully and seditiously assembling with divers other evil-disposed persons, for certain seditious and unlawful purposes ; and exciting divers other persons to assemble for the like seditious and unlawful purposes ; and seditiously publishing divers malicious and seditious libels of and concerning the government and constitution of the realm as by law established.

The first of these measures had an immediate effect upon the agitator—his tone was lowered, and (it is said, much to the chagrin and dis-

appointment of his followers) he counselled implicit obedience to the proclamation, and abstinence from violence or breach of the peace, pledging himself solemnly (by way of keeping up their spirits) to "prosecute at law every man who set his hand to the proclamation prohibiting the Clontarf meeting!" This was in ludicrous contrast with the defiance which he had so recently hurled at the Government. His own "prosecution at law," following immediately after, reduced the temperature of the agitator still further below the "bull roar" pitch. In one of his recent addresses, he says :—

I have desired, and I am endeavouring to prove to the world, that the moral combination of the people is the most potent means of procuring the amelioration of any country

The ready submission to a proclamation which we deemed, and still deem, illegal, the perfect obedience of the people to the advice of their guides and leaders, the promptitude with which they abandoned all idea of holding the meeting (at Clontarf) the very moment these guides and leaders told them they ought to abandon it, &c. &c.; all have given practical proofs to the fullest demonstration, that the lessons of peace inculcated by their leaders have been fully understood and adopted into the popular sentiment, and have become the fixed and unalterable rule of their political conduct.

The last passage has two objects, one to make it appear that *peaceful* agitation is all that was intended; the other, to intimate darkly the power which he (Mr. O'Connell, though "guides and leaders" are spoken of in the plural number) can exercise over his dupes for good or evil.

The depositions of the Government reporter, on which the warrants were issued against Mr. O'Connell and his co-conspirators, have been published. They contain very copious extracts from the speeches of Mr. O'Connell at Mullaghmast and the Corn Exchange, and of those of Mr. T. Steele and the Rev. Mr. Tierney, a Roman Catholic priest, with a copy of the resolutions passed at the Mullaghmast meeting.

All these taken together (observes the *Times*) certainly present a mass of matter which would fully authorize such proceedings as have already been taken. Whether they will substantiate the charges contained in the indictment, depends upon a very equivocal condition, viz. the ideas entertained on the subject of constitutional law by twelve undefined Irishmen.

The *Morning Chronicle* thinks that these prosecutions will all fail; and an unaccountable accident threatens to cast difficulties in the way of conviction. Mr. Frederick Bond Hughes, the Government reporter, though not an Irishman, seems to have made blunders that would do credit to a "rasc" Hibernian.

The journal last named has published some ably-written letters from Ireland, which, though pseudonymous, are known to be from the pen of Mr. Trevelyan, of the Treasury, a Whig. He paints the repeal movement as of a highly dangerous character, as skilfully organized, by "other leaders besides O'Connell, though they skulk behind the scenes." He says, that "the plans of operation, with which the heads of the peasantry were filled, did not originate with themselves, but had emanated from some common source, and were, in fact, the instructions of superior

minds, which had been carefully prepared to suit the exigency of the case, and had been afterwards disseminated by means of some established organization among the people." These operations were spoken of openly, and shew, in fact, a meditated scheme of persevering civil war, after the guerilla system, aided by foreign powers. He further observes :

The most serious fact of all connected with the present agitation has yet to be mentioned. There cannot be a doubt that the great body of the Roman Catholic priests have gone into the movement in the worst, that is, the rebellious sense. Many of the priests of the old school, who had been educated in France, and had seen the world, held out for a time ; but they were given to understand that if they continued to take this line, the shepherd would be deserted by his flock, and they were forced to yield.

It is consolatory, under these circumstances, to think that there is a military force in Ireland of 24,000 men, exclusive of 10,000 armed constabulary. The collection of such a force will prevent, not accelerate, the effusion of blood. It will control the mischievous, assure the timorous, encourage the loyal, and confirm the wavering.

It is amusing to read the comments which are made in the French papers on the recent measures of the government of Ireland. Some of them connect this new vigour with the Queen's visit to their country. "Every one asks," says the *Commerce*, "what induced Sir Robert Peel to adopt so serious a measure" as the arrest of O'Connell, "and whether his sudden energy has not been suggested from abroad ?"

The disorders in Wales, though much subdued by the capture of a prodigious number of Rebecca's Morgans and Jones's, are not extinguished. Two commissions have been sent down into that country, one to inquire, and another to try.

In proportion as the Welch become peaceable, the Scotch break out into exasperation. The free church partisans in that country seem to believe that freedom means that every one should be of your own opinion. At Logie, in Ross-shire, the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, having been inducted by the Presbytery, proceeded to preach, but found a vast collection of non-intrusionists congregated at the church in the utmost state of excitement. "The entrance was barricaded, and a lawless, desperate mob hovered round it, resolved to prevent any person whatever from going into the church. Lady Ross, of Balnagown, drove up to the church, and was assailed with the most virulent Billingsgate ; a woman actually struck at her with a stick, and she received a blow on the arm." The Duke of Sutherland has offered a reward of 25*l.* for the discovery of the persons who tied up the tongue of the bell of Farr church, hung a putrid dog's carcase on the gallery, besmeared the elders' seat and precentor's desk with coal tar, and scribbled offensive words on the pulpit ; and a further reward of 15*l.* for a like outrage in the church of the parish of Tongue. The authors of this schism in the Church of Scotland will doubtless lament these excesses, of which they are the remote cause, though they are beyond their control.

A bloodless revolution has been accomplished in Greece. The discon-

tent of the people, at what they consider the oppression and bad faith of their young king, has long threatened this explosion. Finding that the protocol of London had no effect on King Otho, and that they could expect no aid from the allied powers, the Greeks resolved to act for themselves. On the night of the 15th September, the insurgents marched against the new palace of the king, situated a little outside of Athens, and surrounded it so that none of the ministers could get to him, other bodies watching the ministers and the members of the Areopagus. The king, hearing that there was an assemblage of citizens and palikars near the temple of Jupiter Olympius—(these names sound oddly in A.D. 1843)—sent for his minister of war; but the insurgents arrived, with Colonel Calergi, their leader, and demanded “the constitution.” The king wished to consult his ministers; but was told he had none, and recommended to make up his mind quickly. He submitted, conceded the constitution, dismissed the Bavarians, and was required to sign various documents, one of which was a letter of thanks to Calergi and the troops who had overthrown his absolutism,—which reminds one of the receipt required by a certain king from a certain philosopher, for certain stripes. The Greeks pride themselves on their “spotless and pure” revolution; and certainly revolutions are now managed much more comfortably than they used to be: kings lose their power, but save their heads.

An attempt has been made to assassinate the poor Pope. What next? The assassin was a physician with a wooden leg, described as a great revolutionist, driven to desperation by want of money. It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that a physician should have a wooden leg, or that a man with a wooden leg should be a physician; but that a physician, and a physician with a wooden leg, should shoot at a Pope, with intent to kill, is a very remarkable circumstance indeed.

The *Voice of Jacob*, a Jewish newspaper, announces that the execution of the atrocious decree of Leo XII. against the Jews, which was recently revived by the Inquisitor-General of Ancona, and some of the clauses of which had been actually put in force, has been *suspended*, in consequence of the feeling exhibited by the press of England and France. My observation upon this abominable decree, I hope, had some effect.

The *Morning Chronicle*, no suspicious authority upon such a subject, assures us that the revival of trade and commerce in this country is general and undoubted:

Every thing seems to indicate that the morning is breaking; that the dreary night of disaster and suffering, through which all our material interests have been passing since 1836, is now well-nigh over. The hum of busy industry is once more heard throughout our manufacturing districts; our sea-ports begin once more to stir with business; merchants on 'Change have smiling faces; and the labouring population are once more finding employment easier of access; and wages are gently, slowly rising.

This is cheering intelligence, coupled, too, with the fact, that in the year ending the 10th, the excess of the income of the country over the expenditure was no less than £908,541.

Critical Notices.

Selections from the Kur-án, commonly called in England, the Koran; with an Interwoven Commentary; translated from the Arabic, methodically arranged, and illustrated by Notes, chiefly from Sale's edition: to which is prefixed, an Introduction taken from Sale's Preliminary Discourse, with Corrections and Additions. By EDWARD WILLIAM LANE, author of "The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," &c. London. Madden and Co.

ORIENTAL scholars have long entertained the opinion respecting Sale's excellent translation of the *Koran* which is expressed by Mr. Lane, namely, that, generally speaking, it is very correct, but that it contains errors, some of them serious, occasioned partly, perhaps chiefly, by the translator's not having resided amongst Musulmans. The want of a Commentary (incorporated with the text) is likewise an impediment to Sale's translation being correctly, and sometimes at all, understood. These drawbacks, as well as another, arising from passages offensive to delicacy, which occur in the work, have prevented the *Koran* from being very generally read in England. In Mr. Lane's admirable "Selections," all these objections are obviated. He has proved by his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, his knowledge of Arabic; and by a residence in Mahomedan countries he has acquired that familiarity with their manners, habits, and modes of thinking, without which the mere knowledge of the language, though ever so critical, cannot suffice for the translation of such a work as the *Koran*.

In its present correct, methodized, and purified shape, we have no doubt that readers of all classes will be attracted to this very extraordinary production, for extraordinary it assuredly is, though, as Gibbon says, "it sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds."

Guide to the Madeiras, Azores, British and Foreign West Indies, Mexico, and Northern South America; compiled from Documents specially furnished by the Agents of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, and other authentic sources, &c. &c. Illustrated with Charts. By JOHN OSBORNE. London. Walton and Mitchell.

THIS work, the first of its specific class, is, without any ambitious pretensions, an admirable little *vade-mecum*. The frequent inquiries made respecting the local arrangements at the ports where the Royal Mail steamers convey passengers, induced the author (who belongs to the passenger department in the London office) to prepare, and the secretary of the Company to issue, to the agents abroad, a series of questions, the answers to which compose the materials from which this Guide is compiled. The information, therefore, is derived from the most trustworthy sources, and it embraces every thing, even the fares of inter-colonial voyages, though the volume may be put in the waistcoat pocket.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, September 27th, 1813.

A quarterly general Court of Proprietors of East-India stock was held this day, pursuant to the terms of the Charter, at the Company's house in Leadenhall Street.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,—

The *Chairman* (Mr. J. Cotton) acquainted the Court that certain accounts and papers, that had been presented to Parliament since the last general Court, were now laid before the proprietors.

The titles of the papers were read as follows :—

"Statement of the Amount proposed to be transferred from the Company's Cash to the credit of the Fund for the benefit of Widows and Families of Officers and Clerks of the regular Home Establishment of the East-India Company."

"Home Accounts of the East-India Company."

"Accounts of the Annual Territorial Revenues and Disbursements of the East-India Company, from 1838-39 to 1840-41."

"Return of Steam-Vessels employed by the East-India Company in the Mail Packet Service between Suez and India."

"Resolutions of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, granting any Pension, Salary, or Gratuity."

"Return of the terms, conditions, and modes of tenure on which lands are allowed to be held by Europeans under the Company's Government in India, stating whether on the same terms, conditions, and modes of tenure as when held by natives :—Also, Copies of any Rules which may have been prescribed for regulating the grant of Waste Lands to European and other British Subjects in the several Provinces of India."

The *Chairman*.—I have further to lay before the Court, in conformity with the by law, cap. 6, sec. 19, a list of superannuations granted by the Court of Directors since the last general Court to officers of the Company in England, under the 53 Geo. 3, cap. 55, sec. 93. I have also to acquaint the Court that, in conformity with the general Court's resolutions of the 7th of April and 6th of July, 1809, certain papers relative to the Company's college at Haileybury, and their military seminary at Addiscombe, are laid before the proprietors, *viz.*—

"Proceedings of the open Committee of the Court of Directors, at Haileybury, on the 16th of December, 1842, and the 29th of June, 1843."

"An Account of the number of Students in the College, from the 1st of August, 1842, to the 31st of July, 1843."

"An Account of the number of persons whose petitions for admission to the College were agreed to by the Court of Directors, and the number of those whose petitions were rejected, for the same period."

"An Account of the expense of the Military Seminary at Addiscombe, from the 1st of August, 1842, to the 31st of July, 1843."

The *Chairman*.—I have now to lay before the Court, in conformity with the resolution of the 21st of June last, papers relative to the claim of Capt. John Paterson for maritime compensation. I have also to lay before the Court, conformably with the resolution of the 21st of June last, papers and accounts

relative to appeals from the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at the several presidencies, which have been decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, under the 3 & 4 Will. 4, cap. 41, since 1837.

SUPPORT OF THE TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT.

Mr. *Poynder* (being called on by the Chairman) rose, pursuant to notice, to move the following resolution, which had been postponed at the last quarterly general Court:—

“That the despatch of Lord Auckland of the 17th November, 1838, by which his lordship rejected the proposed plan of the Bengal Government, and recommended the annual money payment of £6,000 to the temple of Juggernaut (to which recommendation the directors assented by their despatch of the 2nd June, 1840), be considered by the Court of Proprietors, on motion for abrogating such money payment, upon the ground of no original pledge or engagement having ever been given for the same by or on behalf of this Company, as erroneously alleged by Lord Auckland in his despatch.”

The hon. proprietor proceeded to observe, that on this, as on other occasions, when he had felt it necessary to address the Court, he did not mean to introduce any thing of a personal nature, or that had any connection with the political affairs of the Company. In the present instance, the object which he had in view was, to point out to the Court the moral tendency which the resolution of Lord Auckland, to grant £6,000 a year for the support of the temple of Juggernaut, was likely to have in India. In introducing this subject, he felt every desire, while he did justice to his own feelings, to avoid any severity of remark; but still, he could not help declaring that, in his humble judgment, the conduct of Lord Auckland, in relation to this grant—carried out, too, contrary to the advice of the Bengal Government—was most erroneous and impolitic. This he was prepared to shew; and he could not avoid expressing his regret that the Court of Directors had assented to the recommendation of Lord Auckland. The hon. proprietor was proceeding, when he was interrupted by

The *Chairman*, who said that, before the hon. proprietor proceeded further, it ought to be understood that reference had already been made to the Indian Government by the Court of Directors on three points of complaint connected with the hon. proprietor's motion—namely, the annual payment of Rs. 60,000, the compulsory labour of coolies to draw the car, and the attendance of the police at the temple. On these three separate points they had required explanation. They had requested from the Government to know, first, on what grounds it was that Rs. 60,000 were to be granted annually, without restriction or condition, to the support of the temple; secondly, they required information as to the alleged compulsory employment of coolies in drawing the idol-car—a proceeding which certainly had not received any sanction from the home authorities, who had sent out directions that the coolies should be protected; and thirdly, they called for an explanation as to the presence of the police on such occasions. On these three principal points they had demanded information; but no intelligence had arrived from India for nearly two months, and the Court of Directors had not yet received an answer to their despatch. Under these circumstances, he hoped the hon. proprietor would consent to postpone his motion.

Mr. *Poynder* said, the three points to which the hon. Chairman had alluded were all of them very important; but his (Mr. Poynder's) particular motion had reference to the money payment of £6,000 a year to the support of the tem-

ple of Juggernaut, which, he was prepared to shew, could on no grounds be justified, and ought to be looked upon as the most improper and unwarrantable appropriation of revenue that could possibly be conceived. At the same time, as the hon. Chairman had stated that an inquiry was pending on the subject (as he had also been informed at the last general Court, when he meant to have brought the question forward), as he understood that an answer was shortly to be expected, and as, no doubt, it was now in train of arrival, he did not think it necessary to proceed with his motion. He should, therefore, withdraw his motion for the present, with the expression of a hope that the object he had in view would be answered in another way.

Motion withdrawn.

APPEALS FROM INDIA.

Mr. *Lewis* rose to call the attention of the Court to the many evils, pecuniary and otherwise, which the Company sustained in consequence of the provisions of the Act of 3 & 4 Will. 4, cap. 41, by which the Company were compelled, by orders in Council, to prosecute appeals from the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in India, if, after the lapse of a certain time, the parties connected with such appeals took no steps to bring them to a termination. Connected with this subject, certain returns had been ordered, and were now lying on the table of the Court. They placed the question in the clearest point of view, since they shewed the number of appeals prosecuted since 1833, the amount of expense incurred, and the sum recovered, as applicable to the payment of costs disbursed by the East-India Company. To these returns he begged to call the particular attention of the Court. The first of the returns adverted to was dated the 22nd of March, 1837, and was made in consequence of a motion submitted to that Court by Mr. Wigram, seconded by Sir C. Forbes. It appeared from that return, that in the interval between the month of September, 1833, and March, 1837, the number of appeals brought to a hearing before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by the East-India Company, under orders in Council, was thirty-eight; the amount of the monies expended in bringing them to a hearing was £45,587. 2s. 6d., and the amount recovered, "nothing." The second return alluded to was dated the 13th of September, 1843; from that return it appeared that, in the interval between March, 1837, and September, 1843, the number of appeals brought to a hearing before the Judicial Committee by the East-India Company, under orders in Council, was thirty-two; the monies expended in bringing them to a hearing, including those heard and partly heard, was £107,239. 5s. 6d.; on account of the Indian Government, £8,506. 0s. 10d.; and the amount recovered, £24,191. Taking the two returns together, the general result was this: that in the period between September, 1833, and September, 1843 (being ten years), the East-India Company brought to a hearing, under orders in Council, seventy appeals, at a cost to the revenue of India of £152,826. 8s.; and that, of that large outlay, there had only been recovered the sum of £24,191, leaving a deficit of £128,635. 8s. Now, allowing that, in the next ten years, the Company might recover £28,000 (and this he thought was a very liberal allowance), the eventual loss might be calculated to amount, in round numbers, to £100,000; but this did not give them the whole loss. The loss of interest on the monies advanced during the ten years must be considered; and that, taken at four per cent., would amount, say to £50,000 at least; so that the loss sustained by the Company might be stated to be, in round numbers, £150,000, making an average expenditure

during the last ten years of £15,000 a year. Now, he demanded, why should this charge be saddled on the revenues of India? For, say what they would, on those revenues it must ultimately fall. On what principle of justice was it that the East-India Company should be compelled, by order in Council, to proceed with appeals which the parties themselves were too idle or too indifferent to prosecute? It was undoubtedly the duty of the Company to see that the judges did their duty, to take care that the modes of procedure in appeal cases were efficient, and to see that the parties who sought for redress in their Courts obtained judgment as speedily as possible. When they had done this, he conceived that their duty was fulfilled; and, he would ask, how could it be rationally contended that, because parties delayed prosecuting their suits, the East-India Company ought to take them up? To act thus was, in fact, giving a premium for litigation. It could only be viewed as an encouragement to litigation. If parties appealing were made to feel the trouble of prosecuting such appeals—if there was an immediate necessity for proceeding to a decision when an appeal was lodged—it would operate as the strongest check to appeals from India to this country. But if parties were told that they had only to enter an appeal, and that the East-India Company, after a certain time, must work it out for them, what could this lead to but the multiplication of appeals, even where there was little or no foundation for them? The parties would only have to take their chance of success; and when defeated, the probability was, that they possessed not a single farthing from which the costs could be taken; and even if the contrary were the case, they might suppose that the East-India Company would not be very rigid in exacting them. He repeated, that it was a direct encouragement to litigation. It evidently encouraged parties to lie by, in the hope of obtaining advantages by their own *laches*. These were the very parties to whom no encouragement whatsoever should be extended. If a party did not choose to prosecute his appeal in two years, why should the Company be compelled to take the matter up? The Act of Parliament appeared, indeed, to have been passed for the purpose of giving satisfaction and encouragement to artful and worthless parties. Again; it was to be observed that the East-India Company derived no advantage from these suits; but no sooner was the appeal decided, no sooner was the decision given, than they became the parties on whom all the blame was visited by the unsuccessful party. All the odium of entering up execution, and sequestrating the property of the losing party, fell on the Company, who received no benefit from the transaction; and, instead of appearing as benevolent mediators between party and party, they assumed the character of unrelenting prosecutors. Was it fitting or becoming their dignity, as rulers and governors of India, to appear in the mean and contemptible guise and character of agents conducting appeals between private parties? The present practice was deeply to be regretted, because while, on the one hand, it encouraged litigation, on the other it placed the Government of India in a false, invidious, and disreputable position. It was to be deplored that the Act of William IV. was passed. There was no necessity for such an Act. It was true that there was, at the time, a considerable arrear of appeals on the shelves of the Privy Council; and it might, perhaps, be alleged that the suitors in these appeals had sent them to this country, not knowing that it was incumbent on them to proceed further. But what was the course that ought, in common sense, to have been pursued, if the fact were so? Why, the parties ought to have been apprized that it was incumbent on them to employ counsel and agents to prosecute their suits; and

that if they did not, judgment would be pronounced against them, and they would have to pay costs. Persons perfectly competent to give advice on this subject had pointed out the course that ought to have been pursued with reference to these appeals. In the course of the correspondence which took place between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, he found that Sir J. Mackintosh, Sir E. East, and Sir A. Johnston were applied to by Lord Glenelg for their advice as to the best mode of dealing with the appeals in arrear. In a minute forwarded by them to Lord Glenelg, and by Lord Glenelg to the Court of Directors, in a letter dated the 2nd of June, 1832, their opinion is thus expressed:—"As it seems probable that in so long a period many of the parties must have died, it would have been necessary, in the case of all long-standing causes, to grant time to the parties in India to take care of interests that may be important to them. Would not that be sufficiently provided for by directing that notices of all causes now in appeal should be sent to the several Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, with due warning, that unless they were prosecuted to the stage of judgment within two years, they should be deemed and taken to be dropped appeals, and struck out of the list accordingly? The cure of widely dispersing these notices, so as to reach every part of the country, could only be intrusted with perfect propriety to the Sudder Dewanny Courts, out of which the records come. But it is impossible to doubt that appeals are in all countries frequently brought for the mere purpose of delaying the payment of just debts; and this grievance, as far as it exists, would be particularly vexatious in India, where the distance of place necessarily consumes so much time before the cause can be brought to a hearing at home. It should seem, therefore, that it would be essential to fix a time when all future appeals should, upon non-prosecution for six months after they are lodged in the Privy Council Office, without special cause assigned, be deemed to be dropped." Here, gentlemen most competent to give correct advice - eminent and distinguished individuals - recommended that, with regard to appeals in arrear, as well as all future appeals, notice should be given to the parties that they must, within a certain time, proceed with their own suits, and if not, that they would be struck out. The wild, absurd, and unjust idea, of making the East-India Company prosecute, and pay for prosecuting, these appeals, never entered the minds of the able and experienced men whom he had named, and whose proposition could have been easily carried into effect. Where, then, was the necessity for this Act of Parliament? He should maintain that it was unnecessary, and he considered that it was a species of fraud on the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors had, indeed, assented to being parties to the appeals before the Privy Council; but on what grounds did they assent? Why, on the grounds that, before they proceeded with the appeal, they should have the authority of the parties to do so, and that security should be given for the repayment of the money expended by the Company. It was on these terms alone that the Court of Directors gave their assent to the Bill. But, when the Act of Parliament was passed, all those terms were forgotten. Armed with the Act of Parliament, the Government made it imperative on the Court of Directors to proceed with those appeals, without giving them an opportunity of knowing whether the parties wished it or not, and without making any provision for the payment of costs. When the Act passed, the executive found that they must obey the orders in Council, but he thought that the directors did not do their duty in not expostulating against those orders, and pointing out the inevitable mischiefs and evils that would flow from them. They ought to have

thrown on the Government the responsibility for the loss which was sure to accrue from them. But from 1833 up to the present time (with the exception of 1837, when a motion was made on the subject by an hon. director, Mr. Wigram, then present), nothing had been done to remedy this evil, so far as he was aware. He feared that there had been a certain degree of supineness with reference to this subject on the part of their executive. But whatever might be said on the part of the executive of the Company, not a shadow of reason could be alleged against the interference of that Court to remove so baneful a system. It had been going on for ten years, and the documents on their table shewed that it had operated mischievously and injuriously in every possible way. He hoped, therefore, that the Court of Proprietors would support the motion with which he meant to conclude. It might occur, and probably did, to solicitors and agents employed in these appeals, that an alteration of the system would be prejudicial to them. That, however, was no reason why an objectionable system should be continued. Large sums of money were certainly expended among counsel, solicitors, and agents, in conducting these appeals. He could not complain of those persons so employed taking their fees (*laughter*), but he did think that it was somewhat unreasonable, somewhat unjust, somewhat unprincipled, that the charge of the payment of these costs should be fixed on the natives of India. With these observations, he begged leave to move,—"That the compulsory prosecution of appeals from the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in India to the Privy Council, imposed on the East-India Company by orders in Council, is unjust in principle, and attended in its consequences with a heavy and unnecessary charge on the revenues of India:—This Court, therefore, recommend to the Court of Directors to take the earliest steps to put an end to so great a grievance."

Mr. *Sullivan* seconded the motion.

The *Chairman* said that, in rising to notice the motion which the hon. proprietor had so ably brought forward, he was not disposed to find fault with the terms in which the hon. proprietor had spoken of the expenditure connected with the prosecution of these appeals; but he felt it necessary to observe, that the hon. proprietor was not quite correct in saying that the Court of Directors had not paid attention to this important subject. They had been acting under an Act of Parliament, and there was no other means of getting rid of it but by an appeal to the Legislature. The Court of Directors had been most anxious to attain those objects to which the hon. proprietor had referred, and, as a confirmation of the fact, there should be now read to the proprietors the correspondence which had lately taken place on the subject between the Court of Directors and the Earl of Ripon.

(The documents were then read by the clerk: they are inserted in the last Journal, pp. 652—654.)

The *Chairman* then said, he hoped it would now appear that the Court of Directors were anxious to do all that they could to remove the evil complained of; and that, therefore, the hon. proprietor would see the propriety of withdrawing his motion. In the correspondence which had just been read, the Directors had used the same arguments as the hon. proprietor had himself used; and, as they had the assurance of the President of the Board of Control that the subject should receive his serious attention, he thought there could be no objection to withdrawing the motion.

Mr. *Fidler* said, the East-India Company derived a very large income from India, and due facilities ought to be given for the hearing of appeals. In the *Asiat. Journ.* N.S. Vol. II. No. 7.

Court of Admiralty, where he was once in the habit of practising, it had been laid down by Lord Stowell, that the appellant should pay for the original papers and proceedings; and, if the appeal were not prosecuted within twelve months, it was looked upon as abandoned. How far such a system could be acted on in the case now under consideration, he could not say. There was, he believed, a very great defect in the manner in which the necessary papers and documents in appeal proceedings were supplied to the parties. In his opinion, when a Hindu was clearly proved not to have the means of prosecuting an appeal, it was the bounden duty of the Government to see that the appeal was not therefore dropped, and that the proper papers were transmitted. He did not mean to say that they should be compelled to take up every case—such a proposition was monstrous—but they certainly ought to exhibit a kindly and considerate spirit and feeling towards their native fellow-subjects. However, after the explanation of the hon. Chairman, he thought that the matter could not be placed in better hands than those of the Court of Directors.

Mr. *Marriott* viewed with much satisfaction the likelihood of having this great evil remedied in the ensuing session of Parliament.

Mr. *Lewis* confessed that he was satisfied with the explanation of the hon. Chairman. He thought that the thanks of the Company were due to the Directors for their proceedings in this important matter, and he hoped that they would not relax their exertions in effecting so desirable an object as that to which their correspondence related. He therefore begged leave to withdraw his motion, but expressed a hope that some change would be made in the appellate jurisdiction of India—that a court of appeal would be established in India. This was a subject too large to be considered at present, but a future occasion might be taken by him to call the Court's attention to it.

Major *Oliphant* gave notice of his intention to submit the following motion at the next quarterly Court, *viz.*—

“That, from a careful perusal of the papers laid before this Court, connected with the claim of Captain John Paterson for maritime compensation, it appears that that officer, after performing eleven voyages, extending over a period of thirty-four years, was in the Company's actual employment until the 11th March, 1829, on which date he was compelled to resign the command of his ship, in consequence of ill health, duly attested by medical certificate; that the fact of his having served, and received wages, within the period of five years antecedent to the 28th August, 1833, having been clearly established, and he having signed the necessary declaration in the form prescribed, this Court is of opinion that Captain Paterson has made good his claim, and should be admitted to the annuity of £200, agreeably to the regulations for granting compensation to the late maritime service.”

The Court then adjourned.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(*Extracted from the Indian Mail.*)

ARRIVALS REPORTED AT THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.** — Mr. Henry Craigie Halkett.
 Mr. James G. B. Lawrell (retired).
 Mr. Henry Charles Hamilton.
- Madras.** — Mr. William Edward Jellicoe.
 Mr. Arthur Mostyn Jones.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.** -- Major-General William Battine, artillery.
 Major Nathaniel Jones, 57th N.I.
 Captain Charles Fowle (invalids).
 Captain William Carnegie, 58th N.I.
 Lieutenant Henry Yule, engineers.
 Lieutenant Theodore Gordon, 65th N.I.
 Lieutenant D'Oyly Richard Pristow, artillery.
 Ensign Charles St. George Brownlow, 15th N.I.
 Surgeon John Davidson.
- Madras.** — Major Charles Daviniere (invalids).
 Captain James Robert Robertson, 8th Lt. Cav.
 Captain Arthur Monro M'Cally, 28th N.I.
 Brevet Captain John Seager, 8th N.I.
 Lieutenant Thomas D. T. Dyer, 36th N.I.
 Lieutenant Joseph L. Heathorn, 3rd Lt. Inf.
 Lieutenant Vyvyan Scobell, 20th N.I.
 Lieutenant William Hy. Whapshare, 10th N.I.
 Lieutenant Walter Swinton, 6th N.I.
 Lieutenant John Gustavus Halliday, 12th N.I.
- Bombay.** — Major William C. Harris, engineers, charged by the Government of Bombay with the original treaty of commerce concluded with the King of Shoa, in Southern Abyssinia, also with a letter in the Æthiopic Language, and various presents, for her Majesty the Queen.
 Lieutenant Henry Lye, 13th N.I.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.** — Mr. Richard Williams Walters, Master, pilot estab.
- Bombay.** — Lieutenant Alan H. Gardner, I.N.
 Lieutenant William E. L. Campbell, I.N.
 Mr. Christopher Nugent Nixon, I.N.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.** — Mr. Charles Tierney Davidson, per *Prince of Wales*.
 Mr. Charles Gubbins.
 Mr. Henry Browne Beresford.
 Mr. Mungo Smith Gilmore, overland, 1st Dec.
 Mr. William Galloway, overland, 1st Dec.
 Mr. George Wynyard Battye.
- Madras.** — Mr. Edward Penton Thompson, with an extension of leave for three months.
 Mr. Charles Robert Baynes, overland in March next.
 Mr. Edward Maltby.
- Bombay.** — Mr. Hugh Poyntz Malet.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.*—Major-General John Andrew Biggs, artillery.
 Major-General James Alexander, overland, and to succeed to the general staff of the Bengal army.
 Major-General Walter Raleigh Gilbert.
 Lieut. Col. Charles M. Carmichael, c.w., 3rd Lt. Cav.
 Captain Frederick Wilson Hardwicke, 10th N.I., *via* Bombay.
 Captain Samuel Robertson Wallace, 39th N.I.
 Captain Edward Madden, artillery, overland.
 Captain Frederick Alexander Miles, artillery.
 Brevet Captain Robert M. Gurnell, 68th N.I.
 Brevet Captain George Scott, 6th Lt. Cav.
 Lieutenant Henry Augustus Morrieson, 63rd N.I.
 Lieutenant Joseph Scott Phillips, artillery.
 Lieut. Walter Key Haslewood, 1st Europ. regt. I. J.
 Lieutenant William Maitland Roberts, 30th N.I., overland, Nov.
 Lieut. Robert Robertson Bruce, artil., overland, Dec.
 Surgeon George Lamb, overland.
 Assistant Surgeon William Abbott Green.
- Madras.*—Major Frederick Minchin (invalids).
 Major Edward Wardroper, 37th N.I.
 Captain Grant Allan, 3rd Lt. Inf., overland.
 Captain Samuel White Hennah, 4th Lt. Cav., overland.
 Capt. Chas. Edward Faber, engineers, overland, Dec.
 Brevet Captain George Sackville Cotter, artillery, overland.
 Lieutenant Francis Tower, 45th N.I., overland.
 Lieutenant James Jackson, 14th N.I.
 Lieutenant Henry Corbett Taylor, 2nd Europ. regt., overland.
 2nd-Lieut. Charles Cornwallis Johnston, engineers.
 Assistant Surgeon John Charles Fuller.
 Assistant Surgeon James Kellie, overland, 1st Dec.
 Assistant Surgeon Benj. Griffith Evans.
 Overseer John Harton.
- Bombay.*—Captain John F. R. Willoughby, 25th N.I.
 Captain Paget Wotton Clarke, 2nd N.I.
 Captain William Brett, artillery.
 Captain Francis John Pontardent, artillery.
 Brevet Captain William Henry Evans, 9th N.I., overland, November.
 Lieut. George Wingate, engineers, overland, 1st Oct
 Lieut. Willoughby Brassey, 2nd Europ. regt. Lt. Inf.
 Lieut. Henry Norris Robertson, 5th Lt. Inf.
 Lieut. Augustus Honner, 1st N.I.
 Lieut. Henry Joshua Margary, engineers, overland, November.
 Lieut. James Bedford, 2nd N.I.
 Ensign John Bruce Dunsterville, 4th N.I.
 Surgeon John McMorris.
 Surgeon John Patch.
 Assistant Surgeon Parr W. Hockin.
 Assistant Surgeon Thomas Mackenzie.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bombay.*—Lieutenant Griffith Jenkins, I. N., overland, 1st Sept.
 Lieutenant Alexander Henry Gordon, I. N.
 Mr. James Grew, pilot, master attendant's depart.

RESIGNATION OF THE SERVICE ACCEPTED.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

- Madras.*—Mr. Robert Eden.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Madras.—Mr. Anthony Whittingham.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Brevet Captain Robert Grange, 41th N.I.

Apothecary Peter O'Brien.

Madras.—Major Charles Farran (invalids).

Captain Frederick S. C. Chalmers, 22nd N.I.

Captain William Fras. Du Pasquier (invalids).

Captain Robert Henry Robertson, invalids.

Lieutenant Robert Morgell (invalids).

Bombay.—Lieutenant William Papillon Cotes (invalids).

Lieutenant William Browne Ponsonby, 22nd N.I.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Robert Ker Dick, twelve months.

Mr. Henry Jeffreys Bushby, six months.

Mr. William Raikes Timins, six months.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Capt. John Anderson Barstow, 37th N.I., six months.

Lieutenant Henry Yule, engineers, six months.

Lieutenant Lawrence Hill, engineers, three months.

Assistant Surgeon Paul F. H. Baddeley, six months.

Madras.—Captain Ebenezer Marshall, invalids, six months.

Lieut. Robert John Pollock, 8th Lt. Cav., six months.

Bombay.—Captain Thomas Foulerton, 1st N.I., six months.

Captain Francis Charles Darke, 4th N.I., until Nov.

Lieutenant Henry Erskine Patullo, 1st. Europ. regt., six months.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Thomas Pitkin, Master, pilot establishment, six months.

APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. William Fagg Stone has been appointed a volunteer for the pilot service, on the Bengal establishment.

The Rev. Robert Inchbald, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, has been appointed to the situation of junior classical and mathematical master at the Military Seminary Addiscombe, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. John Fenwick, B.A.

Assistant Surgeon Paul F. H. Baddeley, of the Bengal establishment, now on furlough, has been appointed assistant surgeon at the Company's depôt at Warley, until the expiration of such furlough.

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The only satisfactory account yet received of the particulars attending the loss of the *Memnon*, with the Overland Mail from India, is that furnished by one of the passengers, Lieut. J. H. G. Crawford, of the Bombay Engineers. He states that the vessel left Bombay on the 20th July, the south-west monsoon blowing strong, and that, after attempting the direct passage for two days, her course was altered to the southward. At noon on the 1st of August, the *Memnon* was supposed to be between 80 and 90 miles eastward of Cape Guardafui, and about 11, p. m., the officer of the watch reported the ship to be "just ashore;" immediately after which she struck in a small bay, half-way between Cape Guardafui and Ras Asseer. The masts were cut away, and the hull having forged close ashore, the crew and passengers, to the number of 160, including one lady, landed at daylight, and after remaining three days by the wreck, proceeded to Hulloolah, from whence the first lieutenant, a midshipman, three seamen, and two passengers, reached Aden in a frail boat, without chart or compass.

It is expected that Lieut.-Col. Malcolm, secretary of legation in China, lately arrived with the ratified treaty, will receive the honour of knighthood, with the decoration of a K. C. B.

Dr. O'Shaughnessy, of the Bengal medical establishment, has proceeded to France, *en route* to India. He has been appointed to succeed to the first vacancy which may occur in the list of deputy assay-masters.

Orders have been issued to the Treasury to make the necessary arrangements for the distribution of the prize-money arising from the ransom of Canton. The effect of the course taken by Capt. Elliot, in converting the ransom into a convention, is that the troops are to be paid little more than a tenth of what they would otherwise have received.

The Court of Directors have given notice, that the present rate of interest of £3. 10s. per cent. per annum on the Company's bonds will be reduced, after the 31st of Oct. 1844, to £3 per cent. only.

It is understood that a railway from Cairo to Suez is to be immediately commenced.

The *Moniteur*, of the 26th October, publishes a Royal ordinance, establishing a professorship of Chinese in the school of the living Eastern languages, at Paris. M. Bazin was appointed to fill that chair.

It is understood that the Court of Directors have under their consideration the postings which took place in certain regiments in the Bengal establishment, consequent upon the losses sustained in Afghanistan. This has been rendered necessary in consequence of complaints from some officers, who consider themselves aggrieved, either by being removed from their own corps, or by having been superseded by officers brought in from other regiments.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have attached a salary of £600 per annum to the office of Junior Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta, vacant by the death of Mr. W. H. Coles.

The amount of bills drawn by the East-India Company in the month ending the 5th day of October, 1843, is as follows:—On Bengal, £117,812. 6s. 10d.; on Madras, £18,875. 18s. 1d.; on Bombay, £250.—Total, £136,938. 4s. 11d. There was no coin shipped in September.

Capt. Gordon, R. N., and Capt. Charles Farquharson, have been elected

elder brethren of the Trinity-house. Capt. John Bowen, of the *Hindustan*, was, on the 3rd October, sworn in a younger brother.

Three Roman Catholic clergymen, three monks, eighteen ecclesiastical students, and four nuns, are about to proceed from Ireland on the mission to India. The Roman Catholics have at present in India, China, and the west of Asia, 69 bishops, 20 coadjutors, 1,856 priests, and 2,211,000 members.

Accounts from Teflis state that the Pasha of Mousul had suddenly penetrated, at the head of a strong force, composed of Kurds and Turks, into Zumalesk, a mountainous district between Persia and Turkey, where the Nestorian Christians had for centuries maintained their independence. The inhabitants appear to have been surprised; their villages were pillaged, their women violated, and after numbers of their men had been massacred, the survivors were compelled to surrender their territory to the pasha.

By a Treasury order lately issued, French and other ships of or belonging to any kingdom or state within the limits of the East-India Company's charter, are allowed to trade with the colony of New Zealand.

A magnificent sword, voted to Lieut.-Col. Outram by his friends in Bombay, has been finished by Messrs. Widdowson and Veale. The handle is of fine gold, elaborately ornamented with brilliants, displaying on the cross the rose, shamrock, and thistle, upon pure enamel, from which issue bands of laurel, interlacing brilliant stars, the whole terminated by a lion's head, in massive gold. The scabbard is of crimson velvet, richly ornamented with gold; upon the upper compartment is St. George and the dragon, and on the centre are the lion and tiger in combat, both surrounded by military trophies; the sides are interlaced with laurel, corresponding with the hilt, and the whole terminated by a rich ornament of enamel and military emblems. On the blade, which is ornamented in purple and gold, is the following inscription: "Presented to Major James Outram, C.B., 23rd regiment Bombay native light infantry, in token of the regard of his friends, and the high estimation in which he is held, for the intrepid gallantry which has marked his career in India, but more especially his heroic defence of the British residency at Hyderabad, in Scinde, on the 15th of February, 1843, against an army of 8,000 Belooches, with six guns. Bombay, 1843." On the reverse side, "Major James Outram, *Sans peur, et sans reproche.*"

A large quantity of tea, part of the cargo of the *Reliance*, which was wrecked some months since on the coast of France, having been recovered in a very damaged state, was sold for 2c., or about 2d. the pound. Several hundred thousand pounds weight of this article were purchased by speculators in Paris, who, being unable to dispose of it as black tea, had commenced converting it into green, which realized 2s. 6d. per pound, when it was discovered that the change was effected by the use of copperas and white lead, which coming to the knowledge of the authorities, the whole was seized and condemned.

On the 11th October, Major-Gen. Sir Jeremiah Bryant presided at a public meeting held at the Hanover-square rooms, for the purpose of enabling the Rev. Dr. Wolff to take leave previous to setting out, on the 14th, on his journey to Bokhara, with the view of ascertaining the fate of Col. Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Captain Grover having again detailed his reasons for doubting the testimony upon which some parties have come to the conclusion that these officers were murdered, Dr. Wolff gave a brief history of his visit to Bokhara, in 1832, stated the route he intended upon the present occasion to pursue, and concluded by thanking the public for the confidence reposed in him, and ex-

pressing a hope that he should return ere long, accompanied by Col. Stoddart and Capt. Conolly. Dr. Wolff has published addresses to the Armenian Christians in Russia, Persia, and Cabool, and the Mussulmans throughout Turkey, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Hindostan, stating the object of his journey to be the release of Col. Stoddart, Capt. Conolly, Lieuts. Steer and Balfour, and other British officers who sigh in slavery.

The following results are shewn by the comparative statement put forward by the East-India and China Association, of the entries and clearances of vessels engaged in the trade to and from places within the limits of the Company's charter, including the period from January to September, 1812 and 1843:—Entries inwards.—London: a decrease of 26 ships and 39 men; though an increase of 1,288 tons. Liverpool: a decrease of 22 ships, 268 men, and 5,343 tons. Bristol and Hull: an increase of 2 ships, 22 men, and 551 tons. Clyde, Leith, and other British ports: an increase of 16 ships, 316 men, and 6,714 tons. The general result shews a decrease of 30 ships; but an increase of 31 men and 3,210 tons. Clearances outwards.—London: a decrease of 71 ships, 2,595 men, and 39,275 tons. Liverpool: an increase of 37 ships, 452 men, and 5,198 tons. Bristol and Hull: a decrease of 7 ships, 110 men, and 2,652 tons. Clyde, Leith, and other British ports: an increase of 2 ships; but a decrease of 120 men and 1,918 tons. The general result shews a decrease of 39 ships, 2,373 men, and 38,647 tons. In both returns, the decrease has principally taken place in the trade with Bombay and Mauritius.

A fine iron steamer, named the *Fire Queen*, intended to carry passengers and cargo between Calcutta, Penang, and Singapore, was launched on the 26th of September, from the yard of Messrs. Davenport, Grindrod, and Patrick, Liverpool, and is expected to start for Calcutta early in December. We extract the following description of her from the *Liverpool Standard*:—She is fine at the extremities, and so finely moulded, in accordance with the most approved principles of naval architecture, that she promises to be very fast and safe, and, at the same time, to carry a fair cargo. Her bottom plates are so thick, that, seen on the stocks, she resembles a clinker-built wooden vessel. She is upwards of 500 tons burthen, and will have engines of about 200-horse power. Her engines are upon the "direct action" principle (the cylinders placed diagonally), and occupying only a small part of the centre of the vessel, leaving the space between them and the sides available to carry a large supply. Her decks, paddle-boxes, cabins, and in fact the whole of her wood-work, is of East-India teak; her bottom-plates are three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and no plates less than three-eighths of an inch have been used in her at all; in addition to which, she will be tied together with diagonal braces throughout her whole length. The cabins are large and airy, and well adapted for the climate, being framed with open jealousies, which will allow a free circulation of air throughout. She will be handsomely rigged as a schooner, and will carry two twelve-pounder and two six-pounder guns.

Naval and Military.—Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint Major Gen. Sir C. F. Smith and Col. R. England, 41st reg., to be Knights Commanders of the Bath, and Lieut.-Cols. G. Browne, 41st reg., J. Simmons, 41st reg., and G. Huish, 26th reg. Bengal native infantry, and Majors A. P. S. Wilkinson, 13th reg., H. Wade, 13th reg., and G. Hogarth, 26th reg., to be Companions of the Bath.

H.M.'s ship *Endymion*, 44, Capt. F. W. Grey, arrived at Plymouth on the

7th October. She made the shortest passage ever known, having been but 76 days from Bombay, including three days' stay at St. Helena.

On the 2nd October, Lieuts. Kipling and Cary, with 53 invalids, disembarked at Gravesend, from the *William Money*, after a passage of six months, all but seven days, from Calcutta. There was also on board a detachment of invalids belonging to the East-India Company. There was much sickness on board during the passage, and 31 persons died. On arrival, 17 men and 10 women were declared to be lunatics.

On the 7th October, a detachment of 90 invalids, under command of Lieuts. Hackett and Smith, of the 44th reg., landed at Gravesend, from the ship *Sea Queen*, in a most sickly condition, after a voyage of nearly eight months, from Calcutta. This vessel encountered dreadful weather, and was obliged to put into the Mauritius to repair. During the passage, 5 men and 1 woman died.

On the 16th October, three companies of the 41st reg., consisting of 229 men, with 22 women and 40 children, under command of Brevet Col. Simmons, with Lieuts. Campbell, Pratt, Morshead, Tuckey, Hutton, and Fleming, and Ensign Minchin, marched into Rochester, from Gravesend, where they had disembarked from the ship *Margaret*. This ship left Kurrachee on the 23rd of February, and, having experienced most dreadful weather, was driven into the Mauritius about the middle of April, where she remained under repair till the 29th July, when she again sailed for England. During the passage, 13 men and 1 woman died.

War Office.

SEPT. 29. 41st Foot.—Capt. H. L. Maydwell, from 82nd, capt., v. Tattan, ex. 45th.—Capt. A. W. Williams, from 10th Lt. Drags., capt., v. Bridgeman, ex. 55th.—C. M. Read, ens. p., v. Marshall, app. to 16th.

Unattached.—Lieut. H. H. F. Clarke, from 50th, capt.

OCT. 13. 9th Foot.—Ens. F. P. Lea, lieut., v. Layard, app. to 38th; 2nd Lieut. R. O'Connor, from 60th, ens. v. Jennings, ex.

17th.—Lieut. W. W. Johnson, from h. p., 41st, lieut., v. Harvey, prom.

25th.—Ens. G. Bent, lieut., v. Cust, app. to 8th Lt. Drug.; Ens. C. Dowson, from 90th, ens., v. Bent.

29th.—Lieut. H. G. Colvill, from 39th, lieut., v. Corcoran, app. paymaster 46th.

35th.—Serg. major H. S. Bowman to be adj., with rank of ens., v. Wheatstone, dec.

50th.—Lieut. G. W. M. Lovett, from h. p., 26th, lieut., v. Smith, app. to 25th.

84th.—Lieut. C. A. Halfhide, from 49th, lieut., v. Bamford, app. paymaster 59th.

86th.—Lieut. C. Darby, from 2nd, lieut., v. Morrow, app. qu.-mast. 57th.

90th.—J. A. Butler, ens. p., v. Dowson, app. 25th.

91st.—Lieut. J. Christie, capt. p., v. Blackwell; Ens. J. D. Cochrane, lieut. p., v. Christie; J. T. Bethune, ens. p., v. Cochrane.

OCT. 20. 9th Foot.—Ens. W. A. Forster, from 76th, ens., v. Lea, prom.

12th.—Qu.-mast. serg. J. Colwell, qu.-mast., v. B. Swift, ret. on h. p.

25th.—Lieut. E. R. Priestley, capt., v. Knight; Ens. H. Balguy, lieut. p., v. Priestley.

45th.—Capt. R. Lewis, from 94th, capt., v. Magee, ex.

91st.—Capt. J. F. G. Campbell, major, v. Ducat, dec.; Lieut. H. J. Savage, capt., v. Campbell; Ens. J. M'Inroy, lieut., v. Savage; Serg. major J. M'Pherson, ens., v. M'Inroy.

94th.—Capt. H. W. Magee, from 45th, capt., v. Lewis, ex.

OCT. 27. 25th Foot.—H. H. Jones, ens., v. Balguy, prom.

55th.—Lieut. G. T. Brooke, capt., v. Young, dec.; Ens. L. Skynner, lieut., v. Brooke. To be Ensigns:—T. S. Lloyd, v. Campbell, dec.; R. Briscoe, v. Skynner.

Ceylon Rifle Regt.—J. A. Fraser, second-lieut., v. St. Hill, dec.

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BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

- Sept. 24.* At Napoli-lodge, Devon, the lady of Major Thomas Lane Groundwater, late Bombay art., son.
27. At Delvine, the lady of Sir J. M. Mackenzie, Bart., son.
28. At Bromley, the wife of Sir G. Simpson, daughter.
29. At Perth, the lady of Lieut. col. R. Ross, E. I. C. S., daughter.
30. At Blackheath, the lady of Capt. W. Warden, son.
- Oct. 1.* At Eaton-place, the lady of Sir W. Heathcote, Bart., son.
3. City-road, the lady of J. F. Lackersteen, Esq., of Calcutta, son.
5. The lady of Sir Hervey Bruce, son.
6. At Gunton-park, Norfolk, the Hon. Mrs. Sanderson, daughter.
7. At Brighton, the Lady Rivers, daughter.
9. At Audley-place, Cork, the lady of Major E. Wilton Passy, daughter.
11. At Park-crescent, the lady of the Hon. Baron Alderson, daughter.
- At Charles-street, St. James', the Hon. Mrs. Edward Kenyon, son.
- At Grove-hill, Camberwell, Mrs. W. K. Jameson, daughter.
12. At Southam-house, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Spencer Law, son.
13. At Grosvenor-street, the Lady Sarah Hay Williams, son, still-born.
- At Wimbledon, the lady of Robert H. Baines, Esq., of Gray's Inn, son.
- At Upper Seymour-street, the lady of William Archer Shee, Esq., daughter.
14. At Belgrave-square, Lady Cecilia Des Voeux, daughter.
- At Bryanstone-square, the lady of Francis Macnaghten, Esq., son.
17. At Mecklenburgh-street, Mrs. G. E. Shuttleworth, daughter.
- At Takeley-vicarage, Essex, the wife of the Rev. Chas. Clarke, daughter.
- The wife of Capt. Hudson, grenadier guards, son.
19. At Lansdowne-house, Cheltenham, the lady of Major gen. Podmore, daughter.
- The Viscountess Parker, son.
- At West-end, Hampstead, Mrs. H. R. Baines, son.
- The lady of Rev. Josiah Bateman, Vicar of Huddersfield, daughter.
20. At Queen-square-house, St. James' park, Lady Sophia Hoare, son.
21. At Bayswater, the lady of W. P. Gaskell, Esq., daughter.
22. In Devonshire-street, Portland-place, the lady of Captain Rivett Carnac, son.
23. At Acre-lane, West Brixton, Mrs. Robert Thurburn, son.
- Lately.* At Brighton, the lady of Capt. W. F. Smith, 40th reg., daughter.

MARRIAGES.

- Sept. 23.* At St. Marylebone Church, E. M. Kelly, of Dublin, Esq., barrister, to Georgiana Eliza, daughter of late R. T. Goodwin, Esq., of York-place, and formerly senior member of Council at Bombay.
26. At the Catholic Chapel, the Hon. William Petre, eldest son of the Right Hon. Lord Petre, of Thorndon-hall, to Mary Theresa, daughter of Hon. C. T. Clifford, of Inham-hall.
28. At Bilston, J. Barratt, Esq., of Heald-grove, to Anne, daughter of late C. Stewart, Esq., of Balham-hill, formerly of the E. I. C. S.
- At Ockley, the Right Hon. Lord Abinger, to Elizabeth Ridley, relict of the Rev. H. J. Ridley, and daughter of late Lee Steere Steere, Esq., of Jayes.
- Oct. 3.* At Waterford, the Rev. John H. Stephenson, rector of Corringham, Essex, to Mary, youngest daughter of the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford.
5. At Gosforth, Capt. John Charles Pitman, R.N., to Elizabeth Manley, daughter of the late Capt. Sir H. Le Fleming Senhouse, R.N., K.C.H., of Seascale.
7. At St. George's, the Rev. Robert Montgomery, M.A., of Lincoln-college, to Rachel Catherine Andrews, daughter of the late A. D. Mackenzie, Esq., of Cadogan-place.

Oct. 10. At St. James's, Piccadilly, Major Anderson, of Hainault-hall, to Eliza Catherine, daughter of the late David Dick, Esq., of Glensheil.

— At Donhead St. Andrew, Wilts, the Rev. C. T. Wilson, M.A., son of H. H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford, to Rose Ann, daughter of the Rev. W. Dansey.

11. At Quatford-bridgenorth, Lieut. col. Nicholls, 66th regt., to Mary, daughter of the late John Whitley, Esq., of Ashton-in-Markerfield.

12. At Berehworth, Edward Maltby, Esq., Madras civil service, to Jane Maria, daughter of Lieut. col. Pennycuick, C.B., K.H., 17th regt.

14. At St. George's, the Rev. Henry Glynne, rector of Hawarden, to Lavinia, youngest sister of Lord Lyttleton.

— At Doncaster, Edward Stopforth Claremont, Esq., of the Royal regt., to Frances Charlotte, daughter of Col. Wetherall, C.B., dep. adj. gen. of the forces in Canada.

17. At Magorban church, John Burnet, Esq., half-pay 52nd regt., to Helena, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Maunsel, rector of Castlane, nephew of the late Robert Hedges Eyre, Esq., Macroom-castle, and cousin of the Earl of Bantry.

— At Bath, the Rev. Cornwall Smalley, jun., M.A., St. John's-college, Cambridge, to Eleanor, eldest daughter of E. Smalley, Esq., of Camden-place, Bath, late Madras civil service.

— The Rev. H. R. Lloyd, M.A., vicar of Carew, Pembroke, to Harriet, daughter of the Hon. and Right Rev. Edward, late Lord Bishop of Hereford.

— At Clifton, Robert Robertson Bruce, Esq., Bengal art., to Eliza, daughter of Major gen. Faunce, C.B.

18. At Wadworth, James Clarke Ross, Capt. R.N., to Ann, daughter of Thomas Coulman, Esq., of Whitgift-hall, Yorkshire.

— At Langley, Norfolk, John Jocelyn Foulkes, Esq., of Erivett, to Mary Ann, daughter of Rear Admiral Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart., of Langley-park.

— At All-Soul's Church, Rear-Adm. Hawker, of Ashford Lodge, to Lady Williams, of Cavendish Square.

19. At East Barnet, the Rev. S. Haughton Sherard, of Downham, to Mary Hulton, daughter of the late Sir Simon Haughton Clarke, Bart, of Oak-hill.

24. At Bath, Rev. C. S. Malan, to Caroline Selina, daughter of Rev. C. M. Mount.

Lately. At Trentham, Lord Blantyre, to Lady Evelyn Leveson Gower, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland.

— At Trinity Church, Montreal, Robert Hilary Barlow, Esq., capt. 68th light infantry, grandson of the late Admiral Sir Robert Barlow, C.B., to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Boxer, C.B., Capt. R.N.

DEATHS.

May 31. At sea, on his homeward voyage from India, Philip Jean, Esq., paymaster 21st regt.

Sept. 29. At Leghorn, John Falconar, Esq., H.B.M.'s consul for Tuscany.

Oct. 1. In Charles-street, Countess Stanhope.

— At Cambridge, Charlotte Elizabeth Mill, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Mill.

4. At Blackheath, Capt. P. Cameron, late E.I.C.S.

5. At Kew, the Hon. Felix Thomas Tollemache, son of the late Lord Huntingtower, and brother of the Earl of Dysart.

— At Durham, Emily Frances Cadogan, daughter of Viscount and Viscountess Chelsea.

— At Walworth, Thomas Henry Doyle, Esq., late paymaster of H.M.'s 57th regt.

8. At Southwold, Suffolk, Sir John Perring, Bart.

— At Kingstown, Capt. George Bryant, of Jenkinstown, M.P. for Kilkenny county.

— At Worthing, John Forbes, Esq., dep. commis. gen. to the forces.

9. At Richmond, the Lady Katharine Frederica Phipps.

Oct. 10. At Brighton, Emma, wife of the Rev. Charles Kennaway, and daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel.

11. At Clifton, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

— At Chatham, Henrietta Hester, wife of William M. Ford, Esq., surgeon, 49th regt.

13. In London, Thomas Oxley, Esq., lieut. 13th light inf., son of Charles Oxley, Esq., of Ripon.

14. The Dowager Lady Palmer, relict of the late Sir William Henry Palmer, Bart., of Hanover-terrace.

— At the Rectory, East Clandon, John Martyr, Esq., of Guildford, senior bencher of the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple.

15. In Regent-street, Henry Knyvett, Esq., of the firm of Hopkinson and Co., army agents.

16. At Leamington, Lieut. col. Richard Murray, late H.M. 54th regt., and son of the late Lord Henry Murray.

— At Perry-hill, Sydenham, George Halfhide, Esq.

19. At Southsea, Rosetta, relict of William Lewis, Esq., formerly Member of Council at Bombay.

22. In America-square, Sir James Shaw, Bart, late Chamberlain of London.

SHIPPING.

The *Cecilia*, Burrell, from London to Swan River, put into Lisbon, 1st Oct., with damage, having been in contact with a French vessel, which immediately sunk, with the master and three of the crew. The *Cecilia* must discharge, to repair.

Sydney, N.S.W., 28th May.—The schooner *Cintra* left Tahiti some months since, for this port, and has not been heard of.

The *Sarah and Elizabeth*, whaler, Billinghamurst, of London, was taken possession of by the natives, and burnt, 22nd May, 1843, in Coffin's Bay.—Part of the crew saved by the whalers *Woodlark*, *Alert*, and *Pilot*, and reached Copang, 26th May.

Singapore, 11th Aug.—The wreck of an English barque, with lower-mast-head above water, was seen, 1st inst., in 7 fathoms, lat. 3-27 S., long. nearly 106-14 E., Lucepara Island bearing N. by W. 13 or 14 miles. She lies in the direct course of ships entering or leaving Banca Straits to the southward.

The *Burhampoote*, Cowley, from London to Port Phillip, was driven on Foreness Rock, near Margate, 18th Oct., during a heavy gale from the North, and is a complete wreck.—Crew and passengers saved.

ARRIVALS.

SEPT. 28. *Buenos Ayrian*, Bengal, Kinsale; *Jumna*, Bengal, Cork; *Duke of Portland*, Bengal, Cork; *Dryade*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Numa*, Bombay, Liverpool.—29. H. M. S. *Acorn*, Cape, Plymouth; *Mary Ann*, Batavia, Dover.—30. *Courier*, Algoa Bay, Downs; *Athena*, China, Downs; *Royal Saxon*, Batavia, Dover; *Jane*, Launceston, Salcombe.—OCT. 2. *London*, Bombay, Downs; *Thetis*, Bengal, Downs; H. M. S. *Beagle* (surveying), last from Sydney, Hobart Town, Swan River, Mauritius, Cape, St. Helena, and Ascension; *Horwood*, Algoa Bay, Folkestone; *Kilblain*, Bengal, Clyde; *Richard Mount*, Portland Bay, Brighton; *Olympus*, Manilla, Portsmouth; *Mary Ann Webb*, Batavia, Cork; *Onyr*, Bengal, Liverpool.—3. H. M. S. *Pylades*, China, Plymouth; *Marchioness of Douro*, China, London Docks.—4. H. M. S. *Rodney*, Cape, Plymouth; *Young Queen*, Batavia, Plymouth; *Madura*, Bengal, Plymouth; *Justina*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Diadem*, China, Falmouth; *Jane*, Cape, Portland; *Pilot*, Batavia, Salcombe; *Lady Flora Hastings*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Rockcliffe*, Singapore, St. Mawes; *Welcome*, Batavia, Falmouth.—5. *John Panton*, Singapore, Cowes.—6. *Sea Queen and Blanche*, Bengal and Mauritius; *Hastings*, Ceylon, Downs.—7. *Caroline*, New South Wales, Plymouth; *Penang*, China, Liverpool.—9. *Lady Lilford*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Raymond*, China, Downs (at Hull 14th Oct.); *Pathfinder*, Bengal, Downs; *Favorite*, Madras, Downs; *Rebecca*, Port Philip, Downs; *Devon*, China, Downs; *Mary Bannatyne*, Bengal, Downs; H. M. S. *Endymion*, Bombay,

Plymouth; *Maid*, Batavia, Cowes; *Victoria*, China, Margate.—10. *Harlequin*, New South Wales, Downs; *Earl Durham*, Mauritius, Downs.—11. *Australia*, Bombay, Downs; *Martha*, Bengal, Downs; *Susan*, China, Swanage; *Vestal*, Bombay, Gravesend.—12. *Sons of Commerce*, Singapore, Portland; *Alexander Grant*, Bombay, Liverpool.—13. *Margaret*, Bombay, Dover; *Duikius*, Bengal, Downs.—14. *Agostina*, Launceston, Downs; *Chieftain*, Bombay, Downs; H.M.S. *Tortoise*, New Zealand, Portsmouth.—16. *Greenlaw*, China, Falmouth.—*Elizabeth*, Cape, Cork.—24. *Alborton*, China, Brighton.—*Britons' Queen*, Bombay, Liverpool.—26. *Spencer*, Manilla; *Eliza Scott*, St. Helena, Falmouth.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—OCT. 1. *Ellen*, Launceston and Port Phillip.—2. *Bucephalus*, and *Caledonia*, Sydney.—4. *Neptune*, Sydney; *Susan*, Cape.—5. *Munster Lass*, St. Helena.—14. *Assame*, Algoa Bay; *Thomas Jones*, Mauritius; *Morning Star*, Mauritius and Ceylon; *Sultana*, New South Wales; *Grasshopper*, South Seas.—18. *Cape Packet*, Cape.—19. *Enterprise*, Hobart Town. From Portsmouth.—OCT. 1. *Windsor*, Bengal.—13. *Neptune*, Cork and New South Wales.—16. *Anne Jane*, Hong Kong; *William Nicol*, South Seas.—19. *Louisa*, South Seas.

From Liverpool.—SEPT. 27. *Edward Boustead*, Singapore; *Marchioness of Bute*, Bombay.—OCT. 3. *Elizabeth*, Sydney.—5. *Nina*, Bombay; *Mury Ray*, Bengal.—6. *Philopontas*, Bombay.—14. *Laidmant*, Bengal; *Royal Archer*, Cape; *Bradshaw*, Cape; *Queen*, Cape.—15. *Palestine*, Cape.—19. *Jaeger*, Bengal.—20. *Zuleika*, Singapore.—22. *Sam*, Ceylon.

From Plymouth.—OCT. 12. *Ellen*, Launceston and Port Philip.—14. *Pearl*, Cape; *Caledonia*, New South Wales.

From Shields.—SEPT. 30. *John Thomas Carr*, Mauritius.

From the Clyde.—SEPT. 25. *Kyle*, Singapore.—27. *Isabella*, Cape.—29. *Oriental*, Bengal; *Dalmarnock*, Singapore.—30. *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Bombay.—OCT. 4. *Rowley*, Cape.—10. *Herald*, New South Wales.—11. *Agnes*, Mauritius.—12. *Romco*, Bengal.—14. *Essequibo*, Cape.

From Leith.—OCT. 12. *Medusa*, Port Philip.

From Aberdeen.—OCT. 13. *Ann*, Cape.

From Dundee.—OCT. 16. *Henry Bell*, Cape.

From Shields.—OCT. 21. *George Glen*, St. Helena.

From Bordeaux.—SEPT. 16. *Cambridge*, Mauritius.—30. *Rosalind*, Bombay.

OCT. 5. *Olinda*, Bengal.—7. *Anne Roberts*, Mauritius.—14. *W. & M. Brown and Salacia*, Bengal.

PASSENGERS FROM THE EAST.

Per Oriental, from Alexandria and Malta: Col. Malcolm, Mr. and Mrs. Kellsall, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Lane and 2 children, Mr. Soames, Mr. W. Allen, Dr. and Mrs. Dickson, 3 children, Capt. Doolan, Capt. Boland, Capt. and Mrs. Drummond, Capt. Hogge, Lieut. Olpherts, Mr. Scallan and child, Mr. Watson, Mrs. Deans Campbell, Mrs. M'Quhai and child, Mr. Church, Mrs. Parker, 3 children, Mr. G. Walters, Capt. Stead, Dr. Smyth, Mr. Thompson, Capt. and Mrs. Rainey, child, Masters Cooper (3), Mr. S. S. Smith, Major-Gen. Considine, Capt. Laurence, Capt. M'Cleverty, Capt. Stanley, Mrs. Dunkin, Mr. J. H. Young, Hon. Mr. Moneton, Lieut.-Col. Burroughs, Capt. Wise, Mr. Hodgkinson, Mr. Mackintosh, Dr. C. Campbell, Mr. Nott, Mr. Behu, Mr. and Mrs. Grant, 2 children, Miss White, Mr. G. Howe, Mr. Foster, Mr. Enoch, Mr. G. Tiel, Mr. Stirling, Mrs. Hume, Capt. Barker, Lieut. Crewe, Mr. F. Burr, Lieut. Kinkad, Capt. Dawson, Capt. and Mrs. Watts, Mr. Arbuthnott, Lieut. Kirby, Capt. Seton, Lieut. F. Jackson, Mr. John Grant, Lieut. Gubbet, Mrs. Palfreyman, Major Montresor, Lieut. G. Selby, Mr. J. Putt, Rev. J. Wenham, Mrs. Wenham, Miss Wenham, and Miss C. Wenham, Capt. Garrow, Lieut. Crawford, Lieut. Southey, Mrs. Tombs, Mr. Webster, Capt. Kellett, R.N., Mr. Harker, Mr. P. F. Johnstone, Mr.

Downes, R. N., Count Stozelecki, Rev. Mr. Mahoney, Mr. and Mrs. Abro, Mr. Blumer.

Per Cleopatra, steamer: Lieut.-Col. J. P. James, 18th M. N. I., Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Gurney Barclay, and 1 European maid servant, Lieut. Bartley, Mrs. Lowe, and 6 children, Capt. W. Lowe, and 1 native servant, Ukhbar Ally Khan's family, consisting of two ladies and 10 native servants. Mr. Antonio Maria, the Rev. Fre Mizuel Antonio de Sao Louis Gonzaga, Vicar-general of Bombay, Capt. A. Shepheard, Lieut. Hart, Lieut. J. L. Aitkin, Capt. J. M'Kenedy, Capt. A. S. Gardiner, Mr. Bosanquet, and Capt. Archer.

The following passengers have obtained berths in the steamers of

October.—Lieut.-Col. Dilley, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, 2 children of Capt. Hennell, Major and Mrs. Peers, and Mrs. Boye.

November.—Mrs. G. Fraser, Major and Mrs. H. Stephens, Mrs. Henry Richards.

December.—Mrs. Pollock, and 3 children, Capt. and Mrs. Brown.

January.—His Excellency Sir Jasper Nicolls.

February.—Mr. and Mrs. Wright, and 2 children.

March.—A. W. Bettington, Esq., the Hon. G. U. Anderson.

PASSENGERS TO THE EAST.

Per Lady Flora, to Cape and Madras. For Madras: Rev. S. Fenelly and party of 11 ladies and gentlemen, Miss Ellis, Miss Hutchinson, Miss Lewin, Mr. Christie. For the Cape: Mr. and Mrs. Sherman and 4 children, Capt. Powell, Mr. Hidding.

Per John Wickliffe, to Bombay: Masters Coisellis and Whittaker, Dr. M'Morris, Dr. Ore, Dr. Patch, Capt. Willoughby, Lieuts. Brassey and A. Pierce. Intermediate: Charles Huckstepp and family, E. Brown and daughter, steerage.

Per Bucephalus, to Sydney and Auckland: Mr. Low, Rev. Dr. Lowry and family, Messrs. Thompson, Mr. Cormack, Mr. H. Willis and family, 2 steerage.

Per Great Liverpool, for Malta and Alexandria: Mrs. Ovens, Mrs. Haines, Miss Dunsterville, Miss Dillon, Miss Taylor, Miss M'Gillivray, Mrs. Cogan and child, Mr. Dunsterville, Mr. Probyn, Miss Fletcher, Miss Bellasis, Capt. Clarke, Lord Compton, Lord W. Compton, Mrs. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. Bainbridge and child, Surg. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell, Miss Kelly, Miss S. Barbe, Mr. and Mrs. Hargreaves, Mr. A. M'Lean, Mr. H. M'Lean, Mr. and Mrs. Davies, Mrs. B. Malone, Mr. Bateson, Capt. Tidy, Lieut. Roberts, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Sharey, Capt. Brett, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, Mr. D. Fletcher, Mrs. W. Escombe, Miss Gliddon, Mr. Coxson, Gen. Alexander, Mr. and Mrs. M'Donell, a lady and 2 children, Mr. Johnstone, Mary Campbell, Mr. Pybus, Mr. Marks, Mr. Honner, Lieut. and Mrs. Packer, Mr. Bird, Mrs. Tonides, Mr. Communi, Mr. Evans.

Per Windsor, to Bengal: Capt. and Mrs. Hazlewood, Col. and Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Col. C. D. Wilkinson, Mrs. Sinclair, Misses Wilkinson, Capt. Gurnell, Capt. Wallace, Lieut. A. Wedderburne, 17th regt., Ens. W. H. Quende, 40th regt., Messrs. Dick, Eccles, Bonaffe, Nelson, Angier and Son, Farrington.

Per Madagascar, to Bengal: Lieut. and Mrs. Richardson, Dr. and Mrs. Green, Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, Mrs. Bruce and family, Mr. and Mrs. Falkner, Lieut. and Mrs. Coltman, Mr. Smith, Dr. Elton, Mr. Waller, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Howden, Lieut. Haviland.

Per Queen, to Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Battye and family, Mr. Cheek and family, Mrs. Keen, Rev. Mr., Mrs., and Miss Lecroft, Misses Stacy, Mrs. Mills, Mrs. and Miss M'Sween, Mrs. Reynell and infant, Miss Carmichael, Rev. Messrs. Mullins and Parker, Messrs. Ryder, Myles, Guthrie, Roberts, Fraser, Williams, Hume, Read, and Terranean, Misses Irvine, Becher, Johnstone,

Osborne, Mergat, Wilcox, Sparrow, Greig, Shaw, Mrs. Voight, Mr. and Mrs. Ferris, Mrs. Gardiner, Capt. and Mrs. Gatenby, Lieut. M'Kenze, Cornet King.

Per William Hyde, Steward, to China: Messrs. Arango, Fearon, Henley, and Lewis.

Per Birman, Guthrie, to Bengal: Messrs. Stowell, Taylor, Lory, Stalkart, Dunn, Tripe, and friend.

Per Morning Star, Harrison, to Mauritius and Ceylon:—For Mauritius: Mr. and Mrs. Morris. For Ceylon: Lieut. O'Gorman, and Messrs. Gardner, Caley, and J. Barter.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1842-43.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>vid</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
<i>(vid</i> Marseilles.)						
July 6	Aug. 6	(<i>per Cleopatra</i>) 31	Aug. 13 ..	38	Aug. 17	42
Aug. 4	Sept. 6	(<i>per Berenice</i>) 33	Sept. 13 ..	40	Sept. 17	44
Sept. 6	Oct. 12	(<i>per Victoria</i>) 37	Oct. 18 ..	43	Oct. 20	45
Oct. 4	Nov. 14	(<i>per Cleopatra</i>) 41	Nov. 20 ..	47	Nov. 26	53
Nov. 4	Dec. 13	(<i>per Atalanta</i>) 40	Dec. 21 ..	46	Dec. 23	50
Dec. 6	Jan. 14	(<i>per Victoria</i>) 39	Jan. 20 ..	45	Jan. 24	49
Jan. 6, 1843	Feb. 14	(<i>per Cleopatra</i>) 39	Feb. 19 ..	44	Feb. 23	48
Feb. 6	March 15	(<i>per Atalanta</i>) 37	March 18 ..	40	March 23	45
March 4	April 14	(<i>per Victoria</i>) 41	April 20 ..	47	April 23	50
April 6	May 13	(<i>per Cleopatra</i>) 37	May 20 ..	44	May 23	47
May 6	June 6	(<i>per Sesostris</i>) 31	June 12 ..	37	Not known	?
June 6	Not known	32	July 14 ..	38	July 17	41
July 6	Aug. 7		Aug. 15 ..	40	Not known	?

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *vid* Southampton, on the morning of 31st Oct., and *vid* Marseilles on the 4th Nov.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Falmouth.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1843	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Feb. 7	38	Feb. 15	(<i>per Oriental</i>) 44
Feb. 3	<i>Atalanta</i>	March 13	38	March 16	(<i>per Gr. Liverpool</i>) 41
March 2	<i>Victoria</i>	April 7	36	April 11	(<i>per Oriental</i>) 40
April 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	May 8	37	May 13	(<i>per Gr. Liverpool</i>) 42
May 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	June 5	35	June 10	(<i>per Oriental</i>) 40
May 20	<i>Victoria</i>	July 3	44	July 10	(<i>per Gr. Liverpool</i>) 51
June 19	<i>Semiramis</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 7	(<i>per Oriental</i>) 47
July 20	<i>Memnon</i>	Lost			
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46		

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Elizabeth</i>	569 tons.	Morris	W. I. Docks ...	Nov. 5.
<i>Siam</i>	455	Rattsey	—	Nov. 10.
<i>Lady Kinnaird</i>	350	Robb	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 20.
<i>Gemini</i>	517	Mardon	W. I. Docks ...	Nov. 25.
<i>Justina</i>	500	Loader	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 30.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Robarts</i>	800	Elder	E. I. Docks ...	Nov. 2.
<i>Earl Durham</i>	462	Tindall	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 15.
<i>China</i>	658	Livesay	E. I. Docks ...	Nov. 15.
<i>Malacca</i>	700	Shettler	—	Dec. 27.
<i>Duke of Bedford</i>	800	Thornhill ..	—	Dec. 27.
<i>Walmer Castle</i>	800	Campbell ...	—	Jan. 27.
<i>Lord Hungerford</i>	708	Pigott	—	Jan. 27.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Mary</i>	300	Christian ..	W. I. Docks ...	Nov. 8.
<i>Madura</i>	509	Mylne	—	Nov. 20.
<i>Mary Bannatyne</i>	535	Picken	E. I. Docks ..	Dec. 1.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Hindustan</i>	708	Bowen	St. Kat. Docks	Nov. 6.
<i>Arrow</i>	250	Walker	—	Nov. 6.
<i>St. Lawrence</i>	816	Newlands ..	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 10.
<i>Australia</i>	935	Cumming ...	W. I. Docks ...	Nov. 10.
<i>Lady Feversham</i>	500	Webster ...	—	Nov. 20.
<i>Dulius</i>	328	Underhill ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 1.

FOR CHINA.

<i>Palmyra</i>	465	Campbell ...	St. Kat. Docks	Nov. 1.
<i>Grecian</i>	518	Watt	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 5.
<i>Alexander Baring</i>	500	Hale	—	Dec. 1.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Jane Catherine</i>	350	Hill	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 3.
<i>Symmetry</i>	450	Mackwood ..	W. I. Docks ...	Nov. 10.
<i>John Graham</i>	300	Pearson	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 15.
<i>Achilles</i>	300	Trivett	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 5.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Brenda</i>	301	—	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 10.
<i>Wasdale</i>	176	Mackenzie ..	—	Nov. 15.
<i>Tar</i>	267	Langley	St. Kat. Docks	Nov. 15.
<i>Oriental Queen</i>	660	Haslep	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 25.
<i>Eleanor Russell</i>	306	Jefferies ...	—	—
<i>Volunteer</i>	242	Jackson	W. I. Docks ...	—

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Eliza Scott</i>	150	Beale	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 5.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. II.

THE last advices from the Punjab, although somewhat brief and meagre, leave little room for doubting that a sanguinary revolution has taken place at Lahore, which, with rapid retribution, seems to have engulfed all parties, the conspirators and their royal victim, as well as the state itself, in one common ruin. An infant has, indeed, been nominally placed upon a throne moistened with the blood of his elder brother; but the utter disorganization of the recent kingdom of the Sikhs, which must be the fruit of such a terrible catastrophe; the absence of any firm and powerful hand, capable of controlling the destructive elements which this revolution has released; the conflicting designs of the ambitious sirdars, intent upon their own individual aggrandizement; and the refractory qualities of the mutinous troops and fanatical Akalees, must make it a question dependent upon the will of the Anglo-Indian Government whether the edifice of power, constructed with so much skill and labour by Runjeet Sing, shall survive or dissolve into fragments. The taking possession of so large a territory, occupied by a martial nation like the Sikhs, united by a peculiar creed, is a scheme which, though often suggested, has never, we believe, been seriously meditated by our Government; the alternatives presented to it are, that of supporting the legitimate sovereign by an armed interference; or that of remaining a passive spectator of intestine commotions, which will probably end, if they ever terminate, in the erection of separate independent chiefships or principalities, like those on the Sutlej which are under British protection.

The position in which the interests of British India are placed by this event renders it, therefore, of importance that the facts which should guide our Government in the choice of measures be well ascertained; amongst which facts we include the origin of the Sikh nation; the character of the Sikh people; the constitution of the state; the relations between it and the Anglo-Indian Government, and the nature and objects of the recent revolution.

The Sikhs are a sect of comparatively modern date. The originator was one Nanuk, a Hindu, who was born in 1469. His followers were a peaceful, inoffensive people, evincing no desire for political power previous to 1606, when they were provoked by oppression to take arms. It was not, however, till 1675, that their celebrated leader, Guru Govind, gave a new character to the sect, by casting aside

their pacific maxims, and engrafting the courage of the soldier on the zeal of the enthusiast. They had greatly increased in numbers and prowess in 1762, when Ahmed Shah, the first Affghan sovereign, gained his great victory over them, leaving 20,000 Sikhs on the field of battle, constructing pyramids of Sikh heads, and washing the polluted mosques with Sikh blood,—outrages, the recollection of which keeps up an undying feud between them and the Affghans, which is exasperated by religious prejudices; for, whilst the Moslems detest the Sikhs as infidels, the latter, whose tenets are mainly founded on the Vedanta philosophy, since the time of Guru Govind, have sworn eternal enmity to the followers of the *Koran*.

The constitution of the Sikh state was originally republican. The religious affairs of the nation were under the immediate direction of the Akalees, who, in the double character of fanatic priests and desperate warriors, exercised an almost unbounded influence over chiefs and people.

The Sikhs generally, the sirdars included, are ill-educated; reading and writing are known to few, all business requiring these accomplishments being transacted by Hindu and Mussulman scribes. Even the great Runjeet was unacquainted with the apparently indispensable qualification for a ruler, a knowledge of the arts of reading and writing.

The lands in the Sikh state are parcelled out amongst zemindars, who are answerable for the sirdars' share of the revenue. These are petty lords, who have bodies of armed dependents quartered about the forts which cover the country, whom they let loose to live at free quarters upon the people. Every village, however small, has a round mud fort, or turret, in the centre, resembling a large martello tower, loop-holed for musketry, and most of them have a dry ditch, by which they can be defended.

The late Runjeet Sing, the founder of the kingdom of the Sikhs, was descended from Jat zemindars, who at length became sirdars, or chiefs. His father, by his military talents and matrimonial alliances with other sirdars, transmitted not only territory, but substantial power, to Runjeet, whose skilful and unscrupulous use of his advantages,—a liberal use of his wealth, a mixture of mercy and severity, and profiting by the state of affairs in the Punjab and Affghanistan,—enabled him to compact together a territory not only on the Five Rivers, but west of the Indus, of large extent, and to assume the title of Maharajah, or king, which the British Government acknowledged, but it resisted the attempts of Runjeet to esta-

blish his authority over the Sikh states south of the Sutlej. With the aid of certain French and Italian officers, who, after the termination of the war in Europe, resorted as adventurers to the East, — particularly Messrs. Ventura, Allard, Court, and Avitabili, — Runjeet organized a large mercenary army upon the European model, which was, perhaps, the mainspring of his power, and by which he entirely subverted the constitution of the Sikh nation, giving to it the external form of an absolute monarchy, in spite of a religion which inculcates democracy and universal equality.* Those best able to form a correct opinion upon the subject (Sir A. Burnes amongst the number) have considered that the changes introduced by Runjeet have not taken root in the minds of the people. They were effected, in a great measure, by means not favourable to their durability,—his military force and his wealth. The high officers of the state were rendered, and still are, corrupt; the sirdars were encouraged to keep up their mutual feuds, which Runjeet fomented for his own ends, and he promoted to places of trust minions of low birth, who afforded no materials wherewith to form an aristocracy.

The relations between the British and Sikh Governments are those of states perfectly independent of each other. The only published treaties between them are those of 1809, by which the Lahore state binds itself not to commit or suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej, and the British Government engages to have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Sikh ruler to the north of that river; that of 1832, relating to the navigation of the Indus and Sutlej; that of 1835, establishing a toll on those rivers; and the tripartite treaty of 1838, for the restoration of Shah Shooja, which (as the Simla Declaration of 1838 interprets it) “guaranteed the Maharajah in his possessions.”

After this hasty outline of the most prominent features of the Sikh state, we shall endeavour to trace the origin and record the incidents of the recent revolution.

Upon the demise of Runjeet Sing, in July, 1839, his son and acknowledged heir, Kurruk Sing, who had been proclaimed maharajah as soon as his father's condition was known to be hopeless, took quiet possession of the throne, his succession being acknowledged by the British Government, and probably facilitated by the accident of a British army being at the moment on the north bank of the

* See an article on “The Kingdom of the Sikhs;” last series of this Journal, vol. xxviii., p. 79.

Sutlej. Though well inclined to British interests, he was of a feeble character, deficient in courage as well as talents. He died in November, 1840. Immediately after his funeral, his son, Nao Nehal Sing, a fine-spirited young man, accompanying the sirdars to the performance of the ceremony of bathing in the Ravee, whilst passing through one of the covered gateways of the town, was killed by the falling of a beam dislodged by the crush of the elephants, at the age of twenty-one. This is the official account of the event; but some do not hesitate to ascribe the long illness of Kurruk Sing and the sudden death of Nao Nehal Sing to the contrivances of the dewan, or vizir, Dhecan Sing.

Nao Nehal Sing left a widow, who was pregnant, and who ultimately gave birth to a still-born son. Shere Sing was considered to be the next heir, but he encountered a strong opposition from a party favouring Chund Koor, the widow of Kurruk Sing, who ruled a short time at Lahore. At the head of that party Dhecan Sing, the powerful minister, had placed himself. Shere, however, having the suffrages of most of the influential sirdars, and those of MM. Ventura and Court, at length, in January, 1841, gained possession of the throne, Dhecan Sing having, at the critical moment, declared for him. Ever since that event, however, the affairs of the Sikh state appear to have been in disorder. Although possessed of good natural powers, Shere Sing, from his indolence, his dissolute habits and neglect of business, has not been able to repress the turbulence and refractoriness of his sirdars and army. Moreover, the influence of Dhecan Sing seems from the first to have been too great for a subject, and latterly assumed a character of dictation.*

The first decided symptom of dissension between the maharajah and his dewan was the retirement of the latter from the court to his estate at Jumboo. He was commanded to return, and the Lahore *Ukhbar* of the 6th July states, that Rajah Golab Sing had "persuaded Dhecan Sing (his brother) to return to the maharajah." On the 9th, he came to the durbar, and "his highness having asked him why he had gone to Jumboo without permission, he replied that he had two reasons—one, because his brother was ill at the time, and his nephew's marriage was at hand; and secondly, because his highness had desired him to give an account of his doings for five years previous, &c. The maharajah was pleased to be reconciled to the rajah, and made him handsome presents." Shere Sing and the "great rajah," as Dhecan was called, appeared now to be upon good terms in public; yet, a speech from the former to the latter,

* See last Review, p. 6.

reported on the 20th July, indicates that there was still a want of cordiality between them. "His highness said to the great rajah: 'You should, as prime minister, think it your indispensable duty to settle and regulate the affairs of the country with all your heart.' The rajah replied, that he was the slave and humble servant of his highness."

The habits of intemperance in which Shere Sing indulged are mentioned by the newswriter with little attempt at disguise. Upon one occasion (July 15th), when he, the "great rajah," and Roy Kishen Chund, held a "private consultation," it is stated that the fakeer, Noor-ooddeen, "brought in some bottles of wines and spirits, which his highness *inspected* for a long time;" and on the 23rd, upon the maharajah complaining to Bhac Ram Sing that he was "very much indisposed," the Bhac requested him "to abstain a few days from imbibing ardent spirits." The maharajah's principles of administration are also indicated by a circumstance noted about this time. In an assembly of sirdars, two officers of the cavalry were reported to be "highly turbulent;" whereupon the maharajah ordered that these officers "should be artfully and cautiously invited to court, and then punished for their disloyal offence, as they might create trouble, and give rise to some difficulty, if a detachment of forces were publicly sent to punish them!" The plan was adopted, and the offenders were seized and thrown into prison. The following extract from the *Ukhar* of July 26th will give a further insight into the proceedings at the court:—

His highness said to the sirdars, that some of them had often remarked that he was indulging excessively in pleasure, but they all might have perceived that, since his return to the plains, he was busily employed in the due administration of the affairs of his domain, and that he will not turn his attention towards any other thing before he has settled these affairs. The courtiers replied, that his highness was the wisest man of the age. His highness then took a nap. Five hundred rupees to the ministers of pleasure and five hundred to the army were ordered to be distributed. He then, in company with General Ventura, amused himself a little with hog-hunting. His highness then held a private consultation with the great rajah, that he should try to call Rajah Golab Sing soon to the court, or else the country of Chuppa will be taken from the hands of the sons of the deceased Rajah Churub Sing. The minister replied, that his highness was his lord, and that he was ready with his heart to serve his highness. At about ten P.M. the rajah was allowed to go to his house, and the maharajah, having taken the *Purshad*, and amused himself a little with the musicians, retired to his bed late in the night.

The dewan seems to have been an object of jealousy and dislike to some of the sirdars. On the 25th July, Pertab Sing, the heir-apparent, represented to his father, at the durbar, "that Bhoop Sing, with two or three more sirdars, were still actuated by feelings of hatred towards Rajah Dheean Sing, who was a faithful servant of the state, and that he should take upon himself to imprison them. The maharajah replied, that he and Rajah Dheean Sing might do as they pleased in the matter." The examination of the accounts of Dheean Sing and his family, however, still went on, by the direction of the maharajah. His highness frequently reviewed his troops, discharging such as were old or unfit for service. He likewise threatened the officers with heavy fines if the appointments of their men were found defective. On the 1st August, "Bukshce Bhugwunt Sing was ordered to collect and realize from the sirdars the money they had appropriated to themselves from the income of Peshawur, and to distribute the same to the army on account of their pay."

The following curious passages are worth extracting in full :—

Aug. 7th.—Ram Chund reported that the army of the Khalsa was now extending around Lahore for four koss in every direction, to which the maharajah replied, that it was well, as he was anxious to see the whole of his forces assembled at the time of the *Dusserah*. He gave orders at the same time for placing two picked regiments at the Huzoorce and Mustee gateways of the palace; also by letter to Ajoodhya Nath, at Bunnoo Tank, to march from thence on Lahore with the four French regiments under his command. Foujdar Sing (a favourite of the maharajah's, and lately appointed, against the will of Dheean Sing, to a high post) was directed to place himself under the orders of Sirdar Lap Sing.

Aug. 8th.—Prince Pertab Sing intimated his intention of paying his devotions at the shrine of Durehun Devce, eight koss from Lahore. Dheean Sing received permission to make his former arrangements regarding the entrance to the maharajah's apartments. His highness suggested at the same time, that reductions should be made in all the public departments, to make up for the great expenditure of the past years.

Aug. 9th.—A report was made to the maharajah this morning, that Rajah Dheean Sing was suffering from a severe pain in his knee; on which his highness mounted his horse, and went to the house of the rajah, personally to inquire into the cause. Dheean Sing acknowledged the visit by some handsome presents. Two officers of the army, Shooksh Sing Jeewar and Roop Sing, having taken upon themselves to call out some of the regiments without orders, were sent for by the maharajah, who, having directed their tongues to be slit in two, paraded

them throughout the camp, and kept them exposed in the Huzoorce Bagh until death put an end to their sufferings.

Aug. 13th.—Rajah Dheean Sing presented himself at court, and informed the maharajah that he had completely recovered from his indisposition.

Aug. 14th.—A very stringent order, alluding to the fate of the two officers whose tongues had been slit, was issued to the army, intimating that any one imitating their example would be treated in the same way.

Aug. 22nd.—Rajah Heera Sing was directed to inquire what regiments were deficient in their complement, and to make arrangements for completing the number of those that might be short. A third inspection of the army.

Aug. 29th.—His highness bestowed honours this day on several men who had distinguished themselves during the late war in Afghanistan. Dewan Sawun Mull wrote for instructions as to the propriety of his seizing, on behalf of the Khalsa, that part of the Sind territory which adjoined his government. Rajah Dheean Sing was instructed to answer that such a step would be very advisable, but that definitive orders would be given at the festival of the *Dusserah*.

These disclosures in the Lahore papers, coupled with the statements contained in private letters,—that the apparent reconciliation between the ruler of the Punjab and his powerful minister was hollow; that the latter was aiming at the sovereignty; that the army were dissatisfied with Shere Sing, and the country was in an unsettled state—afforded the strongest reasons for believing that the gathering of the troops at Lahore for the annual display at the *Dusserah* would be the signal of an explosion. Amongst the party who adhered to the maharajah were the sirdars Utteer Sing, Lena Sing, and Ajeet Sing, all three descended from a common ancestor with the late Runjeet, and consequently relations of the reigning sovereign. General Ventura, likewise, maintained a steady loyalty to Shere Sing, whose attentions to the general augmented the jealousy of Dheean Sing, who, besides the power he derived from his possessions, wealth, and station as dewan or vizir, could command that of his brothers Golab Sing and Sookut Sing (the former Runjeet's best native officer, the latter a man of vigour and talent, and much respected by all the Sikhs), as well as the influence of his son, Heera Sing, who commanded the army. Heera Sing, a young man of twenty-three, was a great favourite with Runjeet, and had astonishing influence over him, acquired (according to Mr. Osborne) "in a manner which in any other country would render him infamous for ever." He is described as intelli-

gent, good-tempered, and one of the most amiable and popular persons at that court.

It is probable that the expectation of an outbreak induced Generals Avitabili and Court to absent themselves from the Sikh territories: the former obtained leave of absence to visit Ferozepore and Loodiana; the latter was permitted to resign the Sikh service.

We can add few particulars of the revolution to those already before the public.* It appears from the scanty accounts yet received, that a conspiracy had been formed, at the head of which were Dhecan Sing, the minister, and his steady adherent, the Fakcer Azecz-ood-Deen (who had great influence in Runjeet's time), the object of which was the assassination of Shere Sing, and probably the elevation of Dhecan Sing to the throne at which he has been so long aiming. They drew into the plot the sirdars Golab Sing and Sookut Sing, brothers of the minister, and it is said Lena Sing and Ajeet Sing, the latter of whom consented to be the actual assassin of his relative. Dhecan Sing proposed to the maharajah that he should review Ajeet's troops, and when Shere Sing arrived on the ground, a pretext for a quarrel between him and Ajeet was soon found, when the latter shot his sovereign through the head. General Ventura, it is added, with his force, attacked the murderer, but found himself strongly opposed, and was defeated, but escaped. Ajeet Sing and his party were entering the town, with Shere Sing's head upon a spear, when they met Pertab Sing, son of Shere, and the heir-apparent, a very promising youth of twelve years of age. The prince and his attendants were immediately attacked, and Pertab was killed. Then followed a scene of butchery which it is appalling to relate. The wives of Shere Sing and Pertab Sing, and the children of the former, were brought out and slaughtered in cold blood, including even a son of Shere Sing born only the previous evening. If these wholesale murders were really perpetrated, of which we cannot at present be persuaded, the fact shews that the motive must have been to clear the access to the throne of all competitors of the blood of Runjeet, and it fastens the guilt of the deed upon Dhecan Sing. The next act of the tragedy was that Ajeet Sing, after the assassination of Shere Sing, on his return to the fort, meeting Dhecan Sing, informed him he had done the deed, entered his carriage, and stabbed him, sending his body to his brother Sookut Sing and his son Heera Sing. This part of the story is consistent only with the supposition that Ajeet, perceiving the avenue to the throne open, resolved to secure it for himself.

* *Indian Mail*, Nov. 7, p. 193.

These occurrences are said to have taken place on the 15th September. The brother and the son of the murdered minister, having surrounded the city, entered the fort, in which Ajeet and his party had taken post, seized him, Lena Sing, and others, and put them to death. The only remaining son of Runjeet, named Dhulleep Sing (of whom we never before heard), a boy of ten years of age, is reported to have been placed upon the *gadi*, with Heera Sing for his vizir. If there be such a person as Dhulleep Sing, no one can have a preferable title; for Tara Sing, the twin brother of Shere Sing, is believed to be of spurious birth, and is besides a weak-minded person, and a fakcer.

To a son born to Shere Sing in the beginning of July, and who is involved in the common destruction of his family, a very different fate was promised by his horoscope. The Lahore newswriter says: "The pundit was ordered to ascertain by the stars the future destiny of the new-born prince; the astrologer replied, that the language of the heavenly bodies was highly flattering, and that the young prince would turn out a fortunate hero and a mighty conqueror."

It is probable that the next accounts will materially modify the details of this revolution; but, at all events, it is one which cannot but have important consequences, and the assemblage of the Army of Exercise on the Jumna, though with another object, will have the best results, and is one of those fortunate accidents which accomplish greater things than foresight and wisdom.

The politics of the other independent states of India may be disposed of in a more summary manner; happily, although it is said "they all abhor us, and would join in endeavouring to thrust us out of India,"* no symptoms of this "universal disaffection" are manifest. Even Gwalior, which seemed to be on the verge of a rupture with the British power, is now a suitor for peace and tranquillity. The *kureetas* (missives) from the Governor-General to the durbar have had the effect of moderating the tone of the Khasgee, who begins to apprehend, not only a visit from the British army, but treachery on the part of the chiefs, and an influential sirdar was deputed by him (in the name of the Bhac) to wait upon the British resident, who had withdrawn to Dholepore.† To be prepared for the worst, indeed, the usurper has made preparations to meet any exigency, and has gone so far as to post six regiments of infantry, with ten guns, to guard the ghaut at the Chumbul on the Agra road, near Dholepore, and two infantry regiments, with

* The Hills, Aug. 17.

† Agra Ukhbar, Aug. 16.

four guns, at the ghaut on the Sind river, between Gwalior and Dutteah,* from whence it is inferred that the Supreme Government have made certain demands on the Gwalior durbar, which those at the head of affairs there are not prepared or willing to yield.† Other accounts say, there is no chance of any disturbance at Gwalior. The accounts vary, likewise, as to the comparative merits of the Dada Khasgee and the Mama Sahib, the only persons capable of managing the state; the Bhac's father, Ghorepuray, being described as the most incapable of all the chiefs. Dada Khasgee has shewn himself not destitute of abilities, and although the Mama Sahib excels the other sirdars in intellectual qualities, when possessed of power he is apt to run riot, and has thereby provoked the hostility of the chiefs.

The Rajpoot state of Joudpore, or Marwar, is about to undergo some political change, for better or worse, through the death of its sovereign, the eccentric Maun Sing, who died on the 5th September, of fever, and (according to native report) seven of his queens are said to have been burnt, as suttees, on his funeral pile; though there is, happily, some ground for distrusting this horrible tale. Maun Sing has left no issue, or direct lineal descendants, and the rajah of the adjoining state of Edur is supposed to be the next heir to the *gadi* of Joudpore. He is only in his fifteenth year, and it is expected that strong opposition will be made by the chiefs to his succession. As before stated, the Naths, whose expulsion had been effected by Colonel Sutherland, returned, upon the invitation of Rajah Maun, who, not long before his demise, despatched a deputation to Calcutta, for the purpose of submitting his grievances to the Governor-General,—a step taken after it had been explicitly stated that no such mission would be received.

Oude is still a prey to disorders, which the king is without either the will or the power to remedy. The army is in a state of disorganization, and the people cry out under the weight of oppression. The following reflections upon this condition of things, in a Calcutta paper,‡ are just:—

We grieve to find Oude still a prey to internal disorder of so serious a character, and it is a most disheartening consideration to any one who reflects upon the prosperity of India under British supremacy, that such disorder, with all its concomitant misery, should now exist. The remedy for misgovernment of old in this country was revolt, and potentates were schooled into justice by a sense of fear. With our ally of Oude, the dread of revolt has no weight, for he is strong in the idea that the legitimacy of his power will always be supported by a show of

* *Delhi Gaz.*, Sept. 13.† *Indian Mail*, Nov. 7, p. 194.‡ *Calcutta Star*, Aug. 28.

British bayonets. In this case, is not our supremacy a premium upon misgovernment? Surely, the question arises—if we compel a people to accept a king, ought we not to oblige that king to govern justly?—if we confirm him in the integrity of his domination, should we not secure to his subjects the full enjoyment of rights which an irresponsible monarch might otherwise invade? We mean by these rights no more than the simple protection of life and property, assurance against an unpaid army turned loose upon the people to live among them, necessarily, at free quarters, and assurance against the violence of a tumultuous body of undisciplined armed men.

A change is likewise expected to come over the fortunes of the Nizam's affairs, by the resignation of his unpopular, though able, minister, Chundoo Lall, whose office has been conferred upon Surajood-Dowlah, son of a former dewan, and who is described as an able and enlightened nobleman. Rajah Ram Bux, a nephew of Chundoo Lall, and a shrewd intelligent man, has been appointed Peshkar. It will afford the European reader an insight into some of the peculiarities of Eastern rule to learn that the difficulties of this state, which are financial, have been owing solely to the reluctance of the sovereign to relieve them. The late minister has been acknowledged by all our residents, including Sir C. Metcalfe, to be a man of great abilities, but he could neither reduce the Nizam's expenditure, nor prevail upon his master to advance a rupee from his private funds to meet the public exigencies, notwithstanding he had four crores of rupees (millions sterling) hoarded up in his treasury at Goleonda. The British resident applied to the Nizam to advance, by way of *loan*, one crore, for the purpose of liquidating the arrears of pay due to his own troops, and of meeting other expenses of his own government, but he met with a refusal, and the new peshkar, it is said, has consented to remove the incumbrances of the state (amounting to about two crores) out of his own private funds: a very suspicious act of generosity in a minister. Recent accounts, however, say: "The Nizam appears determined to superintend every thing with a watchful and jealous eye, some evil-disposed persons having induced him to believe that the British Government is aiming at obtaining full possession of his country. The regular troops have not received pay for the last three months, and the Nizam has made up his mind to pay them himself from his private treasury at Goleonda, from which place he has ordered twenty-five lacs of rupees to be brought to him for the purpose of being sent to the resident for the above account."*

The King of Delhi perseveres in his design of despatching Mr.

* *Madras U. S. Gaz.*, Sept. 15.

George Thompson as his vakcel to England ; but he has relinquished the intention of sending with him one of the princes, his son, as he had intended. The funds for meeting the expenses of the embassy seem to be raised in an odd manner. For example : the post of commander of the king's guards becoming vacant, it has been put up to auction, and an individual has been appointed upon paying down Rs. 10,000, which sum "is devoted to the expenses of the mission to London."

Nepal remains quiet. General Martabar Sing is still prime minister. On his return to Katmandoo, the rajah punished the murderers of his father, and restored all the confiscated estates. Martabar Sing was the general who, accompanied by his sons, surprised Calcutta by his notions of civilization some years ago, and he knows well the resources and power of the Indian Government.

The intelligence from Scinde is satisfactory ; the sum of it is, that the country is tranquil, and that the people are submitting to our rule without a murmur.*

From Affghanistan the reports are, that Dost Mahomed is losing ground at Cabul, both chiefs and people being opposed to his measures, and that, probably, in consequence of these difficulties, he has opened a friendly correspondence with the Indian Government. It is said that Raheem Dil Khan, one of the Candahar sirdars, had been in the Pesheen valley, watching, probably, the turn events would take in Scinde, and was about to return to Candahar ; and also that a report prevailed that Meer Shere Mahomed, of Scinde, was likewise on his way to the capital of Western Affghanistan. The three Barukzye sirdars at Candahar, it is added, are wreaking their vengeance upon the people of that city, plundering and imprisoning all who have any property. Suftur Jung, the son of Shah Shoojah, is in their custody. The Candaharees are represented as desiring the return of the British to protect them from the extortion and tyranny of the triumvirate.

The disturbances in Bundelkhund seem to have subsided ; the last accounts speak only of an attack upon some travellers by a small party between Kalpee and Jeitpore ; but measures have been taken to increase the force in that country, so as to extinguish the embers of disorder. Independent of the Bengal troops to be assembled there (from the Cawnpore division), a brigade from Madras had been ordered from Kamptee, including a company of European artillery and a regiment of cavalry.

The domestic incidents of British India are not of a character to

* *Indian Mail*, Nov. 7, p. 194.

excite any painful interest. The proceedings of the Governor-General, and even his casual speeches at public dinners, are watched with a jealousy, and commented upon in a spirit, which evince a desire to discover matter for hostile criticism. It is reported that on one of the occasions alluded to he declared that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword," a sentiment which, in a qualified sense, is perfectly true ; but, in connection with this declaration another is attributed to him, that he came to India with a determination to make the army his first care. "We see much more of Toryism than truth in this opinion," observes the *Star*, "and we believe the man who entertains it the last who should ever be intrusted with power in this empire. It is as dangerous a delusion as it would be to imagine we could do without an army at all." The *Friend of India* says :—

The remarkable partiality for the army, so repeatedly announced in these speeches, has been the subject of much remark and some animadversion. A compliment from the Governor-General to those who were so anxious to do him honour, was naturally to have been expected. That the head of the Government should embrace the opportunity thus afforded him to bestow the due meed of praise on that gallantry and devotion by which the army had restored the lustre of our military reputation, after it had been eclipsed, was only a matter of justice ; but the exhibition of so exclusive a preference for one branch of the service comes with an ill grace from one intrusted with the responsibility of the whole machine of government, and from whom every class has a right to expect equal attention. An invidious partiality for any single order ought always to be avoided, from its tendency to weaken that general confidence in the Governor-General which is so necessary for the efficiency of the administration, and to sow dissensions among the public servants.

It is idle to make the loose reports,—for they are remarkably loose,—of what fell from Lord Ellenborough upon festive occasions the subject of serious speculation ; but we have sufficient evidence that the army does not engross his lordship's exclusive attention. The last accounts inform us that he is directing his attention to the important subject of education, "one of the arts of peace which has the highest claim on the attention of an enlightened statesman ;" that it is expected that the Criminal Code, or at any rate many acts respecting criminal jurisprudence, will soon pass the Council, and indeed a goodly beginning has already been made. We subjoin the subjects of some of these acts of legislation.

In furtherance of a previous act of his lordship's Council for the amendment of the law of slavery in British India, the "debtor

slavery" in the province of Tenasserim is peremptorily abolished. Another Act (not yet passed) proposes to put down the crime of dacoity, one of those systematic and organized species of crime with which no government in India has hitherto been found able successfully to grapple, by sentencing to transportation for life any person proved to have belonged to a gang of dacoits; and by ordaining that any person accused of the offence of dacoity, or of having belonged to a gang of dacoits, or of having unlawfully or knowingly received or bought property stolen or plundered by dacoits, may be committed for trial by any magistrate, and tried by any session judge. By another Act, revising the levy of customs duties on goods passing the north-west frontier, the duty is abandoned on all articles exported or imported, 121 in number, except cotton and sugar, and the Government thereby gives up revenue to the amount of ten lacs of rupees; but against this large gain to trade is to be set off an increased tax on western salt, which will yield to the revenue full fifteen lacs of rupees. The resolution of Government published at the head of this Act specifies that the principal goods on which the duties are abolished are piece-goods and embroidery, iron, silk, shawls, indigo, tobacco, oil, and oil-seeds, and further intimates that "the result of a measure which gives almost entire freedom to internal trade will, it is to be hoped, be a considerable increase of the revenue." To these may be added the Magistrates Act, which facilitates the operation of the police, by providing that an uncovenanted judge may be a deputy magistrate, thereby supplying a more extensive machinery for the adjudication of cases; and, another Act for the appointment of official trustees. The preamble of this salutary Act is as follows: "Whereas the property of infants, feme-coverts and others vested in trustees, is exposed to peculiar risks and burthens in the territories subject to the government of the East-India Company, not only from the insolvency of trustees, but from the frequent difficulties occasioned by their death, or absence, or refusal, or incapacity to act." These inconveniences are met by giving her Majesty's Courts at each of the presidencies the power to constitute the ecclesiastical registrar the official trustee, with a commission of one per cent. upon the amount. "This will be a great blessing," observes one of the papers, "as it will be an effectual method of preserving property from the ruin into which it is not unfrequently plunged; it is a most benevolent measure, and from its operation a vast amount of good may be expected to follow."

With reference to Scinde, the Governor-General is not satisfied with a barren conquest, but is determined to make it the most pro-

ductive province of India. With this view surveyors have been appointed, and plans are under consideration, for re-opening the old canals and constructing new ones, so as to give the advantage of irrigation to every part of the country where the level will admit of it; the port of Kurachee is to be improved, and a communication opened with the Indus, so as to enable river craft to come there at all times; an augmentation of the military force is to be made, that will overawe the turbulent and disaffected tribes and leave no hope of success from fresh disturbances. "His lordship appears to have taken up the improvement of this new conquest with particular ardour," observes his severest critic,* "and there can be no doubt that a few years of our administration will go far to repair the injury done to this fertile province by the selfishness of the Amceers, and restore its former prosperity." Deeming it not an unwise policy to make warlike demonstrations in order to preserve peace, the Governor-General has ordered a force to assemble upon or near the Jumna, under the Commander-in-Chief, with the innocent denomination of the "Army of Exercise,"† consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, a large body of cavalry (including three regiments of light dragoons), and forty-eight guns, an unusually large complement of artillery. "The necessity of keeping an army of 20,000 men in the field, under whatever denomination, is rather a curious illustration of the peace which our ruler has boasted of having given to India," is the remark of the *Friend of India*; to which the *Hurkaru* satisfactorily replies, "prevention is at all times better than cure, and we cannot but think his lordship is acting judiciously in collecting a large and efficient body of men, ready at a moment's warning to take the field, should a necessity for hostilities arise."

The commercial resources of British India are not neglected. The favourable report made at home of the Kumaon tea, which has been described by a London broker as fine-flavoured, strong, equal to the superior black tea generally sent as presents, and better for the most part than the China tea imported for mercantile purposes, has induced the Government to encourage its cultivation. The plant thrives well not only in Kumaon and Ghurwal, but in the Deyrah Dhoon. During the last rainy season, seventy acres of ground have been laid out for the increase of the tea plantations there, and plants are augmenting so rapidly in number that other nurseries must shortly be formed. Dr. Jamson has received orders to make a geological survey of the Deyrah Dhoon, the north side of which is formed by a series of rocks, identical in their mineralogical characters with those of the salt range in the Punjab, from the mines in which

* *Friend of India*, Sept. 21.

† *Indian Mail*, Nov. 7, p. 204.

Rajah Gulab Sing and Rajah Dhecan Sing derive a revenue of upwards of fourteen lacs per annum.

The subordinate presidencies furnish a few topics deserving of record, or inviting observation. An official notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette* authorizes the award of two prizes, one of Rs. 600, and one of Rs. 400, for essays against the practice of female infanticide. The prizes are to be "open to general competition among the native students of any of the public or private educational establishments of this presidency."

The Supreme Court at Bombay has, in its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, taken cognizance of a suit by a Parsee lady, named Perozabhai, against her husband, Ardaseer Cursetjee, for "restitution of conjugal rights," which is curious in itself, and likely to have important consequences. The facts* are shortly as follows: The parties were married in 1830, according to the usages of the Parsee religion, the age of the lady being 13 and that of the husband 15. In accordance with the custom of the sect, the lady remained with her father till 1833, when she joined her husband, with whom she lived till 1836. Having been to visit her father, she was refused readmission to the house of her husband, who was now about to enter into a contract of marriage with another lady, contrary, as alleged, to the laws of the Parsees. The husband disputed the jurisdiction of the Court, on the ground that it extended only to "British subjects;" whereas the parties, being Parsees, natives of India, are not persons intended to be comprehended under that term in the charter of the Supreme Court. This pretext has been overruled, the Court pronouncing for its jurisdiction. The case is said to be one of the deepest interest, not only to the Parsee community, but to all classes of natives within the presidency. One of the papers† says:

The young Parsees are panting for the decision of this case, which is to decide for them, if they may throw off the yoke of the Panchayet, and select companions for themselves.—Then will they not be bound by the cruel trammels which prevent them from loving and being beloved, in future. If Ardaseer be compelled to relinquish the object of his choice, and to adhere to his first bride by the laws of the British empire, as administered by the Supreme Court, it is evident that in future that court cannot sanction what may be called "infant marriages;" there must be a ceremony of matrimony when both parties are old enough to know what they are promising to each other. Those "infantile conjunctions of children" may be called espousals, but their binding as marriages will hereafter be denied in the Supreme Court, unless they be ratified in after-life.

* They are fully detailed in the *Indian Mail*, Nov. 7, p. 194.

† *The Gentleman's Gazette*, Sept. 13.

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD HAND.

CHAPTER VI.

BY CAPTAIN BELLEW.

Quot homines, tot sententiæ, is an old adage, and the difficulty of pleasing all tastes does not appear to be diminished even in our time. I have been made strongly sensible of the truth of this observation since I undertook to give to the world these posthumous memoirs of the late Brevet-Captain Gernon. True it is, I have culled here and there from the mass of papers containing the Reminiscences, such portions as I thought would best shew forth the versatile mind of my lamented friend, and perchance suit the no less varying humour of "my public." I have striven to mingle the occasional sally with the serious disquisition; the lively *persiflage* with the grave description; but nevertheless, "as the De'il will hae it," scarcely a week has elapsed since I took the matter in hand that I have not been reminded of its formidable nature, and of the point of that fine old apologue about the old man, his son, and his ass. My good friend, Major Heartfree, for example, who has lately retired on the pension, sound wind and *liver*; who has £20,000 in the 3 per. cent. consols, and never knew a care, asks what has come over the brevet-captain of late, that he has "become so lugubrious and didactic?" "Give us more of his fun," says he; "something spicy and Griffinish, and sink all sentiment." "I admire the tone of deep feeling," writes to me a charming literary correspondent, one of the "blue belles" of Scotland, Miss Luna Lavinia Lyric, "and that just appreciation of the true, the beautiful, and the good, which so frequently characterize the writings of Captain Gernon. How often do his thoughts harmonize with my own, and soar above the 'dull realities' of this cold and selfish world! Oh! how seldom do we meet a kindred soul—a mind that answers to our own! &c. &c. If, however," she continues, "I see any reason to find fault (you will, my dear friend, pardon my candour), it is with the air of levity in which he sometimes indulges, with his accounts of coarse characters and convivial scenes, which, indeed, are unworthy of him: you should omit these." "Your publication of Frank Gernon's free censure of Indian society," writes a third, with the organ of caution largely developed, "though not unqualified, and referring to an old date, will do harm, let me tell you—you have regularly 'killed your pig.'" A fourth, again, addresses me in quite an opposite strain:—"We Qui Hyes are as touchy as the Yankees," says he, "and don't like any thing but 'sawft sawder;' nevertheless, lay on and don't spare; a little *Trollopizing* will do us no harm."

With such a diversity of dispositions to deal with—these are but a few specimens—how is a *rédauteur* to act, in order to give universal satisfaction? "*Kea kurriga gureeb admec?*"* as Blacky says

* 'What shall a poor man do?'

when at a nonplus. Ever adhere, as the best chance, to the Ollapodrida system, I presume; much in the spirit that dictated the Frenchman's odd but comprehensive *mélange* of a motto, "*Dieu, le Roi, et les Dames.*" A little of every thing must be selected; fun for the major, sentiment for Miss Lyric (and what is life without a little?), a sprinkle of "sawft sawder" for my correspondent with the bump, and a *leetle* of the censor for my "Trollopizing" friend. I cannot, however—and I tell the major that candidly, and at once—make the captain always facetious: the "Reminiscences" absolutely will not allow of it, unless, indeed, I pick the MSS., as boys sometimes do their puddings, in order that they may enjoy all the plums at once. In the latter part of his life, when composing these recollections, Gernon had parted with much of the buoyancy of youth, and had a good deal to try him. He had lost his cook—the only *artiste*, as he confidently affirmed, on this side the Cape, who could fabricate a genuine curry; his affection of the liver had changed to a disease of the heart; in other words, he was crossed in love, and his circumstances were none of the most flourishing; consequently, the *allegro* in his character gave way in a great measure to the *penseroso* vein, which, imparting itself to his writings, the jokes, like Sir Fretful Plagiary's assumed vivacity and forced "ha! ha's!" fell off in intensity before (like the angry knight) he made his exit. Moreover, he fell into the enthusiasm of politics, took to studying the Poor Law (whether anticipating any of its benefits or not, I can't say), and to sounding the depths of that bottomless pit, the currency question. The consequence was, the ladies and butterflies of society voted him a bore, and I am not sure but 'twas this that gave his love affair that inauspicious turn to which I have alluded. If the lady, who was musical, spoke of notes, it was sure to lead to the subject of "cash payments" (a measure he approved in the Government, though, by-the-way, he had found it very hard personally to carry it into effect); he evidently thought more of "parish unions" than of his union with her; and he finally ruined his cause by advocating as a measure of expediency the temporary separation of husband and wife, the same being part of that supposed Draconian system. Moreover, he felt too, no doubt, that the facetious is a strain under which even Leviathan wits have broken down, and he modestly counted himself but as one of the "minnows." It is, in truth, one, even if desirable, that cannot be long sustained, for the repose of level writing is essential to vigour; he who would soar must occasionally creep—even Homer himself sometimes nods. Humour, whilst spontaneous, I have heard the brevet captain say, the free growth of a teeming soil, is excellent; but when forced, like many of the things produced in that way, lacks flavour. His future pages will, I find, relate principally to countries and people then, and even now, but little known; to mutinies, marches, expeditions, attacks of mud forts, scenery, and the vicissitudes of the camp; connected by a light dramatic thread (for he has evidently not aimed at the elaborate exhibition of character), treated of with more of the gravity of the "Old Hand" than with the fire and vivacity of

the "Griffin." Epicurus tells his disciples (as we are informed) that they had sought pleasure in wine, in love, in revelling; amusement, in indolence and forgetfulness; and found it not: it was not to be had in the gratification of the passions, but in their subjugation or restriction. To shew this, at an humble distance, is one of my aims in these extracts from my friend's *Reminiscences*, which I now resume.

In the last chapter, the reader was promised an account (it will be a brief one) of some of the objects of interest which most forcibly arrest the attention in those antique seats of Hindoo superstition, *Muttra* and *Bindrabund* (the *Matura Deorum* of Ptolemy), where, as fables tell, the amorous *Gopis* danced, and the fearful *Cali Naga** was slain, and where, graver history informs us, *Crishna* was worshipped, in the days of Alexander the Great, as, doubtless, for centuries before. This name, *Matura* or *Muttra*, by the way, must be the same word as, or, at least, have some connection, I imagine, with, the *Mithra* or *Sun God* of the ancient Persians; and hence, probably, they derived the leading features of their simple and sublime superstition,—magnificent truly; for if any palliation can be found for him who bows to the creature rather than to the Creator, it must be for the sun-worshipper, who prostrates himself in gratitude, awe, and wonder, before the resplendent glories of the god of day.

"E'en the mild Parsee, who devoutly bows
Before the lustrous orb, which, rising, darts
His rays refulgent o'er rejoicing worlds;
Fountain of light and life, and emblem fit
Of Him, supreme, whom nature all adores."

F. B.

Matura contains many curious and ancient buildings, some of them in a ruinous state; they are for the most part complex and irregular, some having courts, cloisters, and arcades, with ghauts or flights of steps, overshadowed by trees, leading from them to the *Jumna*. The construction of such works of utility confers a well-earned fame on the wealthy in India, and they have a saying, that the man is sure of heaven "who digs a well, plants a grove, and becomes the father of a child." About these sacred edifices, numerous Brahmins, mendicants, and other pious Hindoos may be seen incessantly engaged in bathing, anointing their brazen gods, blowing conchs, and in the other ten thousand and one idle observances and foolish mummeries of this most extraordinary superstition, which furnishes one of the strongest examples extant of how completely forms and ceremonies, unduly multiplied, tend to encourage indolence and destroy all mental vigour. About the ghauts, where the people bathe, are swarms of fish and turtle, the latter so voracious, and in such a hurry to be fed, that instances have been known of their seizing young children by the feet, when the parents have been washing them, and dragging them into the stream in a moment. We used to have great sport, firing with ball at the turtle,

* Black serpent.

though not exactly within the limits of the town, and Lieut. Flannagan, who was a killing fellow with a rifle, would frequently put a ball through the head of one at 60 or 80 yards, so much of the animal just protruding from the water. In one part of the town is a large mansion, in the Hindoo taste, erected by the celebrated banker, Gocul Paruk, and not far from it a fine, but dilapidated mosque, constructed on the spot where once stood a Hindoo temple of considerable sanctity, built by Rajah Beer Sing Deo, a prince of celebrity, whose fame still lives amongst his grateful and admiring countrymen in Bundelcund. That interesting country, at least a considerable portion of it, embracing the modern states of Tehree, Dutteah, and Sumpshur, &c., abounds with palaces, temples, howlies, reservoirs, and other monuments of his public spirit and munificence. I have visited many of these, and fine structures some of them are ; I may instance the Muhul, or palace, at Dutteah, the palace and pagodas at Orocha, &c. as examples. From the scattered notices I have met of him, I should judge Rajah Beer Sing Deo, like Jeysingh of Jeypore, a name renowned in Eastern history, to have been a prince of a superior mind, in advance of his age and nation. Nevertheless, he was a bit of a freebooter and levier of black mail ; but that, no doubt, was there, as elsewhere, a respectable calling in those times.

Matura, or Muttra, must be one of the paradises of monkeys, for in no part of the world are they more cherished and respected ; in a worldly point of view, I doubt if in Muttra it is not worse to be a man than a monkey. Even princes (Scindiah was one of their greatest benefactors) consider it an honour to contribute to their comfort and support. The place absolutely swarms with them, and in riding through the narrow and crooked streets, they may be everywhere seen gambolling, pilfering, nursing their young, or engaged in those entomological researches to which these quadrupeds are so much addicted. Every now and then you stumble on a young one, who shews his little teeth and grins with terror, or, perched on the corner of some temple, or on the wall of a bunyah's shop, you encounter some stolid old fellow, devoured apparently with chagrin and melancholy, who, however, no sooner catches a glimpse of you, the strange-looking *topce wala* (hatman), than, arousing from his trance, he becomes endued with astonishing animation and fury, gnashing his teeth as you pass, in a manner unequivocally hostile. I have been sometimes followed half-way down a street by one of these old monkeys, particularly if I have given him a taste of my whip. After gnashing at me furiously from one house, he would, to keep pace with my horse, scamper off by certain back-ways, best known to himself, and reappear in all his fury at some other opening, or "coign of vantage," in order to have another grin at me.

The monkeys here are usually of the common greyish-green sort. Nevertheless, the Hoonoumaun, or great black-faced ape, which is a very fine creature, is common enough. The Hoonoumaun is he who cuts so conspicuous a figure in the history of Hindoo superstitions ; who is the hero of some of their tales, and so frequently represented both by paint-

ing and sculpture in their temples. I will here, by way of episode, relate a little anecdote connected with Hoonoumaun, which may be considered curious and characteristic.

Marching through the country of Rajast'han or Rajpootana alone, at a place called Sihur, where there is a lake and a fine castle built on a rock, I ordered my table and chair to be placed on the terrace of a small convenient Hindoo temple, open in front, but forming a sort of alcove behind. In this, as it was pleasantly surrounded by a grove of trees, I determined to breakfast, dine, and spend the day, instead of pitching my tent. Immediately behind me (as I took my seat to discuss the former meal), in a compartment of the temple wall, was a large figure of the monkey-god, his tail swinging over his head, and executed in *alto-relievo*. It was a side figure, and a large deep hole, perhaps a couple of inches in depth, and as many in diameter, smoothed by repeated washings and manipulations, occupied the spot where the mouth had been originally carved. I had not been seated many minutes ere a fine young Rajpootnee slowly approached, bearing flowers and offerings, her face half-concealed under her *chudder*, or hood. After timidly reconnoitring me, she took courage, and, much to my surprise, sidled behind my chair, and in the quietest manner commenced paying her morning devotions to Hoonoumaun. She then washed the figure's mouth, and after cramming into it as much dough or paste as it would hold, retired with sundry ceremonies and obeisances. She had scarcely gone, ere another damsel appeared, who mounted the terrace as the other had done, and then, in a very decided manner, scooping the food out of Hoonoumaun's mouth left in it by her predecessor, proceeded to give him another feed. To the best of my recollection, this was followed by two more, so his monkeyship had no right to complain of short commons.

A wonderful thing, indeed, is the pious principle in man; how strangely does it oscillate between the gentle and the fierce, the sublime and the ridiculous; now swelling into thoughts too holy and too great for utterance,—the rapt imaginings of the saintly soul,—or burning for deeds of charity and love; anon, steeled with bigot and inquisitorial hate against every semblance or emotion of pity; and lastly, worshipping a stone or feeding the image of a monkey!

But to return to Muttra: the Hoonoumauns do not, I believe, associate with the other monkeys; no doubt it would be *infra dig.* in monkeys of such high historical pretensions to do so. A certain Bengal captain, elated by his promotion, is by one of our Indian poets reported to have said or sung—

“May I be d——d if e'er I condescend

To herd with subs or call a sub my friend.”

Possibly the Hoonoumauns have a good deal of the same feeling. The monkeys in Muttra, supported by voluntary contributions of the pious, divide themselves, or are divided, I was informed, into separate wards or communities, and woe be to any one of them, not having the freedom of his neighbour's trees or house-tops, who is caught intruding. I have

been assured by the same party, who had observed and studied their character and habits, that so jealous are they of the rights of property, that if they catch a monkey of another neighbourhood trespassing on their domains, they maul him unmercifully. In certain parts of the town are terraces a few feet high, and of a circular form, on which, at certain times of the day, the monkeys are fed; the Brahmin, or he whose duty it is to cater for them, after spreading out the grain, makes a signal, and the tribe of satyrs, great and small, come trooping down from the trees and house-tops, and are soon busily engaged. I have seen a terrace one living mass of them, all hard at work picking and munching the grain. Innocent little monkeys of the "rising generation," spinster monkeys just come out, matrons with their heirs-apparent clinging to their bosoms, and old, surly, sensual red-breeched fellows, may all be seen there together. I believe a man might be killed in Muttra with far more safety, as to consequences, than a monkey. Some years ago, two young officers who shot at one were pursued by the enraged natives, and in endeavouring to cross the Jumna on their elephant, with a view to escape them, the animal turned over, and they were both drowned. I should, therefore, be disposed to say, in the words of the showman, to all griffs and juveniles who go to India, and to Muttra and Bindrabund in particular, "Boys, let the monkeys alone."

We were not long at Muttra, for the time of commencing operations on the grand scale against the Pindarries, as projected by Lord Hastings, was fast approaching, and we were given to expect that we should form a portion of one of the armies destined to take the field against them. Many a pleasant fellow, now "under the *mutty*,"* as they say in India, did I become acquainted with whilst at Muttra, and many a frolicsome scene did I participate in. Each season brings its pleasures, even old age, when the leaf is sear, to relieve the ills of life; but none so unalloyed as those of the merry spring-time of youth. Whilst at Muttra, our corps, which I shall call the *Tullubmujoods*,† or 101st N.I., was reviewed by that distinguished officer, General Sabretasche, recently arrived from Europe. We had timely intimation of the distinguished honour which awaited us, and by all that's good, we had exercise enough in consequence, both mornings and evenings, for a month before, to wear the flesh off our bones. Little cared Col. Bobbery for this, for he was determined that the 101st should appear in an unsurpassable state of efficiency. The colonel was considered a crack officer (though, certainly, he never shone much in the field), and much did he undervalue the parade tactics of all others. Ye powers, how the little fat man would chuckle when he saw old Col. Hobblewell's solid square turn out a hollow polygon, or the whole regiment clubbed up in a state of inextricable confusion, "in endless mazes lost;" right, left, and centre all confounded! he was pleased for a week afterwards, and always asked the first man he met to dinner. At length, the general arrived, aides-de-camp, elephants, double-poled tents, assistant-adjutant-generals, and all. It was spirit-stirring to see him canter along in a cloud of dust, his

* Sod, or earth.

† Present, or pay days.

cocked hat, *aiguillettes*, magnificent shabrack, and plumed *cortège*, to review the different regiments at the station, and then how alarming to reflect, that our turn of the ordeal was so fast approaching! "He's a tight hand, I can tell you, this king's general," said Wildfire, as a knot of us were discussing the approaching inspection, one morning; "a deuced tight hand; has the eye of a hawk, and will tell at fifty yards off if a man has a button too few or too many, or if a belt is a fraction too high or too low; he's a prodigious smart officer; he gave old Dosey, of the cavalry, a thundering wig, yesterday, regularly over the knuckles: 'You're slow, Sir, very slow, Sir, very slow, indeed; we should have considered this poor work in the Peninsula. Major Dosey, send that officer to the rear of his troop, and let another take his place; he doesn't know what he's about,' and so on."

At last, the trying moment arrived; the shades of night rolled up like a dark curtain, and exhibited, at dawn, the *dranatis personæ*—the Tullubmujoods, arranged in all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," in full review order. There, in front, was Col. Bobbery, on his milk-white Arab, with flowing mane and tail, surrounded by his chobdars and chupprassies—the chowries or "cow-tails" waving like (to be a little poetical) the tops of a nodding grove, the rubicund face of the little fat man puffing with pomp and anxiety. Here galloped the adjutant, there thundered the interpreter quarter-master, whilst Major Growler sat bolt upright, sword drawn, on his strawberry roan (he and the colonel didn't speak), looking as stern and determined as if going to lead a forlorn hope. The battalion stood at open order. There were our noble grenadier sepoy, some of them six feet three and four, and finer-looking fellows never handled a musket, and our light bobs, with their green wings and whistles, Jack Snipewell's pride and delight, all burning to shew off; and then there was a long line of portly subadars, Dowkul Sings, Hanserajes and Bhowanny Pandys, and jemmadars, many not so stout, but in a "transition state" of fatness, and fast filling out to a size commensurate with their standing, with gold necklaces and boots, which Hoby would deem great curiosities; and mingled with them, but "few and far between," as was once said of a lady's teeth, were the European officers of our well-officered battalion, some five or six. There was Capt. Littlejohn, of the grenadiers, a small man, five feet four, but with the heart of a lion, and who was fond of quoting the saying of Lord Lake, that "it wasn't always the tallest men made the best grenadiers;" and there was Sourkraut, so pale and woe-begone, Wildfire, Snipewell, and the magnanimous Paddy, a real stalwart specimen of Erin's vigorous sons, who held his sword across his brawny chest, stuck out his corporation, and held up his jolly red face, bluff and erect, and suffused with an extra tinge, from the effects of a prodigious stiff stock, which took him under the ears like a Chinese wooden collar; there he stood, looking as steady and reflective as if he never was in a row in his life. There and thus, then, stood the Tullubmujood Ka Pultun, in silent and breathless expectation, awaiting the *avatur* of Major-General Sir Marmaduke Sabretasche. The very

crows were silent, an old Brahminy bull looked about in wonderment, and the Pariah dogs stared bewildered, ready for a run, and as if curious to know what the silence portended. At length, in the distance, rounding the end of the lines, appeared the general and his staff, in full career approaching,—cocked hats, plumes bobbing, irregular horse, mounted orderlies,—we were all in a tremor. The colonel dropped his sword, a few words were exchanged, and the general rode down the line. We all stood as bolt upright as mummy-cases in a catacomb. The general was evidently much amused by the hirsute and portly bearing of Lieut. Flannagan and the roguish twinkle of his eye; he even stopped, and asked him some questions about his men and the strength of his company.

I shall not describe minutely our performances on this memorable occasion; suffice it to say, the marchings and wheelings were superb—close, firm, and regular; never were masses of humanity moved with more mathematical precision; the firings—file, square, and platoon—quick, sharp, and beautiful; not a mistake, excepting that a blundering recruit fired off his ramrod and knocked off the aide-de-camp's hat, shewing that sham fights have more reality in them sometimes than folks imagine. Col. Bobbery was in raptures—pleasure unalloyed beamed in his countenance; the general's approval—strong, marked, and particular—was a sure card; at length came the *dénouement*—Col. Bobbery in front—ranks open, band playing—all simultaneously advanced—and now Gen. Sabretasche raised his hat, and the aides-de-camp, and the brigade major, and the assistant adjutant-general, all rode forward, and we could see the general bending on his horse's neck, and the quick undulations of his feather, and the courteous but somewhat energetic action of his hand—and no man in his senses doubted but that it was every bit of it *suaviter in modo*; and Col. Bobbery, with his sword abased, and the most obsequious projection of his under mandible, and his ear slightly elevated, was drinking it in with delight. In short, the general had seen no corps like the Tullubmujoos—appearance of the men,—high state of discipline and efficiency,—reflecting great credit on Col. Bobbery and the officers in general—would make a point of bringing the regiment to the special notice of the commander-in-chief—trusted they would reap laurels in the approaching campaign, &c.; in short, nothing could be more complimentary and gratifying. Every countenance beamed with smiles; even Growler “smoothed his wrinkled front,” and all agreed that the general was a man of discrimination, and a devilish fine fellow to boot. The colonel, moreover, determined to feast the general at a grand station “blow out;” but that and our other gaieties, with the assembling of the army at Agra, I must reserve for a future occasion.

ALLEN'S "DIARY OF A MARCH THROUGH SINDE AND AFGHANISTAN."

IN a field of authorship which has been gleaned by so many hands—Major Outram, Dr. Kennedy, Major Hough, Mr. Atkinson, and many who have not bound up their sheaves in distinct volumes—little appears to be left for one who comes so late into it as Mr. Allen. But, besides that the portions of the Afghan expedition of which he treats have been almost untouched—the relief of the gallant force at Kandahar, and the triumphant retreat from Afghanistan—different eye-witnesses of even the same facts, who record them contemporaneously with their occurrence, supply the means of correcting our notions of them. Mr. Allen informs us that his book, which "is strictly a recital of personal adventures," is the substance of a "journal, kept in the first instance with no further view than the amusement of his own family, and sent to England, in letters, month by month," and that, whilst "his situation afforded him many facilities for observation," as he is not a military man, he cannot be "suspected of professional partiality."

As he landed at Bombay in April, 1841, and next month, whilst "a perfect griffin," received orders to proceed to Sind and join the field force of General England, his descriptions of what he first saw must owe the chief interest they possess to the fact of their being "first impressions;" and when so raw a griffin had to spend the night at the *Mugger Talao*, or 'Alligators' Tank,' with monsters of this tribe twelve feet long roaming about, and one of seven feet poking his nose into his sleeping-tent, the impressions are not altogether without interest. But we pass over the incidents of his journey through Lower Sind till his arrival at Sukkur, where he heard of the massacre of Sir A. Burnes and Sir W. Macnaghten at Kabul.

From Sukkur and Bukkur, Mr. Allen's party prosecuted their route through Upper Sind, and arrived, half-grilled, at General England's camp at Dadur, in February, 1842. The heat here was intense; the thermometer in tents being from 97° to 100° (it has stood at 130°), and the air stagnant and suffocating. "It is, indeed, a dreadful place," Mr. Allen says, "and seems from its situation formed to be, as it really is, one of the hottest places in the world." The Brahooes are of opinion that no place of final torment was needed after the formation of Dadur. Here Mr. Allen was introduced to Nusseer Khan, of Khelat, who had just been

* Diary of a March through Sind and Afghanistan, with the Troops under the Command of General Sir William Nott, K.C.B., &c. By the Rev. J. N. ALLEN, B.A., Assistant-Chaplain on the Hon. E.I.Co.'s Bombay Establishment. London. Hatchard.

caught and reconciled to our rule by Colonel Stacey. A description of the young prince may be acceptable :—

The khan is about seventeen, and very dark, which is not usual with men of rank in this country ; but it is said to be owing to the wandering and exposed life he has led since his father's death. Some call him handsome, but I cannot say I thought him so. His countenance looked deeply lined, and prematurely careworn, so that I should have thought him much more than seventeen. His look is expressive of great haughtiness, and a dark scowl of distrust is on his brow, which, by-the-bye, is easily accounted for, since the fickle and capricious treatment of his father and himself has not been likely to inspire confidence in us. His father, Meerab Khan, was killed, and himself deposed and exiled ; but, upon a turn of politics, it was deemed expedient that he should be restored ; he was therefore pursued, caught, and again placed on his throne, under British protection, to his own astonishment and that of every one around him. He is said, however, to be very affable, and to adopt many European customs, particularly that of personal cleanliness, for the neglect of which his countrymen are proverbial. His long black ringlets, floating in the evening air, and waving to the motion of his horse, would be an object of admiration, perhaps of some envy, to the young ladies at home.

The force commenced its march for Kandahar on the 7th March, 1842, and entered the terrible Bolan : "scarped perpendicular rocks, running up to an immense height, in bold and rugged forms, overhung in many places the narrow pass below." About a mile from Ser-i-bolan, they came to the formidable defile called the zigzags, in which a narrow lane makes several sharp angular turns, the rocks on either side being scarped and perpendicular.

By an optical delusion, for which I could not account, it appeared at first entrance as if we were descending a hollow instead of making a considerable ascent. It was in some places not fifty yards wide, and so perpendicularly walled on each side, that a force might have suffered severe injury had stones been rolled down from above ; the turns were so sharp and sudden, that it appeared as if we were marching directly against the rock in front, until, upon arriving at it, the road was discovered turning at a sharp angle to that we had been traversing. There were many magnificent points of wild, desolate rock scenery, but we had little leisure to dwell upon them, for every eye was strained to discover puggerees (turbans) and matchlocks among the stones. Some idea may be conceived of the height of these rocks : for I believe the Bolan range rises about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea ; the highest ascent of the Pass is about 5,000 feet above Dadur, which is 743 feet above the level of the sea ; this would leave above 4,000 feet for the height of these rocks. The ascent, however, is exceedingly gra-

dual, though the road is rendered most painful by broken rocks and large stones.

They passed this defile without molestation, though the force was watched by the Kaukers.

Mr. Allen, having stayed at Kwettah whilst the force advanced towards the Khojuk Pass, was not witness to the disastrous affair at Ilykulzye, in which our troops sustained severe loss, and were obliged to retreat. He speaks with some warmth of the remarks made upon this affair in the Indian papers, and of the "unjust and ungenerous attempt to fix the odium of the failure on the native troops." He adds:—"The writer of this calumny acted *prudently* in suppressing his name; but he would have acted *honourably* in withholding his letter and the insinuations it contained."

The force, at length, after being kept in perpetual alarm at Kwettah by rumours of an attack, advanced through the beautiful valley of Shaul into Affghanistan. In the passage through the Khojuk, at Ilykulzye, the spot which witnessed the former defeat, they encountered the enemy again, but with a very different result. By a judicious movement, the Kaukers were driven from their heights, and precipitately abandoned their position. "When I saw the hill crowned," observes Mr. Allen, who seems to have imbibed or developed some of the spirit which animated his military companions, and which he could not repress, "the green flag of the Prophet torn down, and 'the flag that braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze' flying in its place, I could contain no longer: my eyes filled with tears of joy, and, setting spurs to my horse, I flew up the side of the hill, and was among the assailants, congratulating and shaking hands, within five minutes of the enemy's quitting it." He states that the defence which the enemy had thrown up, and respecting which so much was said at the time, was a very trifling affair: "my horse stepped over it without difficulty," he says; "it could scarcely have afforded cover for a man lying down." There remains some mystery about the cause of the repulse. "One could not survey the hill," adds our author, "without wondering that such a slaughter could have taken place before it, or without perceiving that the point of attack selected on the 18th March was the only one that presented any difficulty." The character of these mountain tribes, their "treachery and cruelty," seem to have almost overcome the charity of the clergyman. "They appear," he observes, "to have quite the characteristics of wild animals; they will not engage with an equal opponent if it can be avoided, but pounce on a defenceless man, like tigers; when assailed, they will

retire, if practicable; otherwise, they turn on their pursuers with the utmost ferocity, and sell their lives as dearly as possible." If these men were our own countrymen, or even our allies, fighting for their homes (as they did) against invaders, we should regard these qualities as traits, not of "treachery and cruelty," but of the most exalted heroism.

Soon after this engagement, the general received a note from Brigadier Wymer, announcing the arrival of his brigade from Kandahar on the side of the Khojuk, ready to co-operate next day. On that day (May 2nd), the force of General England advanced into the Pass, small bodies of Affghans being scattered on the various peaks. Flanking parties having secured the heights, the enemy were driven from hill to hill, doing but little mischief. The Pass at this part is described by Mr. Allen as "exceedingly pretty," with more verdure on the hills than in Sindh, and many fine trees. The hills, however, began to close in, and the force was jammed into a narrow path. In this part, the heights were seen crowned by troops, which were soon ascertained to be a part of Brigadier Wymer's force, which had had sharper work with the enemy.

After emerging from the Pass, they prosecuted their weary march, amidst heat and cold, and dust and scorpions, and rumours of the enemy, to Kandahar, which they reached without the occurrence of any incident worthy of notice.

They found that the gallant garrison had suffered great privations. They had been employed in the field repeatedly, without tents, in the depth of winter. "I am persuaded," Mr. Allen remarks, "that their privations and exploits were by no means fully appreciated, for, owing to the exceeding brevity of General Nott's despatches, they had not the advantage of having them made known to the world."

Mr. Allen was located for some time in this curious city, of the architecture of which he gives the following account:—

A description of the house in which I lived about three months, may serve to give a general idea of domestic architecture at Kandahar. The gate opened from a narrow lane, and led into a courtyard, one side of which was occupied by a stable, large and vaulted, a small enclosure, with an eadgar or niche for praying, and a small room for a fakcer; a door in the wall to the left led to an inner court, and immediately on the opposite side was the dwelling-house. It consisted of three parallel rooms, opening into each other *en suite*, the front of each about fourteen feet, the depth about twenty feet. The centre room was open in front, and presented to the court a lofty gothic arch; the roofs of all three were groined and vaulted like the roof of a gothic church,

and very accurately and beautifully finished. Two had fire-places, precisely like the gothic niches for the images of saints in our cathedrals, and the walls were very tastefully ornamented by a process which I saw here for the first time; they were plastered with chunam (a white cement), and stamped while wet with carved figures of wreaths and flowers in very pleasing patterns; the whole was covered with a preparation of tale, which gave it a glittering and dazzling appearance; the effect was exceedingly pretty. The right of the court was occupied by the kitchen, with bed-rooms above, to which there was an ascent by a staircase under an archway, conducting also to the roof of the dwelling-house, which was finished in the bee-hive form before described. The centre of the court was occupied by a well of delicious water, and one corner by a luxuriant vine, trained over a framework of poles. The whole was of sun-dried brick, having no wood-work except the doors and door-posts: and the manner in which the doors were panelled, out of very small pieces, shewed the scarceness of the material. Such, varying in size and ornament, according to the wealth and rank of the owner, are the houses in Kandahar. Those of the chiefs have the gateways embattled and fortified, the courts much larger, and often prettily planted and laid out, and supplied with streams of water; but their general plan is similar to that I have described, and the open-vaulted building in the centre is, I think, universal. Many have Tuhkhanas, rooms either wholly or partly sunk in the ground, sometimes as large and lofty as those above, to which the occupants retire during the day in the hot season.

The walls enclose the whole city (for it has no suburb); the circumference of the ramparts is nearly four miles, the faces varying from 1,164 yards to 1,967 yards each. The wall has a *fausse-braye*, rather decayed, and is surrounded by a dry ditch, averaging eight yards in width: it is about seven yards thick at the bottom, and five at the top, and has bastions, with embrasures and loopholes. In the centre of the town is a large octagonal building, with a lofty dome, called the *Char-soo*, or Four Ways, from whence run four wide bazars, occupied by different trades, and crowded with various people, Affghans, Persians, Tartars, Hindus, Chinese, all in their peculiar costumes, and mingled amidst a buzz of occupation. The *Char-soo* is surrounded by shops, in which silks, cloths, and fabrics from Kashmere, Russia, China, and England are displayed, and which are recommended with the clamour and gesticulation habitual to Asiatic dealers. The centre was occupied by a jabbering crowd of men on foot and horse, camels and camel-drivers, and groups of English soldiers, forming altogether a strange scene. The population, in time of peace, had been reckoned at 50,000; but the British commander had found it necessary to expel all the armed inhabitants, and many parts of the town were untenanted. The houses

being flat-roofed, the people pursue their occupations upon the house-tops.

The groups of men in these bazaars were not less amusing than the shops. In one place were to be seen a circle squatted on the ground around an improvisatore, either poet or story-teller, reciting his productions at the top of his voice, and accompanying the recital with violent gesticulations, his auditory expressing their approbation as the nature of the subject required, whether grave or gay; others were gathered to hear and tell the news from various parts of the country; some were selling goldfinches, linnets, and other birds in small wicker cages; some riding or running horses up and down, and offering them for sale; and blind beggars were not the least prominent objects. I have understood that the dust and glare, to which the eye is so constantly subjected, cause many cases of ophthalmia, which end in blindness. A noisy rout of children mingled with every scene, and I could not but observe the exceeding fairness of many of them, as indeed of the adults also, who were scarcely darker than Europeans. Here and there might be seen a woman, but very closely veiled: their dress is a long garment of white, the veil drawn round the head-dress near the forehead, and tied at the back of the head; it flows down to the waist, and is of thick white longcloth, with a strip of thin lace worked in across the eyes, like a little window, so as to enable them to see, but entirely to prevent their features from being seen; they walk gracefully, and their long white robes and veils give them a solemn and nun-like appearance.

Skirmishes and pic-nics without the walls, within, strolls amongst the bazaars, and an occasional Afghan entertainment, with all its abominations,—servants dipping their fists into the dishes, and “taking toll,” as they placed them on the ground,—beguiled the time till the withdrawal of the garrison, part under General England into Sinde, and the remainder under General Nott to Kabul: Mr. Allen, though left to choose, deemed it to be his duty to go with the latter, which included nearly the whole of the European force.

Mr. Allen does not exaggerate the merit of General Nott when he says that to him must be mainly attributed the repair of our disasters in Afghanistan:—

To cut off all means of retreat, to march a force consisting of not more than seven thousand fighting men, carrying with them all their supplies, through the very heart of an enemy's country, where a force not much smaller in amount had been utterly destroyed but a few months before, was an undertaking requiring no ordinary nerve and firmness of purpose; there was, besides, no *certainly* of any co-operation, for it was not till after General Nott had possession of Ghuznee

that he knew any thing of the advance of General Pollock, or whether indeed he had sufficient carriage to enable him to advance.

The precise period of their removal from Kandahar had been kept a profound secret till Sunday, August 7th, when the whole place was in bustle and confusion at the departure of the troops. Though the number of fighting men did not exceed 7,000, the followers were at least double that number. The heat, at the commencement of the march, was extreme,—111° to 116° in the tents. The route lay in the valley of the Turnuk. They experienced no serious annoyance from any enemy till the 28th, on their arrival at Otba, where a party of about 500 cavalry, under Capt. Delamain, having gone out to protect the grass-cutters, who had been attacked, were decoyed into the power of an overwhelming body of horse and foot, and sadly cut up. A strong party was sent against the fort from which the attack on the grass-cutters was said to have been made. The villagers, unarmed, and with supplicating gestures, pleaded for mercy. The general told them to remain quiet, and sent Capt. White, with the light company of H.M.'s 40th regiment, to examine the fort. As they approached, accompanied by Major Leech, to act as interpreter, the garrison, though they had professed to surrender, discharged a volley of matchlock-balls at the company. We give the rest in Mr. Allen's own words:—

The men upon this rushed in; the light company of H.M.'s 41st, another company of H.M.'s 40th, under Captain Neild, and some light companies from the native corps, were ordered to support Captain White; they had been enraged by the previous events of the morning, and one of those painful scenes ensued which are more or less common to all warfare, and which, I fear, under such circumstances, it is almost impossible to prevent. The fort was found full of people, and all armed and resisting. Every door was forced, every man that could be found was slaughtered; they were pursued from yard to yard, from tower to tower, and very few escaped. A crowd of wretched women and children were turned out, one or two wounded in the *mêlée*. I never saw more squalid and miserable objects. One door, which they refused to open upon summons, was blown in by a six-pounder, and every soul bayoneted.

Mr. Allen was an eye-witness of this painful scene, one "seldom," as he observes, "looked upon by a clergyman." Not less than from eighty to a hundred, he says, were shot, and if any remained concealed in the buildings, they must have perished in the flames, to which the place was consigned. To make this fearful spectacle more painful to our author, the day was Sunday!

As the force neared Ghuznee, they found the enemy not only in

great strength, but in possession of guns, which were well laid, and fired with amazing rapidity. The action of Goyain, on the 30th, is described by Mr. Allen as a very serious affair, in which, amidst a spirited fire on both sides, it was a continual advance on our part and a retreat on the other. The result was the capture of the enemy's camp, ammunition, and two guns, and the dispersing of their force, with the loss of only one killed and twenty-seven wounded on the side of the British.

The next march was over a plain thickly dotted on the left with the pretty forts of the friendly Hazarus, and the blazing and smoking castles of the hostile Ghilzies on the right. The whole plain, on both sides of the road, is covered with mud forts, many within matchlock range of each other, which enabled the Hazarus and the Ghilzies, the former Shecas and the latter Soonees, to pick one another off, when they had no better amusement.

On the 4th September they came in sight of Ghuznee. During the preparations for attacking this place, the enemy, with every advantage of numbers and position, made no stand, but gradually drew off, leaving our troops in possession of the heights which commanded the town. The camp had been pitched, it was supposed, out of the range of the guns of the fortress; but, as the officers were going to breakfast, some shots were cleverly sent amongst the tents from the great Ghuznee gun, the *Zubber Jung*. One of these shots, an immense mass of hammered iron, weighed above 50 lbs. In the night, the garrison evacuated the fortress, leaving their guns, magazines, and stores. Mr. Allen states that he made it the subject of his earnest supplications that night, that the storming of the place might be averted, and he considers that "his petition had been most graciously answered." The strength of this fortress, he thinks, has been exaggerated; but his authority must not be opposed to Lord Keane's. He laughs at the lament, in one of the Indian journals, over the ruin of the "noble edifices" of Ghuznee, a mean collection of dirty mud houses, "wretched beyond the generality of Affghan villages." In the citadel, they found several relics of the unfortunate British garrison, and in Col. Palmer's bedroom was an inscription, signed by Lieut. Harris, 27th N.I., dated 26th May, 1842, stating that they were the victims of the treachery of certain chiefs who were named. In the subsequent operations, another inscription, in English words and Greek characters, was discovered on the wall in a room where the prisoners had been confined, directing attention to a beam, where copies of the treaties made with Col. Palmer were deposited.

The citadel and defences of Ghuznee having been mined and blown into ruins, the celebrated sandal-wood gates were removed from the tomb of Mahmood, amidst the tears of the numerous fakcers attending it. Especial care was taken that the shrine, buildings, and gardens should sustain no injury. "The tomb," observes Mr. Allen, "with the exception of the doors, remained in all respects as we found it."

On the march to Kabul they passed the fort of Sidabad, where Capt. Woodburn and 150 sepoy were slaughtered in November, 1841. The fort was deserted: upon forcing an entrance, poor Woodburn's will was found there, with some other papers, and his stock. The fort was blown up. As they approached Mydan, the rumour that Shumsoddleen Khan intended to engage them again was confirmed by the increasing numbers of the enemy; but the opposition was of a desultory character, the precautions taken by the general, especially in crowning the heights in advance of the force, having had the effect of keeping the enemy in his front, and, as Mr. Allen remarks, "they generally made a miserable figure in the field." No serious affair afterwards took place, and they joined General Pollock at Kabul, to the great joy of both forces, which was increased by the deliverance of the prisoners, who were objects of intense curiosity.

Kabul has been so often described, that we shall not quote Mr. Allen's account of it. Though twice the size of Kandahar, the houses appeared to him generally inferior. The bazars were "very handsome for Affghanistan." The house inhabited by Sir A. Burnes was in ruins; the narrow street in which it stood, by the numerous marks of musket-balls, bore testimony to the fury of the conflict which had raged around it. Our author heard the praises of Akhbar Khan repeated by all the prisoners. "His character," he observes, "rose higher the more we heard of him. He appears to be, in humanity and courtesy, far in advance of the generality of his countrymen."

Mr. Allen had here many calls upon his sacred functions; he baptized three infants born during the captivity of their mothers, and having sought out and found, with some difficulty, a small Armenian community at Kabul, he performed the same rite to some of their children. He was much affected, he says, at finding this "little dim speck of Christianity" in the midst of utter darkness. When these Armenians were asked why they remained at Kabul, depressed and persecuted as they were, they replied, "How can we leave our church?"

Mr. Allen did not accompany the force under General McCaskill, which destroyed Istaliff, in Kohistan, but, upon the testimony of individuals who were present, he declares his firm conviction that the "brutalities and barbarities" which the Indian journals represented to have been committed in that expedition, are falsely charged; "that the same shameless exaggeration and falsehood with which almost every operation of this campaign has been assailed characterize this also." In the next page but one, however, he relates, under "*Sunday, the 9th October,*" the following occurrences, in which there is of course no exaggeration:—

This day, I regret to record, was selected for sending a working party into the town, to blow up and destroy the central building of the bazaar! This was the signal for European soldiers, sepoy, followers, all who could get away from camp, to commence plundering—a melancholy and disgraceful scene! Whether it could or could not have been prevented, by the proper exercise of decision and discipline on the part of the general, by whom I am fully persuaded that it was not approved, becomes not me to say. The following morning, as, in returning, I rode over the hill which separated the two camps, the city was blazing and smoking below me, and the fire spreading wider and wider.

11th.—Our halt still continued, and every kind of disgraceful outrage was suffered to go on in the town. The shops were broken open and rifled; every sort of plunder was displayed and offered for sale in the lines of both camps, which were like a fair; and an utter disorganisation of the force appeared likely to ensue, if this state of things were to continue: and this after a quiet halt of more than twenty days, and when we had replenished the commissariat supplies by the assistance of these poor people, who had returned to their shops upon an express proclamation of protection in the event of their doing so!

The succeeding day, October 12th, they commenced their march from Kabul to Peshawur, "joyfully turning their backs on the scene of former disgrace and present outrage." Even on the way to Bootkhak, eight miles, the first march, "the ground was thickly strewn with the skeletons of the sepoy and followers of General Elphinstone's force." As they advanced, these memorials of past calamity became more frequent: the whole length of the Khoord Kabul pass, about five miles, was cumbered with skeletons of men, camels, and horses. Some were gathered in crowds under rocks, as if to obtain shelter, and Mr. Allen counted twelve skeletons huddled together in one little nook. Most of them retained the hair, and the skin was dried on the bones. Some appeared as if clasped in each other's arms, or clinging together for warmth. The bodies lay in every conceivable attitude; some presenting a piteous resem-

blance of life ; others expressive of great agony. The scene in which these sights of death appeared, was wild and picturesque, “ such a confusion of heights and hollows, such sheer precipices and rugged ravines, that it seemed like the battle-field of the giants in their wars with Jupiter.”

The terrible effects of the march in such a country began to tell upon the camels and baggage-cattle, which were falling fast, and the annoyance of the enemy seems to have been greater than would appear from the public despatches. The force at length reached Jellalabad on the 25th. The Khybur Pass was threaded with some loss from the fierce tribes that guarded it, but the danger of the retreat was over when the force encamped at Peshawur, where the officers enjoyed the unbounded hospitality of General Avitabile, the governor, “ a tall, stout, elderly, and exceedingly affable man.” Mr. Allen breakfasted with the general in a noble room, 120 feet long.

Here the narrative may be said to end, though the author notices cursorily the march through the Punjab and the festivities at Ferozepore. Again referring to the misrepresentations of the retreat contained in the Indian journals, he observes that “ the force was infested by some unworthy and unwearied scribblers,—not many, for the letters were all in the same style of coarse vulgarity,—who poured forth a series of inventions and exaggerations.”

TRADE ON THE SUTLEJ AND INDUS.

A report of the traffic on the Sutlej and Indus, during 1842 and 1843, shews a great increase. The number of boats (other than trading ones) passing between Ferozepore and Sukkur, in the twelve months from January to December, 1842, was 338, of which number 147 were employed in transporting troops and officers' baggage; in the five months and a half from 1st January to 15th June, 1843, the number was 635, of which 393 were in military employment. The number of trading-boats passing between Ferozepore and Sukkur, in the twelve months from January to December, 1842, was 548, containing 218,084 maunds of merchandize ; in the five months and a half, the number of such boats was 526, carrying 127,542 maunds of merchandize. The reduction which the Indian Government has effected in the transit duties in Bhawulpore, it is expected, will give a still greater and enduring impulse to the traffic on those rivers.

BOMBAY IN 1843.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

CHANGING as it now is, I am anxious to portray somewhat of the general aspect of our Western Presidency in India, which, though second in rank, is in fact the most important; for steam, the great civilizer of the world, is working its influences there, and improvement, in its chameleon shapes, visits even the far shores of India. A little while, and all that forms the social and moral characteristics of Bombay may be no more; but, ere they pass, I would willingly arrest the forms of some of them.

Bombay is very near us now,—a voyage of only five-and-thirty days from London Bridge; yet how few amateur travellers even indulge the notion of extending their journey as far as the glowing East! A few artists, and an antiquary or two, avail themselves of the *Oriental* or *Great Liverpool* to visit Cairo and ascend the Nile; but for Bombay—one would as soon think of visiting the Sandwich Islands. There is some reason in this, and (as all our thoughts are woven of a mingled yarn) a good deal of prejudice and nonsense too, which raise imaginary difficulties and stumbling-blocks both to instruction and enjoyment. Yet I cannot avoid thinking that one winter out of many, to the man of the world, the man of taste, the poet, the architect, the antiquary, and the painter, would be well spent in passing onwards from the City of the Sultan to Egypt and India.

It has ever surprised me to find so little curiosity expressed at home about the Presidency of Western India, and I have often amused myself by an attempt to guess what were people's general ideas respecting it. It is considered generally, I believe, as an odd, mercantile kind of place, inhabited by people as brown as Wedgewood's tea-pots, who wear garments of white calico, shave their heads, and speak a strangely crabbed and unintelligible jargon. To persons acquainted with India—with its interesting inhabitants, its touching characteristics, its vast resources, its sublime and picturesque natural objects—this may appear ridiculous, but it is not the less true; and I appeal to any one not interested in Bombay, or thinking of it for the first time, whether the above notion is not, generally speaking, correct.

To persons not resident in Bombay, but who wend thither on sick certificate, or on their way to Europe, after a jungle life passed at some "out" or "*up-station*," as taste may define it, Bombay at once springs into a significance strangely and preposterously in advance of its real character, which is not that of remarkable refinement, extraordinary means of entertainment or improvement, or any thing else, in short, which allows it a comparison with London, Paris, or even our county towns; for all that can be said honestly and fairly of Bombay is, that it *reminds* one of that civilization in its highest sense which induces an immediate impression of self-deficiency, while it suddenly surrounds the stranger, to whom bread and potatoes may have long been luxuries,

with all the comforts and appliances of life, as they are in harmony with an Eastern climate.

It is well known that, during the rains, the European residents usually remain in the Fort, where the houses are large and tolerably free from lizards and scorpions, the shops numerous, and the general conveniences good ; but that, in winter, a general emigration takes place to the Esplanade, and with reason, for few positions can be more agreeable. The houses are of bamboo frame-work, covered with fine plaster and thatched in, and the ceilings are of white calico, from which are suspended lamps, green or white. The furniture is handsome, costly, and convenient ; the dwelling is surrounded with flowering shrubs, and while one entrance looks over the smooth sands and the beautiful bay, the other is gay with the passing crowds—some native, some European—who press towards a military band, which enlivens the neighbouring green at sunset.

During the heat of the day, notwithstanding the breeze, screens of fragrant grass are placed against the open doors of the Esplanade bungalows, while drowsy domestics, lately risen from their *kaliun*, often drugged rather too abundantly with opium, pull the well-known punkahs—inventions usually pleasant, and I believe salubrious, for all but elderly rheumatic gentlemen with bald heads, but which have their disadvantages ; as, for instance, when one is determined on some occupation—to work, to draw, to write—the humnall is told to pull the punkah ; he obeys, vigorously at first, *rallentando* (as musicians say) at length, then wholly stops. The poor man has fallen asleep, and mingled heat and sympathy induce one to follow his example. Suddenly, however, the hummall awakes alarmed ; the punkah is dashed violently to and fro, when papers, work, drawings, all are scattered round the room, and the originally industriously inclined gives up occupation in despair.

As a city, Bombay externally does not present many sources of recreation ; still, time passes quickly—aye, and most pleasantly too—for there, as elsewhere in India, is an absence of care, a certainty of provision, and a clear sky. O'Connell may struggle for repeal in Ireland, or the people of Paris clamour against the fortifications, which they blindly demanded,—politics disturb not the social peace of India ; people dine, and neither their curry is chilled nor their champagne heated by party discussions, for the servants of Government have nothing to do with aught but loyalty and obedience, while care and personal anxiety pass away with the soup.

But how is it possible, says the reader of the morning journals, that without disquisitions on Manchester, distresses and foreign policy life can go on ? The question is relevant, and therefore I will describe the manner in which we usually pass a day in Bombay.

The mornings are often dewy and warm,—therefore, people seldom ride ; but they saunter about with dressing-gown and book in a pleasant garden or a cool verandah, sip coffee, read their letters, and enjoy tranquillity, until the bath, followed by a rice and fish breakfast, com-

mences the day. "Fish for breakfast?" even so; yet neither fresh herrings nor pickled salmon, but the most dainty, delicate creature that owes life to salt water,—the pomflet, newly caught, and full of flavour. Then the rice, like a snow-drift; the delicious infusion from the freshly gathered tea from neighbouring China, the bouquet of fragrant flowers, the dazzling table-cloth, the refreshing punkah, the clean, respectful servants, all tend to increase the agreeableness of the time; and, with the additions of a daily paper, and speculations on the arrival of the next steamer, few things, socially speaking, are pleasanter than a Bombay breakfast. After this, the carriage draws round, in readiness for visiting; or the palaukeen, with wetted kuskos mats and luxurious cushions, is in attendance, in charge of eight good-humoured, sturdy bearers, should shopping or business require their services. At two, the well-known tiffin appears—not the heavy meal commonly described, not the coarse abuse of living, but its grace—luscious fruits, the pommellow or mangoe, the grapes of Aurungabad, creams, jellies, and confectionary. The morning visitors remain; a pleasant party is formed to ride or drive, and at seven the dinner appears, which is often a mere parade of dishes, yet there is chat and kindliness, with abundant hospitality. Three hours pass, and unless a ball, a party, or some cogent reason demand otherwise, the occupations of the day are ended.

There is neither a theatre nor a concert-room in Bombay; this, perhaps, is fortunate, as late hours are destructive to health in a tropical climate. Still, much time might be agreeably passed if music, as an accomplishment, were more cultivated, for it would increase sociability, and win many from less graceful pastimes; but, unfortunately, all the machinery of the fine arts is procured with difficulty, and it is therefore only among persons of extraordinary energy that their practice is continued. Bombay, indeed, possesses shops, and they deserve notice as a portion of its physiognomy; but the high charges and paucity of supplies, confined also to what is most commonly on demand, render them ill calculated to give a stimulus to the arts. In proof of this, let us imagine ourselves to have entered one of the principal shops, and the scene will afford a fair sample of their contents, and will also shew how inefficient they are to gratify taste, or to satisfy the numerous wants of civilized life.

The Parsee master, attired in a white cotton garment and pointed head-dress of glazed chintz, meets the visitor at the door, and with something more grave than a nod, yet scarcely graceful enough to be called a bow, ushers him along between a double row of glass cases; less, certainly, but of the same form as those which English gardeners use for raising cucumbers. These are locked; but as soon as the article sought for is supposed to be seen, the Parsee produces from a large pocket in the side of his dress a small bunch of keys, when something remembered to be in fashion or invented ten years ago is laid before the purchaser. Nothing of the kind can carry disappointment farther than a Parsee shop, where, in lieu of the improvements of modern times, where the highest degree of convenience is the object desired by the manufacturer,

are to be found articles only of the most cumbrous kind ; the mechanism, where any exists, totally deranged, and the intrinsic value consequently lost. The poor Parsee, however, knows little of all this, and prices his various goods with amusing inconsistency, making all pay for his bad debts and damaged wares.

A very excellent chemist's shop is established in the Fort, which disseminates the blessing of soda-water over the whole Presidency. But the most important want is that of a boot and shoe maker, notwithstanding that there are two well-meaning but very incapable persons, father and son, natives of the Celestial empire, who wander from house to house, with white coats, red slippers, straw hats, flat features, and long plaited hair, holding in their hands little bundles, containing silk and satin shoes intended to fit every body, and consequently fitting nobody. These worthy Crispins receive orders, and with bad leather, coarse linen, and paste in abundance, essay their execution, the result being, that the public pay for their want of skill, in the penalty of uneasy or distorted feet.

Two or three Portuguese have libraries in the Fort—dark, dismal places, containing a few standard and elementary works that no one ever reads, and which certainly cannot rank with either cheap or entertaining literature ; but then, for reference, there is the splendid library of the Town Hall ; and for purchase, the scattered volumes of a Borah's basket, purchased at the sale of an officer's effects, or perhaps bartered by a new arrival for a packet of Windsor soap, or a new bridle for his cream-coloured tattoo. The Borah, like the reader of a circulating library, values books according to the lateness of their date of publication ; he learns the title-pages by rote, and sets a store upon illustrations, quite indifferent whether they are of John Gilpin or the Book of Beauty. One itinerant vender, in particular, known as Esso Borah, is celebrated for his collection of guns, books, and plated ware, German silver being also admissible ; but it is difficult to deal with him, unless by placing the shining coin upon the table, and leaving to temptation its full weight in a form that no Asiatic can withstand.

In olden times, before steamers brought out crowds of ladies attired in Parisian fashions, and before it was considered necessary to send to England for regular supplies of tasteful attire, the Borahs, who purchased vast quantities of goods strangely thrown together in the lots of a hurried auction, arranged at the instigation of the master of a Liverpool brig, were looked to for all that was required, from a paper of pins to a ball dress. But things have changed, and Borahs are daily becoming of less repute ; their taste is questioned, their fashions laughed at, and their self-importance shaken ; still, one or two retain their *entrée* to the morning room, and many beautiful women in Bombay still owe much of their attire to a "Borah's basket."

One little fat Hindoo, who lives out beyond the town, and is particular in his devotions—a fact proved by his shining visage fresh from ablution, and the newly-attached circles of bright pigment on his brow—too genial in his habits to allow of much walking, and too wealthy to

render it necessary,—was accustomed almost daily to make his appearance in a bullock-garee (cart), well covered-in, and containing three or four parcels of rich merchandize, which the coolies (or porters) used to bring into my room, when my fat friend, with a countenance of most solemn aspect, seated himself among them, and, with the air of a man happy in doing his duty, but not caring how long it occupied him, leisurely proceeded to untie. In one was displayed a rich pile of Cashmere shawls and Delhie scarfs; in another, fine muslins and pretty China silks; in a third, chintzes, calicos, crapes, and woollens. Very probably you care not for any of these things: the fat Borah wipes his brow and beckons to a cooli, whispering a word in his ear; the man disappears, but soon returns; in his hand is a small mahogany box, which he hands to his master; the Borah seeks a key, it opens, and a blaze of jewels, some of great value, glitters before the eyes of the sorely-tempted; rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds, some well set, others in their native state. The wealth of the man must be enormous, but he loves his itinerant trade, and continues it from choice. Sometimes, with humbler aim and smaller capital, laces and bobbins form the stock in trade of a simple-minded Borah; but sometimes, again, the itinerant trader deals largely in pearls, bringing with him a capacious box, containing thousands, loose and undrilled, large and small together, selling them by weight; you take up a handful, and the owner looks calmly on, as if they were grains of corn.

Next appears the vender of coral, jasper, and cornelian; of ivory boxes and inlaid watch-stands; but only the newly-arrived or the speedily-departing patronize them much. It is otherwise, however, with the general or “chow chow” Borah, as he is called, for his soap, pickles, whips, vinegar, cotton socks, eau de cologne, essence of ginger, and orange marmalade, find ready purchasers everywhere.

As I have said, the time is at hand when the trade of the Borahs will cease; they are a distinct feature in the physiognomy of Bombay, however, and as such their loss will be regretted; for though their eau de cologne is little better than spirits of wine, their calico too often rotten, and their Scotch marmalade the production of Surat, yet the Borah is a character, and one often possessing a great fund of drollery and good-nature. This is particularly displayed at times when the Borah is required to exchange, as well as to sell goods, this arrangement being also part of his calling, and commonly conducted in a way that is replete with amusement to the looker-on. The Borah will purchase any thing, animate or inanimate—blankets, mathematical instruments, goats, or horses. Occasionally, an old pony is exchanged for a pair of pistols, or a much-worn copy of Chaucer for a new tandem whip, when a great deal of raillery is frequently carried on between the buyer and seller, for public indulgence allows much latitude to the Borah among those to whom his character and calling afford constant amusement during the leisure hours of a hot day in India.

The horse-dealers are also among the characteristics of Bombay. In the centre nearly of the great bazaar, the stranger observes a long row

of thatched buildings, surrounded by a mud wall ; these are the Arab stables, and here is centered a considerable portion of the happiness of the male community. Lounging on benches outside the wall, are to be seen the dealers, chatting with their Persian friends, who are usually moonshees in the employ of European officers, or merchants in the town ; the costume of the horse-dealers consists of under-garments of white cotton, over which are robes with hanging sleeves, in colour either pale blue or orange, with handsome waist-shawls and crimson slippers ; their turbans are commonly of striped silk and cotton, tasselled like the handkerchiefs of the Bedouins, and beneath these, gleam eyes radiant with the cunning which accompanies an intimate knowledge of their peculiar calling.

When a boat-load of horses arrives fresh from the Persian Gulf, nothing can exceed the excitement produced among the racing members of the Bombay Society, with that of the hunting portion of the world generally who may chance to be for the time at the presidency. The horses, from having been stowed closely together, much as the poor Africans are described to be on board a slaver, with little food, less water, and no exercise, lose all their beauty of appearance, and are commonly reduced to mere bone and muscle ; the experienced eye, however, judges better of them in this state, roundness of form being quite unnecessary for shewing the real power or symmetry of a high caste Arab ; therefore, as soon as the "dow" discharges its cargo, the sporting men hurry to the stables, and make an immediate selection, frequently paying three or four hundred pounds for what to an unskilled eye might seem but the diseased frame-work of a horse. After this, the Arab dealers exert all their skill to pass off at the best prices the nags that are considered unworthy to contest the glories of either the turf or the "jungle-side," and this they effect with admirable jockeyship. Being all excellent riders (for clinging to a horse seems not a matter of acquirement, but of nature, with an Arab, like a sixth sense), a servant of the stables will fling himself on the bare back of the most vicious animal in his master's possession, perhaps, and with tangled locks, and garments wildly flowing, gallop him backwards and forwards, while the uninitiated and hoped-for purchaser wonderingly looks on, convinced that the heavy-shouldered, hatched-headed, zebra-striped brute before him must be the perfection of high caste and fine temper to be so managed with a single-rope bridle and the spur of a bare heel, and in this spirit the dealer persuades his victim to give a large sum for a horse that runs away with him the first day he mounts him, and kicks him off the second. The deluded purchaser seldom likes to acknowledge this, and the dealer, therefore, hears no more of him ; the dupe of his skill hastens to barter the ill-conditioned animal with a friend, and, as "doing business," as it is called, is a great amusement among the young men in India, the matter is soon arranged, and the original purchaser gets rid of the horse for perhaps a clever pony, a "Mackintosh," and a dozen or two of pale ale, and after all, when in

experienced hands, the horse often turns out a valuable hunter, and earns great reputation.

The anecdotes that an Arab dealer amuses his favourite customers with are often admirable, while his general conduct fully proves his capacity for rightly appreciating the peculiar characters of all who frequent the stables.

Racing is not so much the fashion now as it used to be in India, and the Bombay course, although a very fine one, seems year by year to prove less attractive; and fortunate is it that such is the case, for while to men of fortune and large emoluments racing proves only an agreeable and exciting method of employing superabundant means, it is, as a species of gambling, so seductive, that few can resist its allurements, when thrown into the society of racing men, and the result is, a fearful accumulation of debt, which would be bitter ruin in any other country, and even in India, often bows the victim down with pecuniary difficulty, and involves him in poverty and disgrace.

The sportsman ever dislikes Bombay, for beautiful as the island is, with its rocky mountain scenery and dense jungles along the coast, studded with the cave temples of an ancient superstition, it is not a country that can be ridden over, and although some species of game are to be found in abundance about the underwood of Salsette, and the back of the island itself, yet the marshy character of the ground, and its ill-reputation for malaria, cause shooting to be avoided, even by the most zealous sportsman. Bombay itself, before our occupation of it, was a mere swamp, covered with jungle, abounding with wild beasts, and studded with magnificent temples, carved, like those of Petra, in the living rock, while it was inhabited by a class of Hindoos of whom little is now known; in the present day it is well drained, and rice is abundantly grown in its low grounds; yet nature will sometimes prove herself the stronger, and so in Bombay, about the woods of Mahim, the jungles of Salsette, and even nearer still, around the very bazaar itself, in the outskirts of the native town, the same original character exists. Heavy mists rise up at sunset from the lower grounds, engendering fever to all who may be exposed to them; and during the rains, the stranger is often kept for whole nights awake by the croaking of the bull-frogs beneath his window. In healthy situations in Bombay, Europeans appear to retain their health better than at outstations, which may, perhaps, be attributed to good water, and the refreshing influence of the sea-breeze; but it is remarked, that they soon lose the healthy look which those have been able to retain who remain at the out-stations, while they have a more generally delicate and pallid appearance.

The damp, relaxing climate, and the comparatively luxurious habits of living, at the presidency, may have something to do with producing this effect, for although part of the green near the Esplanade forms a cricket-ground, and there is a good racket-court at the entrance of the bazaar, few of the old residents avail themselves of such means of exercise, being content with that afforded by an easy palankeen or well-

appointed carriage; while, at an out-station, horse-exercise and hunting form the chief recreation of life, and really tend, I believe, to balance the evils of hot winds, sand-storms, and other miseries to which we are there subject.

In a general point of view, it is unfortunate that the native town of Bombay lies between the country and the Fort, between the residences of families in the environs, including Parell, the seat of the governor, and the town hall, with the shops and houses of Europeans inside the walls, because, whenever it is desired to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the country by those in town, or those in the country wish to pay visits in the fort, the native bazaar must be passed, and persons who have ceased to note the characteristics of the people, or feel a species of antipathy towards them, as some unhappily do, find the necessity irksome, as do bad drivers, and the riders of timid horses, who may, perhaps, be the best excused, for what with the wandering devotees, with bunches of peacocks' feathers on their heads, the fluttering sarrees of the women, the deafening gongs of the temples, and the variety of vehicles dashing to and fro, a scene is created enough to overthrow the steadymindedness of any but a steel well-accustomed to such offences against sight and hearing; while, if it be a holiday, torches whirled rapidly in the air, fireworks, Chinese coloured lamps, and combustible balls strewed along the road, render the unfortunate animal who may bear his rider through the great bazaar still less master of himself, and the most steady horses have been known, during the excitements of a festival, to spring into a copper-smith's shop, or to rear up against a passing palankeen, terrified into temporary madness by the sights and sounds around them.

Still, few things can afford more interesting or picturesque effects than the great bazaar, beginning with the gay, open Esplanade, its pretty bungalows, and animated groups, with the fort and bay in advance, and ending with the dark coco-nut woods, speckled with the handsome villas of the European gentry.

The beautiful Parsee women, with their gay green and orange-coloured sarrees, chatting at the wells to the graceful, handsome sepoy, whose high caste compels them to draw water for themselves; the crowded ways, peopled with professors of almost every known creed, and natives of almost every land; the open shops, filled with goods to suit all tastes, "corn, and wine, and oil," in their literal sense, with women's bracelets (a trade in itself), culinary utensils, and fair ivory work; the gorgeous temples, beneath whose porticos young girls weave blossoms of fresh flowers; the quaint, though barbarous paintings that deck many of the exteriors of the houses; the streets devoted to the cunning work of gold and silver; the richly carved decorations; the variety of costumes that meet the eye, and the languages that fall upon the ear; the native procession that stops the way; the devotee, performing his unnatural penance; the harmonies of light and colour; the rich dresses; the contrasts of life and character,—such as the stately, yet half-nude Brahmin, the intoxicated English sailor, the dancing-girl, and the devotee, with the intermediate shades,—each and all, to the

reflecting mind, are full of interest ; and although, towards twilight, the bazaar is deeply shadowed, and the fresh breeze reaches it not ; although the dust rises in clouds, the air is stagnant, and the native drivers care nothing for the right of road, pressing to either side as suits them best, causing irritation, suspense, and danger to all whom they encounter ; still the Bombay bazaar outbalances in interest all its worst annoyances, and is in its peculiarities, I believe, *unique*. As a common rule, however, people avoid it, but on the Sunday it is always crowded, as the residents of the Esplanade and Fort proceed through it to the Breach, a charming drive along the rocky coast at the back of the island ; and the Parsees, who love to follow European customs, likewise go there, so that the way is crowded.

The number and variety of persons who now arrive, in monthly depositions, at the Bombay presidency, lessen most materially the interest of new arrivals. Bachelors, weary of their state, no longer hurry down to catch the first glimpse of a new belle, nor does the solitary officer, on outpost duty, pen an elaborate proposal of marriage to a lady he has never seen, lest some happier man anticipate his hopes. A ship may arrive from London, and some individual, who has a box of millinery or of saddlery on board, is charmed at the news, and by the same day's post writes to his agents about her ; but here it ends ; there is no general interest felt. A Liverpool brig comes into port, and no kind husband hurries on board to secure the prettiest bonnet in the captain's cargo for his wife ; nor do ladies' hearts beat more quickly at the prospect of seeing London fashions of only six months' date ; all this is changed or changing ; steam is exerting its influence on the whole character of India, and of its European society. There is now no longer a want of interest on literary or other subjects. English periodicals and newspapers arrive in Bombay almost damp from the press.

Such is some portion of the good which rapid communication is effecting for the European society of India, and of Bombay particularly ; but the greatest and most valuable is that which we may expect it to produce on the opinions of the native population.

The Parsees, as we know, are considered the most progressive and also the most positively enlightened people among the natives of Western India, owing to their freedom from the shackles of caste, and the commercial zeal which brings them more acquainted with foreign habits and society, and the effect is, that several of the Parsee gentlemen, Homarjee Bomanjee, Esq., Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy, Esq., and others, with the exception of their costume, and some strict ideas about the seclusion of their women, differ little from Europeans in the liberality of their views and their anxiety for public good.

A mistake is sometimes made in England, in identifying the Parsees with the people of India, when in fact they form a very small portion of its foreign society, and are so peculiarly disliked by both Hindoos and Mohamedans, that, instead of following the example of Parsees, the Moslems would be more disposed to fortify their barriers against innova-

tion, because admitted by this despised class,—a fact, I think, not generally understood at home.

The Hindoos do not possess the same advantages in Bombay that are presented by the College of Calcutta, where a band of learned men support each other in holding liberal opinions, and endeavouring to promulgate them by public lectures, or the influence of the press. I have never seen a book, written by a Hindoo of Bombay, in favour of the education of women, nor read leading articles in the native journals denouncing suttee; neither have I been invited to witness the marriage of a Brahmin with a widow; yet we have in Juggernath Sunkerset, Esq., and some other Hindoo gentlemen, proofs that their class is fully capable of becoming both learned and liberal in opinion and action.

In Great Britain, in France, in any civilized country where improvement naturally succeeds improvement, changes are so gradual, and new things so dove-tail themselves into the old, that we are not surprised into noticing them; but in India, where, from our first occupation of the country until the first steamer was despatched to Suez, there was little change, all that is now coming rapidly upon her, is full of wonder and of interest. Strange changes! where the calm Hindoo or the solemn Moslem now mounts his camel, and in the land where little was known but legends, the transcription of which occupied a life, bears through dense jungles and over desert wastes the last new work of a Dickens or a Trollope. Strange changes! when the last modes of Herbault, the newest fashions of Parisian milliners, find their way to the noble city of the caliphs, and across the wild desert, under the guard of Arabs, even to the ancient land, in which, for thousands of years, neither manners, nor religion, nor costumes have changed! Yet stranger things than these are, I believe, at hand, for the trivial and the inconsequent herald the gradual coming of the solemn and the great—and all who know what the character even of our lesser presidency was but ten years since, and what it now is, will acknowledge the effect produced by the present rapid communication, and will allow that light is breaking, and that the clouds of ignorance that lowered on our Eastern horizon are tinged at length with the rising sun of truth and science.

THE "JOURNAL ASIATIQUE."

NO. II.

WE resume our notice of this work with the *Journal* for March, which contains some valuable papers.

The first is a translation by the Baron MacGuekin de Slane, from MSS. in the King's Library, of Ibn Batuta's "Travels in Soudan," the last journey performed by that enterprising traveller. Of the four copies of the Arabic text, which M. de Slane had before him when he made his translation, one (in his opinion) is the autograph copy of Ibn Jozac, the original editor of the Travels of Ibn Batuta, during the life of the latter.

The Baron de Slane remarks that, in the narrative of his journey in Africa, Ibn Batuta evinces an accuracy of observation and a fidelity of report which are in vain sought in that of his travels in the East, which discovers a strong leaning towards the marvellous. The reason is obvious: had he indulged this propensity in Africa, he would have found persons even at Fez who could have detected his misrepresentations.

The traveller set off from Spain, about A.D. 1352, and proceeded to Morocco, which he describes as a superb city, of great extent, in which were large mosques, one of them having a tower of extraordinary height. "If the market-places of Morocco had been handsomer," he observes, "this city might be compared with Bagdad." He thence proceeded to Fez, the seat of the empire, and having taken leave of the Sultan, commenced his journey to the country of the Blacks.

In his passage through the desert, his party met with the following incident. A merchant, belonging to the caravan, who was fond of catching and playing with the serpents in which the desert abounded, on thrusting his hand into a lizard's hole, to draw out the animal, was bit by a serpent on the little finger of the right hand. The wound was cauterized with hot iron, but the pain towards the evening became intense. The merchant thereupon slew a camel, and having thrust his hand into the stomach, kept it there the whole night. The flesh of the finger mortified, and it was amputated close to the hand.

The manners of the people of Iwalaten are described by Ibn Batuta as very singular. Sons do not inherit from the father, but nephews, the sons of the father's sister: "a custom," observes the traveller, "which I never met with except amongst the infidels of the country of Malabar in India." The women were allowed to

choose intimate friends amongst the other sex, and a husband testified no surprise or annoyance at coming home and finding his lady *tête-à-tête* with her "friend;" the men, on their side, had a similar privilege, and enjoyed the utmost license of *liaison* with female intimates. The traveller was greatly shocked at this immorality.

At a large village named Zaghari, inhabited by negro merchants called Wanjarata, they saw some white men, who professed the heretical doctrines of the Ibadites, and were called Seghanghoo. From Zaghari they proceeded to "the great river Nile (Niger), on which is the city of Karsakoo. From thence the Nile runs to Kabera, thence successively to Zagha, Tenboktu (Timbuctoo), Kookoo, and Moolee, in the country of the Linceeyen: all these places being subject to the king of Melli. From Moolee the Nile runs to Yoofee, "one of the greatest countries of Soudan, which white men cannot enter; they are killed before they reach it." The Nile then flows into the country of the Nubians, "where Christianity is professed," and goes near Dongola, "the greatest town in the country;" the river then runs to the Cataracts, which form the ultimate limit of Soudan, and where the government of Syene begins, in Upper Egypt. This course of the Niger must be drawn in some parts conjecturally. At Karsakoo, the traveller saw a crocodile on the river's bank.

On his arrival at Melli, the capital of Soudan, he proceeded to the quarter of the whites, where he had beforehand hired a house. He experienced much hospitality from the negro men of authority in the city, as well as from some natives of Egypt and Morocco who dwelt there; but he was nearly poisoned by something he ate in his soup, prepared with an article like colo-casia, called *cafee*. Ibn Batuta was two months recovering from the effects of this medicamented soup, which delayed his introduction to the Sultan of Melli, Mansa Soleyman. He is described as a stingy prince, who made no presents to any one; but he condescended to send Ibn Batuta three cakes of cheese, a piece of fried beef, and a calabash of curdled milk. The traveller ventured to expostulate with the Sultan on this head. "I have travelled through all the countries in the world," he said to him; "I have been presented to all their sovereigns, and here have I been four months in your country without receiving any hospitality at your hands, or even a present! What shall I say of you to other sultans?" This appeal to Mansa Soleyman's sense of shame had the effect of extorting from him 133½ mithcals of gold.

Ibn Batuta gives minute details of the ceremonies of the court,

which have nothing remarkable in them. The abject tokens of respect and submission exacted from his subjects are thus stated :—

The blacks are of all people the most submissive to their sovereign ; they swear by his name. When he is seated in the alcove, if he calls any one, the latter begins by taking off his dress and putting on an older, substituting a dirty cap for his turban, and on entering drops his trowsers half down his legs ; then advancing with much gravity and a very humble look, he knocks the ground very violently with his elbows ; he next raises himself up on his knees, and in the position of a person who is saying his prayers, he listens attentively to what the prince says. Before he replies, he bares his back, and throws dust upon it, as well as upon his head, in the same manner as is done when the office of religious purification is performed with sand. I was astonished that they did not blind themselves in going through this ceremony.

Ibn Jozae, the editor of the original work, confirms this account, by stating that when an envoy came from Mansa Soleyman to Sultan Abou'l Hasan, "he presented himself before his august majesty, attended by one of his suite carrying a basket of dust, and whenever the prince addressed to him a complimentary remark, he threw some upon his body, in the manner of his country." Ibn Khaldoun, as M. de Slane observes, in his *History of the Berbers*, makes mention of this embassy, and does not omit to notice this latter circumstance.

Ibn Batuta sums up, under two heads, what he found good and bad in the conduct of the blacks. Acts of injustice were rare amongst them ; throughout the whole country, so great was the security of travellers that theft and rapine were unknown. They did not confiscate the property of white men who died in their country. They performed prayers regularly, and were very constant in their attendance at the mosques, which were crowded, and they took care to learn the *Coran* by heart. They forced their children to acquire the contents of this book by putting them in fetters till they could repeat them. These were some of their good qualities. On the other hand, they made their slaves, male and female, appear in public frequently naked, and no female could present herself before the Sultan, not even his own daughters, but in the same condition. They were, moreover, compelled to throw the customary dust upon their heads, and many of them were permitted to eat only carrion and the flesh of dogs and asses.

On leaving Melli, he travelled on a camel (horses being very dear) to a large canal or gulf of the Nile ; on the banks of it he beheld sixteen animals, the size of which excited his wonder.

At first, he took them for elephants; but seeing some of them take to the water, he asked what they were, and was told they were river-horses, which had quitted the water to graze. He describes their appearance, and states that they were killed by means of a harpoon, the flesh being eaten.

The traveller gives some particulars of a nation of Kafir man-eaters. One of the sovereigns of Melli, by way of punishment, banished one of his ministers into their country, but as he was a white man, they declined eating him, "the flesh of whites, according to them, being unwholesome, by reason that it has not yet attained its perfect maturity." A party of these black anthropophagi came to the court of the Sultan of Melli. They wore cloaks of silk, and enormous rings in their ears. The Sultan received them hospitably, and for their entertainment gave them a slave, whom they immediately killed and devoured; presenting themselves before the Sultan with their faces and hands smeared with blood, they thanked him for his good cheer. "I was told," says Ibn Batuta, "that they consider the hands and teats as the most delicate morsels."

From the canal, he travelled to Coreo Mansa, thence to Mima, and thence to the celebrated city of Timbuctoo. This place, the name of which is written in some MSS. Tenboktoo and in others Tonboktoo, is stated by Ibn Batuta to be situated four miles from the Nile (Niger). Most of the inhabitants, he says, were Mes-soofites, a branch of the tribe of Sanhaja, and wore the *litham*, a kind of bandage which covers the cheeks, chin, and mouth, and is now worn by most of the tribes inhabiting the desert. Ibn Batuta gives a very slender account of this city. He states that it was governed by a Hakim, named Farba Musa, and that in the city were the tombs of Abu Ishac es-Sahili, a native of Granada, a distinguished Arabian poet (who died there about seven years before), and of an eminent merchant of Alexandria, who had come thus far to recover a debt due to him from the King of Melli. These facts shew that an intercourse must have subsisted at that time between Timbuctoo and the remote parts of the Arabian empire.

On leaving this city, he embarked on the Nile in a small canoe made of a trunk of a tree hollowed out, and arrived at Kookoo, on the Nile, one of the largest and finest cities of Soudan. Here Ibn Batuta remained a month, but he gives no further description of the place, and speaks only of the friends he met with there. He resumed his journey by land, with a large caravan, to Takedda, traversing the country of the Berdanas, a Berber tribe, who were nomades. Their tents were constructed in a peculiar manner. They

erected poles on which they placed mats, supported by wooden trellis-work, the whole covered with skins or cotton cloth. "Their women," observes the traveller, "are extremely handsome and well-formed, perfectly white, and of an *embonpoint* surpassing every thing I had previously seen. They drank cows' milk and millet flour beaten up with cold water, morning and evening."

Ibn Batuta arrived at Takedda in very bad health. The houses of this city, he says, were of red stone. The water was discoloured, and very ill-tasted, owing to its passage through copper-mines; corn and millet were very dear; scorpions abounded there, and the population attended to nothing but commerce: "Every year, they make a journey to Egypt in quest of handsome cloths and other merchandize. They are wealthy, and pride themselves upon the number of slaves they have." The copper, he says, was procured by digging the earth, and the mineral was brought to Takedda to be smelted by slaves.

At this place, Ibn Batuta received an order from his sovereign to return, and he accordingly quitted Takedda with a large caravan, and towards the end of A.H. 754 he arrived at Fez, where he "kissed the benevolent hand" of his sovereign, "and drew from his aspect an augury of his future happiness."

Appended to this translation is a letter from the Baron de Slane to M. Reinaud, setting forth the reasons which lead him to conclude that one of the MSS. of Ibn Batuta's work was the autograph copy of his original editor, Ibn Jozac. These reasons appear to be conclusive, and the fact is curious.

The next paper is a "List of Works printed at Constantinople in the course of the year 1841," by the Baron Hammer-Purgstall; being a continuation of the lists contained in other works. The number enumerated is 190, besides some small publications that were lithographed.

A few minor papers conclude the number, of which we merely record the titles:—A Notice of Mr. R. Thom's Translation of the Fables of *Æsop* into Chinese, by M. Bazin, sen.; a Note on a Punic Inscription discovered at Cape Carthage in 1841, by M. de Sauley; and a Note on a large Chinese Map, recently sent to Paris by M. de Jancigny, from China, consisting of eight sheets, and comprehending the whole Chinese empire, from the eastern extremity of Mantchooria to the confines of Turkestan on the west, by M. Biot.

The great bulk of the April *Journal* is occupied with a continuation of Dr. Worms's researches respecting territorial rights in Musulman countries. The present portion is exclusively confined to Egypt, and

in the course of it the author discusses the accuracy of the definition given by the late Baron Silvestre de Sacy of the term *iktaa* (الإقطاع), namely, a grant of land, at first made by the khalifs gratuitously, and at a later period, by the Seljukide dynasty, on account of military services. In order to shew the exact legal signification of the term, Dr. Worms has extracted the entire chapter treating of "the laws concerning *iktaas*," from Mawerdi's work on the "Precepts of Government," from which Makrizi, the Baron's authority, has borrowed most of what he has written on the subject. From this source Dr. Worms shews that there never was, and never could be, grants of territorial property in Egypt, and that the early grants made by the third khalif, Othman, were only precarious donations of the usufruct, on condition of paying the *kharaj*, and not gratuitous grants, as M. de Sacy supposed. Even the passages cited by him from Makrizi prove that, in Egypt, as in Persia and India, the fiefs of the lords were only transfers of certain portions of the tribute, or *kharaj*, payable in different districts, upon which the sovereigns were in the habit of making assignments, not only to individuals, but for the benefit of disabled soldiers. The theory of the Baron de Sacy, that those personal and revokable grants were often rendered hereditary by their being converted into *wakf*, or pious foundations, Dr. Worms considers not only unsupported by evidence, but irreconcilable with the conditions indispensable to the constitution of a *wakf*, of which the chief is, that the founder must possess the actual right of property in the article thus alienated. The error committed, as Dr. Worms alleges, by M. de Sacy, affects some of the most important conclusions of that illustrious Oriental scholar. He observes:—

If M. de Sacy, favoured as I have been by a fortunate accident, had met with those portions of the treatises on Musulman legislation, from whence it results that the law directed that *wakf* creations should be made for the benefit of the victorious community, when the territory of the conquered and consequently tribute-paying country is not divided as booty amongst the conquerors; if, after studying the laws of *wakf* with his habitual sagacity, he had discovered that the effect of conversion to *wakf* is instantly to neutralize and annul the exercise of the right of property, so that the proprietor of the thing made *wakf* loses his rights therein without their passing into the power of any other person, and the thing could thereafter be neither sold, given away, nor transmitted by inheritance, and was susceptible of nothing more than the yielding the usufruct and of location; he would have understood, without having recourse to painful and fruitless investigations, how it happened that, in Egypt, the right of property in the soil be-

longed to nobody ; he would not have fallen into the common error, which attributes this right to the sovereign, and, instead of seeking to discover the origin and vicissitudes of this imaginary fact, he would have been convinced that the state of things before his eyes was the result of neither usurpation nor the depopulation of the country, but a natural consequence of the legal prescriptions established as early as the twelfth year of the Hejira, by Omar himself, the very khalif who, as he thought, never exacted from Egypt more than the acquittance of regal rights. He would have infallibly perceived that the institution of *wakf* neutralized all right of property in the soil ; that it was for the benefit of the community in favour of which the *wakf* was founded, and not for his own, that the sovereign directed the employment and the assignment of the usufruct, the only right which remained at his disposal ; that the mooltazim (feudal lord), who deducted from the revenue, the collection of which was entrusted to him, the salary of his office, must be clothed with the authority necessary to stimulate the labourer to cultivation, towards whom he represented the sovereign ; whilst the labourer, or fellah, was the sole person who had a right of possession in the land, since such right was respected by the sovereign and the lord, so long as the labourer did not, through his negligence, compromise the future revenue or impost, which was the great object of *wakf*, or pious foundation. It is this last consideration which produces the effect, that, in places where the population is numerous and eager for land, the indolent labourer is dispossessed, whilst in those countries which are under-peopled, the fellah, who cannot be replaced, is compelled to labour by menaces, and even brought back by force to the field he had deserted. All I have said is impliedly comprised in the following short passage from the Code of War of Sidi Krelil :—"And the land must be made *wakf* as (has taken place) in Egypt, Syria, and Irak."

Dr. Worms thinks that travellers in Egypt and political writers have been misled by the Baron de Sacy's conclusions, when they accuse Mehemet Ali, the present viceroy of that country, of usurpation. The Pasha has been reproached, 1st, with having taken possession arbitrarily of the whole landed properties of the mooltazims ; 2ndly, with laying a sacrilegious hand upon the *wakoufs*, or pious foundations ; 3rdly, with having imposed upon the fellahs the obligation of devoting the largest proportion of their lands to the raising of particular articles of produce which are calculated to augment the revenues of his treasury. With respect to the first, Dr. Worms expresses some surprise that any person, however ignorant of the nature of the territorial rights, should conceive that a prince, however powerful, could at once dispossess all the mooltazims of their property without provoking a revolt, of which he would be the first victim. The ease and silence with which this

supposed usurpation was effected ought, Dr. Worms observes, to have opened the eyes of these writers to the facts, more especially when they found that the mooltazims, an important class, sanctioned the act by accepting the indemnity offered them. How happened it, he asks, when the dispute between the Pasha and the Sultan was adjusted by the mediation of certain powers of Europe, that the Turkish cabinet and the European diplomatists did not insist upon such an act of obvious justice as the restoration of the mooltazims, which would, moreover, have withdrawn an element of strength from Mehemet, and interposed a permanent obstacle to the extension of his power? The territory of Egypt being *wakf*, there is no right of property in its soil possessed by any one, and the right of possession is in the fellah, or labourer, so long as he does not neglect the cultivation. The fellah cultivates the land as formerly, and if the mooltazim had no right in the soil, the Pasha could not have taken it away. The mooltazim was only a middle-man between the sovereign and the fellah, entrusted with the office of collecting the revenue. This office was abused, and at the time when Mehemet Ali was in most need of resources, the greater part of the revenue was absorbed by these seigniorial collectors, who were expert in extracting from their districts much more than was assigned to them. In divesting them, however, and placing the districts under the kachefs, or governors of provinces, the Pasha, conformably to law, granted the mooltazims pensions equivalent to the legal income of the office which he took from them. This act of power has not only enabled the Pasha to realize the just amount of the revenue, but, as his accusers admit, has relieved the fellahs from the oppressions and rapacity of these petty tyrants. "Behold, then," observes Dr. Worms, "this charge of dispossessing the mooltazims, with which Mehemet Ali has been so much reprobated, reduced to its true value: it will be now perceived that, in so doing, he exceeded not the law. A precedent, very remarkable in this respect, occurred in India. Under Aurengzebe, Jaffier Khan, the soobahdar of Bengal, with the consent of the emperor, removed all the zemindars of that province, and substituted officers of his own selection."

In like manner, Dr. Worms proceeds to shew that the other charges made against the Pasha are destitute of foundation. "It would have been easy," he remarks, "for the Pasha to have refuted them, but his silence furnishes another proof of the extreme repugnance of the Musulmans to give those whom they regard as infidels any explanation on matters that belong to the legislation, and consequently to the religion, of Islam."

The succeeding paper is a Memoir on the Arabian Calendar anterior to Islamism, by M. Caussin de Perceval.

It is well known, as this learned writer observes, that the names of the months composing the Musulman lunar year* were in use amongst the Pagan Arabs long before Islamism: they are supposed to have been adopted in the time of Kiláb, son of Moorra, one of the ancestors of Mahomet, about two centuries before the Hejira. The names are significative, and from the fact that five have a relation to the seasons, M. de Perceval infers, justly, that the Pagan Arabs, when they adopted those names, could not have had a system of purely lunar years, since, if their calendar had been entirely lunar, the correspondence of the names of the months with the seasons would have been so soon and so obviously disordered, that the names could never have become established in common use. It is natural, therefore, to conclude that the Arabians gave those denominations to the months of a solar, or at least a luni-solar, year. The former hypothesis would be wholly unsupported by authority, whereas the second rests upon numerous and positive testimonies.

It appears certain that, in the more remote times, the Arabian year was at first the wandering lunar year; their months had no permanent correspondence with the vicissitudes of the temperature, and had denominations different from those we have mentioned. The commencement of the year and the period of the festival of their pilgrimage, advancing annually eleven days, passed successively through all the seasons. If the pilgrimage fell in a season when the harvest of the current year was not yet cut, and that of the preceding year had been almost consumed, the pilgrims experienced great difficulty in procuring food in their journey, as well as during their stay at Mecca and the neighbouring places, where the annual fairs were opened on the approach of the pilgrimage. It being desirable to remedy this inconvenience (says Mohammed Jarcaci), and to fix the time of the pilgrimage at that period of the year when the corn, fruits, and other articles of food were most abundant (namely, in autumn), the Arabians employed a process of embolism, or intercalation, which was taught them by the Jews settled at Yathrib, afterwards called Mecca. They preserved the lunar months, but, from time to time, made the year consist of thirteen lunations instead of twelve. Massudi, El Biruni, Makrizi, Abulfeda, Haji Khalifa, and other Oriental writers, confirm this assertion. By means of an embolic year, repeated from time to time, the calendar of the Arabs became luni-solar; their months corresponded nearly, in all the years, to the same seasons, and there is a great probability that the practice of intercalation, and the twelve denominations of the months, five of which have an obvious relation to the seasons, were

* These names are as follows:—Moharrem, Safar, Rabi I., Rabi II., Jumáda I., Jumáda II., Rejeb, Shabán, Ramadhán, Shewwál, Dhulkada, and Dhulhija.

adopted simultaneously. This results, moreover, from the accordance between the opinions of different writers respecting the date of the introduction amongst the Arabs of the practice of embolism, and of the names of the months: Makrizi and Mohammed Jarcaci place the introduction of embolism about two centuries before Mahomet, and this is the date which Massudi and others assign to the denominations of the months.

Authorities differ as to the manner in which the Arabs practised embolism: some say, they added a month to every third year; others, that they intercalated seven months in a period of nineteen years; and others, nine months in twenty-four years. M. de Perceval examines each of these hypotheses, and, for sufficient reasons, inclines to the conclusion that the correction was made by the simple addition of a supplementary month to the end of every third lunar year. This rude method of intercalation would not, however, bring the commencement of the fourth Arabian year precisely to the same point as the solar year; there would still be a loss of more than three days in the cycle. From the elements which he obtained, M. de Perceval has drawn up a table of the commencement of each Arabian year, from the period at which he dates the introduction of embolism (21st October, 413) to the tenth year of the Hejira, which gives rise to some curious observations respecting the Arabian calendar.

The supernumerary month, and the intercalation itself, were called by the Arabs *nasi*, that is, 'retardation,' no doubt because the embolism, at the end of a year, retarded by one lunation the month of Moharrem, which should have commenced the following year, and with it the whole series of months of that year. The office of regulating the intercalation was confided to persons called *nasaat*, in the singular number, *nási*; and it is remarkable (as M. de Perceval observes) that the Jews gave the same title of *nasi* to the President of their Sanhedrim, certain members of which had the duty of denoting the years to which it was necessary to add a thirteenth month. The exact senso of the term *nasi* amongst the Arabians seems to be rather doubtful.

The conclusions to which he arrives are thus summed up by M. de Perceval:—

The present names of the Arabian months were adopted more than two centuries anterior to the Hejira, at the same time with a system of triennial embolism, the object of which was to keep the pilgrimage to the period of autumn. This object failed through the vicious method of intercalation adopted. When they did not use embolism, the Pagan Arabs, in order not to have three consecutive sacred months, sometimes

transferred the privilege of Moharrem to Safar. The word *nasi*, the proper meaning of which is 'retardation,' denoted both the intercalary month and the delay of the Moharrem, either by the embolism, or by the remission of the observance of that month to the succeeding month. Mahomet abolished these two practices at once, in the tenth year of the Hejira, A.D. 632. It is apparent that, as the pilgrimage had long ceased to coincide with the season which had been primitively judged favourable for its performance, the embolism became a vain and useless practice, which Mahomet might suppress without inconvenience or opposition.

The last paper consists of a few short observations, by M. Defrémery, upon two passages of the Chronicle of Abu'l-feda, cited in a former *Journal*, by M. de Sauley, in a letter addressed to M. Reinaud, on the subject of an unpublished medal of Malik Mansur Mohammed, Prince of Hamah.

We shall continue our notice of the contents of the remaining numbers next month.

FROM KĀMAL UDDĪN ISMA'ĪL.

هر که او با گوهرست و آب روی
نگسلاند نسبت خویش و پدر
آن ندید سستی که آهن پاره
چون بود با آب و پاکیزه گهر
گرچه یابد جای در دست ملوک
ور چه بر بندد هزاران ظرف زر
چون باؤل از کمر آمد پدید
بندد آخر خویشتن را بر کمر

OFFICIAL LIFE IN INDIA.—No. VII.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

It was a few evenings after the relation of this story that, as Peer Khan was sitting, as usual, in my tent, I inquired of him whether he could not recollect some of the many hunting adventures he was engaged in with Col. Skinner and Mr. Fraser, when tigers and lions were as plentiful in the plain as the bushes of the wild caper tree. "Sahib," said he, "you know yourself the sameness of all these tiger hunts; you see one, and it is the same as seeing a hundred. Give but gigantic reeds and grass, a small pool of water in the heart of the undisturbed jungle, the remains of a recently-killed buffalo, and you have your tiger to your hand, slowly skulking before you, till he either finds himself at the end of his cover, or you take advantage of some unguarded exhibition of his person, and wound him. Then comes the charge; stopped midway by the unerring shot of the experienced sportsman, or advancing to the line of elephants, he springs on one of them, and growling and angry, clings to its side with his sharp claws, till, exhausted by the unusual effort and uncomfortable position, he drops to the ground, and slinking back to cover, is despatched by some well-directed ball. Such, however, is not the lion: little chance is there of his skulking when once you rouse him. When first we came to this part of the country, they were in great abundance. I have seen them in the immediate neighbourhood of Hansee, where the cantonments now stand; and just beyond Ilissar I have watched them, before sunrise, going to drink, in sixes and sevens, at some unfrequented pool of water in the wilderness. Now none are to be seen." "No," said I; "it is remarkable how entirely they have disappeared; the last expedition which was made in search of them was planned by Mr. T——, the political assistant, shortly after my arrival from Calcutta."

M. Jacquemont, the French traveller, had just arrived from Calcutta, bearing strong letters of recommendation from Lord William Bentinck; he wished to see every thing, the country, the manners of the people, and, though no shot himself, readily accepted Mr. T——'s proposal of shewing him a really grand hunting expedition. Mr. T—— was then in great force; he had just proved his charges against Sir E. Colebrooke; it was in the spring of the year 1830, and the resident (Sir Edward's successor), having no objection to get rid of the presence of one whom he might very naturally, though unjustly, think to be a sort of spy on him, and who was almost looked to by the natives as the real head of the residency, readily gave his permission.

Mr. T—— wrote to the different princes of the protected Sikh states, informing them of his wishes to visit them and hunt in their territories, mentioning that a particular friend of Lord William Bentinck intended to accompany him, and requesting their aid in furnishing elephants and all necessary assistance. A party was made up, all consisting of

first-rate sportsmen, some five or six, and Jacquemont with them. They scoured the whole of Kythul, Putteala, and the neighbouring states, up to the very banks of the Sutledge, having at times, it is said, as many as a hundred elephants to beat the enormous forests they came to. In the whole of their peregrinations, however, they did not see a lion ; they found but three or four tigers, and the only adventure they met with was that of their tents being robbed one night, and M. Jacquemont's losing, amongst other things, a particular apparatus, without which Frenchmen seldom venture out of reach of a doctor. He was inconsolable, and when the party were desired by the rajah to value the things they had lost, M. Jacquemont placed some extravagant price upon the cause of his distress, and declared that, to him, the value was beyond the *Koh-i-Noor*, the celebrated diamond then in the possession of Runjeet Sing. The rajah, hearing that the Governor-General's intimate friend had lost an appendage of such vast importance, made such stringent search for it, that the villagers produced it, and the implement was conveyed to camp, escorted and protected by a guard of soldiers, and presented in state by the rajah's representative in camp, not quite uninjured by the treatment it had received. The particulars transpired, and we had a hearty laugh at the party when they returned.

"Ah," rejoined Peer Khan, when I related this incident, "I have heard of the story ; surely those Frenchmen are very dirty people. I am extremely glad the English sent them out of the country ; they would have driven us poor Mussulmans clean mad. The lions, as you say, Khodawund, have entirely disappeared from the country ; a great number were killed, but many must have left these parts in search of some less disturbed place. You have doubtless seen, from the cantonments of Hansee, the tree they call the 'Lion's Tree.'" "Yes," said I, "I have seen it ; the last time I passed near it, we were in search of a leopard, which was said to be lurking in the thickets close by, and had done some damage to the beasts at Col. Skinner's farm. Tell me, Peer Khan, how did the tree get its name ? I think I heard a lion had been shot there : tell me the story, if it is worth hearing." "I will tell it," said Peer Khan, "as it has been told to me by Col. Skinner, for no one saw it besides him and his mahout." Peer Khan re-adjusted his dress, so as completely to cover his feet, which had been slightly visible, and began.

"At a time when lions were no longer so easily found as they had been on our first settling in this part of the country, and when it had become necessary to seek them out at considerable distances, if you wished to enjoy good sport, Col. Skinner got sudden intelligence of a large lion having been seen in the jungle close to cantonments. A frightened herdsman came running to say, he had narrowly escaped being seized by the animal, which had passed within a few yards of him, while he was quietly tending his cattle. No time could be lost ; the thickets in that vicinity were not large enough to induce a lion to remain there long, and as the herdsman described it to be a very large,

full-grown male, there was great probability it was passing from one covert to another, and would not remain long where it had been now seen. The guns were soon brought out; the favourite elephant, Piaree, caparisoned, and the colonel, with his mahout in front, and the herdsman behind, sallied forth to seek the lord of the jungles.

"The herdsman guided them towards this solitary tree, a little to the left; and then, pointing to a thicket, about two hundred yards off, 'there,' said he, 'there, under that low bush, I had sheltered myself from the sun, and was asleep, when a rustling among the thicket thorns awoke me, and I saw him slowly pass on towards the water.' So saying, the herdsman slipped off by the tail of the elephant, and was soon at a distance from the destined scene of combat. The elephant, as it neared the thicket, gave evident signs of the presence of the foe, by its trumpeting and trembling; and hardly had the forest bushes been reached and broken through, when the lion was seen, through the entanglement of the thicket, to leave the cover slowly, in the direction of the more open ground about the tree. The colonel had already looked to his guns; they were ready, each in its place; and the mahout, seeing the lion leave cover, extricated the elephant from among the thorns and thicket, directing her round the skirt of the jungle. They soon came in sight of the lion, who, finding himself pursued, had turned to a slight rise of the ground, and stood lashing his sides with his tail. It was, indeed, a noble animal, full-grown, and in the vigour of its age. But without much time for consideration, the elephant was pushed on towards it. As soon as Col. Skinner thought he was within proper distance, he fired; but whether from the unsteadiness of the elephant,—for Piaree, though well-trained and generally staunchest in the line, evidently did not approve of her present position single-handed against such a foe,—or whether anxiety made his hand less sure, the lion was unharmed, and in an instant, charging them, sprung at the elephant, and burying one of its claws in Piaree's ear, brought her down on her knee, throwing the guns and the colonel on the plain beside her. Then, as if satisfied with such an easy victory, it loosed its hold, and, with tail erect, slowly retreated to the tree, under which it sat, drumming with anger, and lashing its sides with its tail.

"Mortified by the sudden discomfiture, and shook by the fall, the colonel extricated himself from the bushes, and ascertained that both he and his guns were uninjured. Piaree's wounds did not seem to be very severe, for the claw having found its way to a very sensitive part, she had given way immediately to the lion's weight. She still trembled violently, and the mahout was busy in soothing and petting her. Then examining the cords, to see that the howdah was secure, he made her kneel down, and tightening every thing afresh, the colonel remounted into the howdah, with his guns. Howdahs, in those days, were not the little castles which are now used for tiger-hunting, but were more like flat, oblong trays, with a seat in the centre, such as the sahib may have seen in old drawings, and getting in and falling out of them were much easier than is the case at present.

"Reseated, and every thing adjusted, the elephant's head was again turned towards the foe, who no sooner perceived them coming towards him, than he quitted the shade of the tree, and advanced towards the ground on which he had first awaited them, and then, as they came nearer, he charged them like lightning, and receiving the colonel's fire, was again in his old position on the elephant's head, and bringing her at once to the ground, dislodged his assailant and his equipment, with even greater celerity than he had done before. Col. Skinner's fall this time was most severe; he came to the ground with considerable force, and the lion had already taken up his old quarters under the tree, before he had sufficiently recovered himself to look about him.

"Whether the lion had been wounded, or whether he had escaped injury altogether, neither the colonel nor the mahout could tell, every thing had been so sudden; but they could distinctly hear him purring and drumming in anger, as he waited for a third attack. The elephant was trembling with fright, and it was with great difficulty that the mahout kept her steady while he loosened altogether the cords of the howdah, which had turned completely round on one side. Then, by coaxing and speaking, she was induced to kneel down, and by their united endeavours, the howdah, with its trappings, was once more placed on the elephant's back.

"'Now, Sir,' said the mahout, as all things were adjusted, and Piarce appeared to have in some measure recovered her composure, 'every thing is ready; the howdah is firm (here he shook it well, to shew how securely it was lashed on the elephant's back), and there is the lion still waiting for you under the tree, whenever you are inclined to recommence the attack.' 'Shaikh,' answered Col. Skinner, 'I have no wish for a third fall; my hand is so unsteady from the effects of the last shake, that I am sure I could not hit the lion, were he to stand still. The elephant, too, cannot be depended on to-day; she has had too much of it. Let us turn back to cantonments; we have done our best, and no one can blame us.' 'What!' rejoined the mahout, 'will Secunder* retreat before the lion, and return to cantonments to eat shame before his brother officers?' 'Shaikh,' answered the colonel, 'he is a brave enemy, and may go away without further molestation. The third time is an unlucky time; I am hurt more than you are probably aware of.' 'Well, then,' said the mahout, 'you are perhaps right as regards yourself; but the third time is a lucky time, and I will try what I can do. Give me the gun, and I will shoot the lion for you; but without him we must not return home.' 'And a pretty fool you would make of your master, when you got back,' rejoined the colonel; 'the bazaar would be full of our exploit, circulated at my expense, within half an hour after our return. Here, make Piarce kneel, and I will make one more trial.'

"The elephant's head was once more towards the tree, under which

* The natives render *Skinner* into *Secunder*, being unable to pronounce two consonants at the commencement of a word. Alexander the Great is also called *Secunder*. The adroit compliment will be understood.

the lion was easily seen, waiting for them; but this time he did not appear so eager to engage them as he had been on the first two occasions. They advanced even to the mound whence he had made his two successful charges, and their enemy only noticed their approach by growling and lashing his tail. The colonel was ready, and as the lion rose from his recumbent position to an attitude of springing to the charge, the gun was in an instant at the shoulder and fired, this time successfully; the ball entered the top of the forehead, and the noble animal dropped where he stood. '*Uthumdulillah!*' shouted the shaiikh; 'the colonel's star of good fortune is always ascendant—what can resist it—man or lion?' and, as he spoke, he urged the elephant on towards the tree. But Piaree had had enough of the lion, and, as if the shot had suddenly recalled the recollection of the by no means amicable hugging she had formerly received, she trumpeted loudly, and it was with the greatest difficulty she was prevented from wheeling round and presenting her least vulnerable quarters to the prostrate foe. Nothing would induce her to move a step nearer, and seeing the mahout's attempts useless, and the lion to be almost motionless under the tree, with the mark where the ball had entered very apparent, Col. Skinner directed that the elephant should be made to kneel down. This effected, he got down, and having reloaded his gun, he advanced on foot, cautiously, towards the place where it lay. All precaution, however, proved, on nearer approach, to be unnecessary; the struggles of death were already over, and life only marked in its departure by deep-drawn breaths, at long intervals. The ground was torn up round him, as he had vainly dashed his claws about when he first fell, and his mouth was full of grass and dirt, as he had bit the ground in blind fury. It was a magnificent enemy to have contended with. The mahout in vain attempted to bring the elephant nearer, and as in her present excited state he could not venture to leave her to her own guidance, he was obliged to be content with a distant view.

"Waiting till life was completely extinct, the colonel proceeded to examine the lion, and ascertain whether he had been wounded in the previous encounters. He discovered a severe bruise on the hind-leg, which he imagined must have been received from the head of the elephant, when she fell at the second charge. It was quite fresh, and there was no other mode of satisfactorily accounting for it; and it was, in all probability, this injury which prevented his receiving his assailants with the same alacrity on their third attack as he had previously shewn; there was no second gunshot wound, and the colonel was reluctantly convinced that his first two shots had completely missed the mark. It was useless attempting to place the lion on the elephant. Piaree would have gone mad at such a liberty, even had the mahout succeeded in bringing her nearer. So, lighting a handful of dried grass, the lion's whiskers were singed* off, and Piaree was turned

* It is a common belief among the natives of India, that the whiskers of the tiger are poisonous, and that the women are anxious to get possession of them in order to destroy their husbands or any other person whom they may wish and find opportunity of injuring while they cook their food. They suppose that the tiger is constantly licking his lips, and that the venom is the essence

towards cantonments, in which direction she appeared to have not the slightest objection to proceed.

"Arrived at home, another elephant, with six or eight men, was sent out to bring in the lion's body, and great was the crowd which assembled to look at it when it was brought in. I was one, and assisted the colonel to measure the animal. It was the largest lion I have ever seen. The adventure caused considerable talk at the time, and the tree has retained the appellation of 'The Lion's Tree' to the present day."

Such was Peer Khan's account of the lion-hunt, and, rising, he asked for leave to depart for his *rookhsut*, and left the tent. His contempt for tiger-hunting should not be taken too literally; the sport is exciting, but can hardly be considered dangerous; and although the general outline of this particular branch of sporting presents a considerable sameness in its details, yet occasionally, an uncommonly ready tiger makes the sportsman look very foolish; and even within my own recollection such occurrences have happened. I am not going to narrate how an officer was thrown from his howdah, and carried off in a tiger's mouth, by the knee; how he drew a pistol from his girdle, and wounded the beast so severely, that it dropped him. Yet this has happened; long ago, certainly, when the hunting appointments were less perfect than they are at present. But in case any person in England should tell this story of himself, I will give a certain test of his veracity. The gentleman in question was lamed for life by the injury he received from the tiger's bite; so that if any one who is not lame repeats it, the auditors may judge accordingly.

Now for my tiger hunt. When Sir Edward Barnes came to India, as commander-in-chief, from Ceylon, amongst other officers who accompanied him was Colonel X., very fond of sport, a capital shot, and by no means disinclined to talk about his own exploits in the sporting field. The colonel, and in fact the whole Ceylon party, made very light of Indian shooting and hunting, and of Bengal tigers in particular. "What can we think of a tiger," they would say, "when we come from a country where they go out on foot elephant-shooting, and drop our game right and left? we hit them immediately behind the ear, and they are sure to tumble. You may talk of the danger and of the excitement of your sport, but what *can* it be compared to what we are accustomed to? Depend upon it, your tiger-hunting is, *at best*, child's play to what we have seen at Ceylon."

of the many meals of raw flesh that he has devoured. This nonsense is yet implicitly believed by the natives, who invariably, even at the evident risk of firing the dry grass, singe the monster's whiskers off the first minute he is in their power; indeed, I have known very sensible Englishmen, who have lived long in India, to hold the same opinion; and I have, in younger days, seriously affronted two old sportsmen, by telling them I would eat the whiskers of all the tigers they killed during the excursion I was with them. Since then, I have inquired of medical men, who have told me that, though it is impossible that the whisker itself should be poisonous, yet, it were not to be wondered at if the bristle might pass uninjured through the stomach, and lodging in the intestines, cause irritation and death. To this possibility, however, I do not subscribe, more especially as the whisker would be softened if cooked with the food, and if not might be easily discovered and separated.

Sir E. Barnes did not remain long in Calcutta ; he thought it his duty to inform himself personally of the state of the army, and proceeded on a tour of inspection to the Upper Provinces. Yet, far as they journeyed, and further as they penetrated into the depths of the interior provinces, no tigers or other ferocious beasts appeared. Benares, Allahabad, and Dehlie were successively passed ; nine hundred miles, at the rate of fifteen miles a day, with halts for rain and Sundays, is no ordinary journey. The party began almost to doubt whether there were any tigers left in the country, and almost despaired of seeing one that season, for the commander-in-chief's camp already neared their summer quarters, the cool retreats on the tops of the lower ranges of the Himalaya mountains.

The party was encamped at Munneemajra ; and two marches would have brought them to the foot of the hills, when, to Colonel X.'s inexpressible delight, one of the numerous followers he kept always on the look-out, to report to him the presence of game, brought a half-naked herdsman to his tent, and told him he had good intelligence of a tiger's being in the neighbourhood, and that the guide (pointing to the man with the rag about his middle) would shew them the way, whenever "Master would go pay visit." The elephant was soon ready ; the colonel was too anxious to have the undivided merit of the achievement to impart the secret to any of his companions ; and soon left the white tents far behind him.

The place was reached, after a tedious journey, for elephants do not travel faster than four miles the hour. The tiger had killed a buffalo the day before ; the herdsman knew the very thicket in which he lay, and fearless, on foot, armed only with a long spear, he conducted them to the spot. "Ask him," said the colonel to the mahout, who understood a little English, "ask him whether he is not afraid to walk about in this fashion among so many wild beasts?" "Master," replied the mahout, after doing the colonel's bidding, "he says that he is not afraid ; that he has lived in these jungles, in this way, from boyhood upwards, and has never been harmed ; that if it is his fate to be eaten at last by a tiger, he cannot prevent it." "Ah," returned the colonel, half to himself, "the force of education reconciles one even to be sucked by a wild beast like an orange. Come, push on, old gentleman."

The patch of jungle was not large ; they soon perceived the tiger moving through the high grass in front of them, as they emerged from the centre and thickest covert towards the further extremity, and then, as he found himself pressed towards the confines of his domain, with one loud roar, he rushed directly at the party. Our colonel's elephant had never been properly broken in to tiger-hunting, and no sooner did she perceive the tiger coming at her, than, heedless of the cuffs and blows of the driver, she pushed forwards to meet, and then suddenly dropped on her knees to receive her assailant on her tusks. The suddenness and violence of the shock at once ejected the colonel and his guns, and he found himself in a moment in the midst of a large thorn bush. How the mahout was separated from the elephant he never was, I believe, properly conscious himself ; but the next thing known of him was his

appearance in camp, torn and bruised, when he made his way to Sir Edward's tents, and communicated the appalling intelligence, that "master had been thrown from his elephant, and devoured by a most ferocious tiger!"

Now were guns and elephants in immediate requisition; some ten or fifteen of the latter were speedily caparisoned; howdahs never meant for hunting, and pad-elephants without any howdah, were mounted by those who would have otherwise been obliged to remain behind. On they went, extending their weary way through the interminable jungle, headed by the commander-in-chief himself, who, with the discomfited mahout behind him, marshalled the party to the rescue, regardless of the fears of the ladies, who were left in unenviable suspense as to which of the party would next fall a victim to the sanguinary monster.

The spot was neared; an ominous silence pervaded the party; the elephants were placed in line, and they had already beat through the thickest part of the covert, when, emerging from the bushes which concealed the view in front, to the inexpressible delight of the whole party, they perceived Colonel X. safely seated in a tree, making a variety of signs and signals to call their attention. As can easily be imagined, little time was lost in releasing him from his position, and in answer to the numerous congratulations at his safety and inquiries how he managed to escape from the jaws of the feline monster, he told them that he had never seen the beast since his ejection from the howdah; that he suddenly found himself in the midst of the thorny bush; that the force of the fall bore him through to the ground, torn and scratched, as his face and clothes testified; and that, on gaining his feet, he had crept out, and perceiving this tree at a small distance, he made for it, and ascended into the branches, as the safest place he could think of; that he had heard a great deal of noise at first, not far from where they had first engaged the tiger, but that this had ceased long ago; nevertheless, as the top of the tree was the place where he could most easily be descried by friends, and be less easily molested by enemies, he had not left his position in search of further adventure.

But the colonel had hardly time to give an outline of his history, before the other objects of their search were discovered. The tiger was found quite dead, within fifty yards of the place of encounter, and further on, amongst the trees, the elephant was amusing himself with the leaves of a peepul tree. She was considerably torn in front, and had freed herself from all incumbrances of pad and howdah, in her combat with the tiger, which she had completely mastered, and must have crushed with the whole weight of her body, for, on examining it, hardly a whole rib was to be found in its body.

All were equally pleased with the turn matters had taken: the rescuing party to have found the object of their solicitude unhurt, except with a few scratches; the colonel to have experienced such speedy deliverance when he had made up his mind to a night's lodging in the tree, and the ladies, who, on the party's return to camp, were glad to find that not one of them had fallen a victim to the rash enterprise.

THE MOTHER AND HER CHILD.

There is a monument, by Flaxman, in Gloucester Cathedral, to the memory of Mrs. Morley, who, dying on her passage from India to England, was buried with her infant in the sea. A female figure is seen rising with a child from the wave. An angel, equipoised in the air, lifts her by the hand, while two other angels with expanded wings gaze upon the scene. Over the figures are inscribed the words:—" *The sea shall give up her dead.*" 1784.

DOUBTLESS, it were a thrilling sight,
In the red gloom of stormy night,
When the ocean depths are stirr'd,
As by Magician's awful word,
Giant-like, through mist and foam,
Upleaping from its troubled home,
To see some mighty war-ship rise,
A nation's vengeance in her eyes!
Whether a Spanish galleon proud
Drive with her canvass' rushing cloud;
Or Britain's standard to the blast
Bend and toss with the rocking mast,
While kindles all the black eclipse
With the flame-breathing of her lips.

When autumn sun from green hill throws
O'er reddening waves its hue of rose—
Oh, it were beautiful to behold
With purple sail, and prow of gold,
And hovering Cupids fair and bright,
The Egyptian galley of delight*—
From rich oars scattering ocean-dew,
Like field-bud from the violet blue,
When fresh'ning breeze and sparkling rain
Brighten the short grass of the cane.

And beautiful too, on crimson eves,
When Peace, the halcyon, sits and weaves
Her nest upon the charmed wave,
It led by Fancy from her cave,
Or blooming from her emerald shrine,
The Queen of Beauty smile divine,—
Her fond eyes breathing breath of love
O'er the white plumage of her dove!
Pleasant th' Elysian lustre falls
Along the sea-nymphs' pearly halls.

But clearer, sweeter light shall be
On the black surges of the sea,
Than e'er, in antique ages past,
Cythera's silver chariot cast
Upon the thymy hill-side, when
She wound along Arcadian glen,

* Cleopatra's.

From the sheltering wings outspread
 Of angels round their wat'ry bed,
 With gleams, than Eden-light more mild,
 Waking that mother and her child !

Thrice happy day ! thrice joyous hour !
 That wave small smile a garden bower ;
 Rich pinions o'er the changeful surf,
 Like bloom-boughs on the chequer'd turf,
 Sprinkling hues of heavenly spring,
 Mother and child engarlanding :—
 Sweet child's embrace—sweet mother's breast *
 One pressing, and the other pressed !
 Never again to meet or part,
 With clouded eye, or aching heart,—
 Child—like mother, meekly fair ;
 Mother—like child, untouch'd by care—
 No string of hope or joy unstrung,
 Both ever lovely—ever young !

A.

DAVIDSON'S "ADVENTURES IN UPPER INDIA."*

THESE are two amusing volumes, written in a lively, off-hand style, partaking of the colloquial, describing adventures, characters, and objects, in the form of a diary, with occasional snatches of fun and of satire, the author being evidently well acquainted with India and the "innocent Hindoos," and having a quick perception of the ridiculous. He tells us that he wrote what is contained in these volumes purely for his own amusement, and that he has printed it for that of the public : we think his readers will not miss amusement in them. The only method by which we can convey to our readers a proximate notion of the nature and execution of the work is by giving a few detached extracts :—

An Aristocratic Beggar.—Whilst sauntering amongst my horses, I was accosted by a very fair, handsome, and impudent rogue of a Pathân, attended by his servant—his loins girded by a very handsome sabre,—who asked, in a very independent tone, too, for my charity ! He said he saw that I was a rich man, and requested that I would shovel out the blunt in a handsome manner, as he wanted a good din-

* Diary of Travels and Adventures in Upper India, from Bareilly, in Rohilcund, to Hurdwar and Nahun, in the Himalaya Mountains ; with a Tour in Bundelcund, a Sporting Excursion in the Kingdom of Oude, and a Voyage down the Ganges. By C. J. C. DAVIDSON, Esq., late Lieut. Colonel of Engineers, Bengal. Two vols. London. Colburn.

ner. I immediately assumed the air of a Byrâgee, with joined hands and supplicating howl, begged his alms for a poor wretch who had eaten nothing since breakfast ; and continued my mendicantory importunities, till my friend and his servant marched off, amidst the laughter of the surrounding mob. I had no guard ; so I warned my servants, when I heard that he came from Rampore, that he would attempt to rob me at night.

Effect of the Purdah.—The purdah, which acts as a sedative on natives, operates powerfully as a stimulant to Europeans! Hide the ugliest scedee (or Abyssinian) behind the dirtiest rag, and imagination will "dictate sonnets to her eye-brow." One does like to know whether a creature of her sex be old or young, whenever she hides her face. Driving once through one of the most crowded streets in Calcutta, I found it hardly possible to proceed, there were so many face-hiding women in the very middle of the road. So getting very impatient, I roared, "Jão booreca ! booreca ! jão !" with all the bitterness of impatient griffinism. To my great amusement, a very handsome girl, turning her chudder from her head, turned sharply back, and looking at me said, "Tera booreca kuon?" where is your old woman? and laughed in my face!

Decay of India.—The surplus wealth of India, that used to be employed in building extensive towns, crowded ghauts, magnificent stone or brick seraees, some of them capable of containing from six to eight thousand people ; enormous massive bridges, splendid mosques and temples ; is all gone ; it has disappeared entirely. All the towns in India, with a very few exceptions, are in ruins. Delhi is surrounded by ruins. Agra, Booranpore, Aurungabad, have immense suburbs in ruins. The Deekan is a heap of ruins. Many towns in central India that had their hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, are now literally without one, and are swarming with leopards, tigers, elks, and buffaloes. In deep forests you stumble upon Hindoo temples, Mohummudan gateways, stone tanks eight hundred yards square, brick wells of large dimensions ; scores of acres of burying-grounds, and all the other concomitants and proofs of wealth, and power, and population. Malthus would never have written his too celebrated work, nor Godwin ever written his too little valued answers, had they been in India. India is a large forest, with a great many cultivated spots.

Hindu Painting.—The fashion of this painting is something as follows,—though I fear I shall not be able to give a good idea : an Englishman of immense bulk ("for that," as Dousterswivel says, "is essential") is impaled on the edge of an English-built chair, in a grotesque military caricature dress of black, red, and brown, with a round hat, and smart black cockade, holding a stick in both hands, in the most resolute and determined manner ; or, he has a stick in one hand, and a wine-glass half full of red wine in the other ; with a row of three or four servants, all gradually ascending into the air, with yak (or Tartarian cow) tails in their hands, and one of them insinuating a hooka snake through the arm-chair elbows ; or, a band of nauch-giris, of

terrific beauty, with large black eyes, each three inches long, surrounding a well-dressed and mustachioed rajah, over whose head are flying tremendous nondescript animals, half carp and half scorpion! The rajah is seated on a large square charpoy, or bed, the fore-feet of which are on the ground, and the hind in the sky; and is evidently smitten, not only with the nauch-girls, but also with the music of a gentle swain, who discharges a torrent of sound, through a fife with two holes, which he holds in his hands from right to left. The huzoor's countenance, however, is as immovably tranquil as that of Boodh; and he appears to enjoy the most serene complacency of mind, while two of his faithful sepoy in the rear are killing an enormous tiger, with a full mouth of teeth, in the most masterly and ingenious manner; one kneeling and covering his head with a shield, while the other, seeing the brute's attention thus happily diverted, leaps on his back, and coolly cuts him up to kababs! Meanwhile, peacocks, monkeys, alligators, and carps are hovering in mid-air, with the most wasteful profusion!

Dexterity of Thieves.—One of the suwars, or horsemen, belonging to a friend of mine, lost his unmentionables, which, for security, sleeping in the open air, amidst a crowd of people, he had placed under his head. One part of the article being either entangled or purposely fastened to the pillow, the thief very good-naturedly cut it with his knife, to avoid disturbing his repose; but this was a mere bungler, and, I am persuaded, an apprentice without experience or talent. The scientific mode is well known: when it is necessary to make a sleeping man turn on his other side, you tickle his opposite ear with a straw till he obeys, and then a dexterous pull secures the loot, or plunder. It is in this way that many excellent English gentlemen awake in the mornings without mattress, blanket, or sheet, either above or below them; having at the same time a favourite terrier asleep under their beds, and a pair of detonating pistols under their pillows.

Their horse thefts, or, more correctly, translations, are certainly on a very improved plan, and, I think, might with safety be adopted by our best Yorkshire artists: they indicate the high degree of furtive excellence and superiority of Hindoostance professors over those of any other nations with which I am acquainted. The animal is subjected to a rigorous reconnaissance during the day, under pretence of wishing to purchase. When removed from her proprietor, the new owner rides her thirty miles, we'll say due west; his friend relieves him at an appointed village, and takes her thirty miles south before sunrise. During the day, with the assistance of staining matters, such as turmeric, cow-dung, etc. etc., a white horse is converted into a golden or dappled dun, in such a truly ingenious manner that he would not be recognized by the very mare who foaled him, at fifty yards: and thus, avoiding high roads, he may be quietly ridden to the stable of a "refractory zemindar" in Oude, where he is perfectly safe, till sent to some great city or fair for sale.

These thieves are generally chabook suwars, or rough riders; fellows

who would astonish English jockeys ; who would silence Waterton (to whom be my best thanks for his inimitable wanderings), by riding a tiger with as much confidence as they would a tattoo or pony. Really, I think we boast too much of our civilization and march of intellect ; I am fully persuaded that Englishmen would seldom get within fifty yards of a native horse without detection ; and there can be little doubt that they would generally be thrown, killed, and eaten within fifty yards more.

Comfortable Condition of Indian Convicts.—A jail-bird can easily be distinguished after the first six months, by his superior bodily condition. On his head may be seen either a kinkhab or embroidered cap, or one of English flowered muslin, enriched with a border of gold or silver lace. Gros de Naples is coming into fashion, but slowly. On his back is a blanket (if he chooses to carry it out of prison), which is renewed annually ; and he has in his hands a handsome set of brass plates and dishes, or a curiously carved hooka bottom, if on good terms with the ruling powers. See him at work : the burkundauze is smoking *his* chillum, while he and his friends are sound asleep, *sub tegmine fagi* ! All of a sudden, there is an alarm—the judge is coming—up they all start, and work like devils for ten or fifteen seconds, and then again to their repose. This is working in chains on the roads ! In fact, after a man is once used to the comforts of an Indian prison, there's no keeping him out !

Art of obtaining Fodder.—Instead of finding abundant fodder for my cattle, as I expected, to my great annoyance I could with the greatest difficulty procure a single bundle of grass for my Turcomance ; but,

When cash and lands are gone and spent,
Then learning is most excellent ;

so I put my wits to work. Seeing a sleek, well-fed Hindoo with the brahminical thread, I hailed him.

“ Oh, Pundit-jee ! ”

“ Sahib ! ”

“ Come here, my good priest, and listen. You see I can get no grass for those fine Nagore cows ; they are actually starving. I don't like to keep them in misery, so I have made up my mind to kill and eat the calf which you observe running about. If you wish to save the life of a cow, now's your time, for I am getting hungry. Be quick ! ”

The poor priest was horrified, and dreadfully concerned at the revelation of my murderous intentions, and instantly promised to exert his utmost energies in procuring me an ample supply : in a couple of hours he returned with men laden with a sufficiency for their use, and I paid him handsomely. There now ! after that do you doubt my talents for the judicial, or even the political department ?

Protection of Wolves.—The neighbourhood (of Murgaon, in Bundelcund) is greatly infested by wolves. Only two days before my arrival, a fine girl of six years of age was carried off and devoured by them.

But with the usual apathy of the natives, no measures are taken to counteract their awful ravages. The dens of the wolves are to be found in the ravines surrounding the villages; wolves may be seen leaving and entering them every morning and evening; they are perfectly accessible, and the operation of digging them out and catching them in nets would be performed by Kunjurs for a mere trifle, without the slightest danger; but this trifle they will not give. It is calculated that no less than two hundred children are annually devoured in the city of Agra, by wolves. Every thing that can be done to induce the lower classes to watch over their tender offspring has been done, but without any effect. Premiums are given for each wolf brought in dead to the magistrate, and I believe that it has been even proposed to seat the mothers of the lost children on jackasses, and thus parade them through the streets as a punishment! Few Englishmen will believe that the natives, considering wolves as the peculiar scourges of Heaven, deem it impious to destroy them; but such is the fact!

An English Racer in Oude.—In Lucknow, while visiting the king's stables, I was witness to a most melancholy spectacle to the lover of the thorough-bred racer. A beautiful bay English blood-horse, which I heard had been presented by George IV. to a former King of Oude, was blinded with cloths, and fastened on each side of his head-stall with strong chains; for such was his vice, that he was not to be approached without due precaution. While thus secured, he was not only a wind-sucker, but a weaver, and his whole body incessantly moved from one side to another, without rest by night or day. After looking at him for a few seconds, I called out, in pure gloomy language, "Come up!" Instantly the weaving ceased, the horse trembled violently, and then suddenly lashed out with his hind legs, as if he wished to kick me to atoms. I heard that, admiring his beautiful figure, it had been determined to educate him in the native style, but that he became intolerably vicious in consequence; and I do not wonder at it; for few horses possess tempers sufficiently good to endure such severe treatment as their riding-school requires. Native horses frequently become vicious in training; but then, on the other hand, for show or parade, there is no horse-breaker in the world superior, if equal, to the cool old Hindustanee, in producing an exquisitely tender mouth with native bits.

The horse was dirty in the extreme; and the condition of his stall may be imagined, when, after a few struggles, which removed the upper layer of bedding, I saw that the substratum was a rich, black, moist, stinking, decomposing mass of dung.

On the accession of the late king, whose honourable economy was well known, this poor creature was turned loose into a court-yard, with a hungry royal Bengal tiger. The battle was of considerable duration; but the event proved the power and spirit of the horse, who kicked the tiger to death, after his own bowels had been torn out and trailed on the ground. Thus the keep of two animals was saved to the Court of Oude, and the king's majesty rejoiced thereat.

English Machinery at Dacca.—Long before I had any intention of visiting Dacca, I had heard with great interest of the erection of English steam oil-mills in the city ; but on my arrival, I was much mortified to learn that they had proved a perfect failure. They were built at the expense of Rs. 650,000, and were sold for Rs. 18,000 a few weeks previous to my arrival. An application was actually made to the magistrate from the proprietor, who agreed to give him the materials of the building, to be broken up for the use of the public roads, if he would remove them at the expense of Government ! The cause of the failure was said to have originated in the aversion of the natives to the oil expressed by these means : they alleged that it contained too much of the bitter principle to be used in their cookery.

The mills were subsequently applied to the grinding of wheat into flour ; a speculation which would find its parallel in converting rice into flour for the use of the inhabitants of the Orkneys ; with this small additional disadvantage, that the natives consume nothing but rice at Dacca, so that a full century would have elapsed before they could have been induced to eat wheaten flour, whereas the Orkney people may have already heard of rice, as several of the natives have travelled in foreign lands. Thus, owing no doubt to some great and glaring mismanagement, a large sum has been lost to a spirited projector, and a temporary obstacle raised to the introduction of European machinery, science, and capital ; and this, in India, is much to be deplored.

English Manufactures.—Soon after the commencement of the free trade, I myself beheld the sides of the walls inclosing Tank Square, covered with Hindoo images, *manufactured in England*, and ready for pagan worship after a similar consecration ! So much for the zeal and religion of the manufacturing interests in Staffordshire or the Potteries ! I suspect that none of them were ever sold ;—but what a spirit of Christian charity to the spiritual wants of our black brethren did not this cargo display !

With this anecdote of the indiscriminate avidity of English traders—which does not seem to have awakened the slightest wrath in the breasts of those who are shocked at the supposed connection of the Indian Government with the temples of their subjects—we take our leave of Mr. Davidson's book.

THE EVENTS AT CABOOL.

MEMORANDUM BY MAJOR-GENERAL ELPHINSTONE OF THE EVENTS PRECEDING
AND DURING THE INSURRECTION AT CABOOL.

ON my arrival at Cabool, April 30, 1841, I was immediately seized with fever, followed by rheumatic gout, which laid me up till the 24th of May, when I was enabled to get on horseback, and continued partly well till 6th of June, during which time I inspected some regiments, gave directions for the building artillery barracks, forts, and a bridge over the river, and the disposal of buildings in cantonments. On the night of the 6th June, I was again seized with rheumatic gout, by which I was confined, the greater part of the time to bed, till the end of September, when I was enabled to get out in a palanquin. At different periods, during this time, I wrote to Lord Auckland, pointing out the deficiencies in cantonments, and making various suggestions, *viz.*—the necessity of having a citadel, to overawe the city; sufficient ground to be purchased round the magazine fort to form a glacis, giving the command of both the roads, and a sufficient space round the fort. These were objected to on the score of expense. I also proposed that sufficient troops should be kept at Cabool to admit of a moving brigade, and one for the defence of cantonments, which, from its nature and extent, being 1,000 yards in length, exclusive of 400 occupied by the mission compounds, commanded almost at all points, could not possibly be defended by a less number of troops.

The magazine, at this time, having been turned out of the Bala Hissar, by desire of the envoy, and at the repeatedly expressed wish of the king, was first taken to the hill opposite Seah Sung, and afterwards brought into cantonments, and laid under the trees.

Our commissariat stores were in an old dilapidated fort, situated in Sir W. Cotton's compound, opposite the Shah's garden, and nearly half-way between the city and cantonments; the Shah's force, commissariat, and treasury, being in the city, as also some public offices. In the middle of June, it was deemed necessary to send troops, under Col. Chambers, against the Ghilzies, towards Mookur, which returned in September, at about which period, from the success which had attended operations in the Candahar district, the envoy and minister deemed the country so tranquil, that he wrote to Government, that the force which had been deemed necessary would be no longer required, and that those who might be on the road, with stores and treasure, might return to Peshawur; at the same time suggesting that, if four or five additional regiments of infantry were raised for the Shah's service, the presence of the native portion of the Company's army might be dispensed with. Alterations were likewise proposed in regard to the horse artillery and cavalry, as conducive to reduction in expense, on which point, it was known, the Government were most urgent. I concurred in all this.

A force about this time proceeded towards Tezeen and Drawut, and we heard of Capt. Griffin's success on the Helmund; an expedition was sent to Zooramut, under Col. Oliver, which returned about the 14th October, when Sir R. Sale's brigade was directed to proceed towards Jusha.

Having sent in a medical certificate, and received leave to return to Hindustan, I made arrangements to accompany Sir W. Macnaghten, making over the command to the next senior officer.

From the 5th October, our daks were stopped, and we received information

of the Khoord Cabool Pass being occupied by the enemy. Sir W. Macnaghten was exceedingly anxious that it should be forced, but until the return of Colonel Oliver's detachment, this could not be done; but, at the reiterated solicitation of the envoy and Sir A. Burnes, the 35th was sent to Boodkak, where it remained until joined by the 13th light infantry, under Sir R. Sale, on the 11th October. On the 12th, Sir R. Sale forced the Pass, meeting with considerable opposition, himself and several others being wounded. He left Col. Monteath and the 35th regt., with two 9 pounders and a body of Affghan horse, at the Khoord Cabool entrance of the Pass, and returned the next day himself with his force to occupy the Boodkak entrance. On the 17th, Capt. Macgregor having returned from Zooramut, was sent by Sir W. Macnaghten to relieve Capt. Trevor from his political duty in Colonel Monteath's camp, on which a desperate night-attack was made the same evening. On this occasion, it was reported to me by Colonel Monteath, that the Affghan horse had admitted the enemy into his camp, and had assisted them in plundering and carrying off our camels.

On the 15th, Sir R. Sale was joined by the 37th N.I.: the sick and wounded of this brigade were left at Cabool, it being expected that the brigade would have to operate against the Eastern Ghilzies. Great opposition was met by the brigade in proceeding to and at Tezeen. Arrangements were, however, made by Capt. Macgregor with the chiefs; and matters being deemed settled, the 37th regt. returned to Kubbur Jubbur, to await the arrival of the sick and wounded, which it was to escort to Jellalabad. The two other regiments, with Abbott's battery, a squadron of the 5th cavalry, and a russalah of Anderson's horse, were under orders to accompany the envoy, who had delayed his departure till November, in consequence of the non-arrival of the daks. During the above occurrence, I had frequent conversation with the envoy and Sir Alexander Burnes, regarding the extent to which this insurrection might have spread, and was anxious in my inquiries as to the state of feeling in the city; they both assured me, particularly the latter, of their conviction, that the disturbances were merely caused by some Ghilzies, and that the disaffection was not widely disseminated, and did not extend to Cabool.

On the 2nd November, at half past seven a.m., I was told by Col. Oliver, that the city was in a great ferment, and shortly after, the envoy came, and told me, that it was in a state of insurrection, but that he did not think much of it, and that it would shortly subside. It was proposed, that Brigadier Shelton, with two guns, should proceed to the Bala Hissar, and the envoy sent his military secretary, Capt. Lawrence, to intimate his wishes, and obtain the king's sanction to this measure, the Bala Hissar being considered a commanding position, and the fittest route to enter the city. At this time, the only troops in cantonments were a part of H.M. 44th regiment of foot, the 5th N.I., a wing of the 54th N.I.; the same being inadequate to defend it, the troop H.A. (four guns), with a company 44th Foot, Shah's 6th infantry, and a wing 54th regt. N.I., moved, under Brigadier Shelton, at about twelve o'clock, into the Bala Hissar; the rest of the troops were concentrated in cantonments, which arrangements occupied the rest of the day.

On the 3rd, a detachment, under Major Swayne, 5th N.I., was sent to operate against the Lahore gate of the city, with a view to open a communication by that route with the Bala Hissar; but from the opposition it met with at the Shah's garden-gateway and the numerous water-courses, where the enemy had assembled in force, this was not effected, and the detachment returned, having

suffered considerably in killed and wounded. It was also found impracticable to reinforce the commissariat force, or to withdraw any of the stores from it, the fire of the enemy being so heavy. On the 4th, another attempt to throw in a reinforcement failed; the troops employed suffered considerably, particularly the 5th cavalry, during all this time. A fort, Mahomed Shurreef's, opposite to the S.W. bastion, and within one hundred yards of it, was in possession of the enemy, whose numbers and courage by this time greatly increased, from their having succeeded in obtaining possession of the Shah's treasury; the murder of Sir A. Burnes had also contributed to animate the insurgents.

Early on the morning of the 5th, the commissariat fort was abandoned by its garrison, the enemy having attempted to fire the gate and escalade. The garrison came out by a hole made from the interior, tools having been sent overnight with a view to the introduction of reinforcements and the withdrawal of supplies from the store. At this time, a party was ordered for the assault of Mahomed Shurreef's fort, which was delayed till 11 A.M., the envoy hoping that negotiations would be entered into. Hostilities, however, commenced, and the storming party advanced, under Major Swayne, but did not succeed. On the 6th, the fort was carried by assault, by a party under Major Griffiths, 37th N.I. The enemy were driven by the Jessalchees, under Capt. Mackenzie, from the west end of the Shah's garden; Major Thain, A.D.C., with a gun, two companies of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry, proceeded towards Killa Boolund, scouring the country in that direction.

Accounts reached from Major Pottinger, of his being besieged at Chareekar, Capt. Codrington and Lieut. Haughton wounded, Lieuts. Rattray and Salisbury killed, and the post being untenable from want of water.

On the 8th, the enemy endeavoured to mine Mahomed Shurreef's fort. Our guns opened on Mahomed Khan's fort, which was returned from their jezails, the enemy creeping along the water-courses close up to our walls; they also contrived to approach, under shelter of the orchards, situated between our magazine and commissariat fort.

On the 9th, Brigadier Shelton, accompanied by the companies of H.M.'s 44th Foot, the Shah's 6th regt. N.I., and a gun, withdrew, by order, from the Bala Hissar.

On the morning of the 10th, the enemy made a demonstration in force, apparently with a view to occupy the Rekee Bashee, and other forts on our N.E. and mission side. We therefore attacked and carried the Rekee Bashee fort by assault, though with considerable loss; the enemy abandoned the other forts, two of which we occupied; the troops, under Brigadier Shelton, after carrying these forts, shewed front, and approached the Seah Sung hills, which had been occupied during the day by a considerable body of Ghilzies; skirmishing took place, the enemy retiring as we advanced. The 11th and 12th were occupied in getting in provisions from the captured forts, Brigadier Shelton covering the operation.

On the afternoon of the 13th, the enemy, in force, cannonaded the cantonment from the Deh Maroo hills; a detachment, under Brigadier Shelton, dislodged the enemy, capturing two guns, one of which was brought into cantonment, the other spiked and left. Our troops pursued the enemy till night coming on rendered it necessary for them to return to cantonments. Continued our exertions, in purchasing small supplies of provisions, up to the 20th. On the 15th, Major Pottinger and Lieut. Haughton arrived from Chareekar, both badly wounded; they left Chareekar on the night of the 13th, with the Shah's

4th infantry, which was then in a complete state of disorganization, having been four days without water; on reaching Istaliff, the above two officers had got separated from the corps, which had become a perfect rabble.

On the 22nd, a detachment, under Major Swayne, was sent to occupy Deh Maroo; but the enemy being found in force, our party was forced to return.

On the 23rd, a detachment of eighteen companies, with a H. A. gun, and two squadrons of cavalry, under Brigadier Shelton, left cantonments at two A. M., to take possession of Deh Maroo, and withdrew, to bring the enemy to action on the hills. The former object was not effected, and the enemy gained temporary possession of our gun: this was, however, immediately recovered, and the enemy put to flight; they, however, were met by powerful reinforcements from the city, and eventually succeeded in forcing our troops from the heights, with the loss of our gun. The enemy pursued our troops till checked by the musketry of the ramparts, and the appearance of a reinforcement of our cavalry issuing out of cantonments. Our loss in killed and wounded was very great. Col. Oliver, Capt. Mackintosh, 5th N. I., Capt. Walker, 4th Irregular Horse, Lieut. Long, 27th N. I., killed. During the foregoing period, three convoys of ammunition were thrown into the Bala Hissar. On the 24th, the enemy began to destroy the bridge communicating across the river with Seah Sung. Supplies in small quantities were daily purchased.

On the 27th, the enemy offered terms, which, being inadmissible, were refused. On the night of the 1st December, they attacked the Boorj Ekla, over the city, but were repulsed. On the 4th, the enemy brought two guns to the gorge of the Deh Maroo hills, from which they cannonaded the cantonment; towards evening, a rush was made by them on Mahomed Shurreef's fort; also an attempt to blow open the gate by powder—both failed. On the 5th, the enemy were in force near Mahomed Shurreef's fort, and burnt the bridge. The fort was reinforced. On the 6th, the enemy attempted to mine Mahomed Shurreef's fort, but a counter-mine, made by Lieut. Sturt, rendered their attempt abortive; but afterwards, on the enemy making a demonstration, our garrison abandoned the fort; we opened a heavy fire on it from the S. W. bastions. On the 4th and 5th, the commissariat officer reported to me that, instead of eight or nine days' supplies being in store, in consequence of the dirty state of the grain, there were only sufficient for four days. My assistant adjutant-general visited the stores, and confirmed the report. On the same day, Captains Boyd and Johnson officially reported the hopelessness of obtaining any supplies from the forts in our rear, as, with one or two exceptions, the grain had been all taken away, and the forts occupied by the enemy. On this, I wrote to the envoy, suggesting the necessity of re-opening negotiations; my opinion being concurred in, and testified by the signatures of the three next senior officers. I should here mention that, on the 24th or 25th, two deputations from the enemy met Captains Lawrence and Trevor, outside cantonments; both their propositions were of a nature we could not listen to; the envoy had likewise for some time been very sanguine in the hope of bringing over the Ghilzies to the king, in which he was upheld by Moonshee Mohun Lall, then residing with Khan Zeman Khan, the head of the Kuzzilbashes; a correspondence also took place between myself and the envoy, as to the moving into the Bala Hissar; but, in consequence of the sick and wounded amounting to upwards of 650, and the want of carriage to transport them and our ammunition, the strength and vigilancy of the enemy, as also doubts whether our situation would be thereby improved, the plan was deemed inexpedient, and given

up. I should add, that it was doubtful if the Bala Hissar would yield provisions and fuel sufficient for the increase of numbers, particularly the latter; it having been reported to me, that several sepoys of the 54th had died from cold. Up to this period, the envoy had held out hopes to me, indeed the strongest expectations, of the arrival of reinforcements from Candahar and Gundamuck, as General Sale had been written to return; these hopes made me still more anxious not to abandon the cantonment, as, under existing circumstances, any movement must have been attended with a great loss of heavy guns and ordnance stores.

On the 10th, all hopes of a reinforcement had been dispelled, and on the 11th, the envoy, with Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie, and Trevor, met the insurgent chiefs outside cantonments; on his return, the envoy informed me that he had read to them the clauses of a treaty which had been generally approved of; that supplies and carriage were to be furnished, and that we were to be ready to march on the 14th or 15th; four officers were to be left as hostages, and Capt. Trevor had accompanied the chiefs, who had promised to send to cantonments Capt. Skinner, then a prisoner in the city. We had only one day's supplies at this time. The sirdars Akhbar Khan and Oosman Khan were to accompany the troops to Peshawur, with an Afghan escort.

On the 12th, the 54th N.I. was to have come in from the Bala Hissar, but, for want of carriage, were delayed till the 13th, when towards evening they moved out, but, at the recommendation of the insurgent chiefs, did not leave the neighbourhood of the Bala Hissar. The following morning, the regiment marched into cantonments; they were fired on the whole way by the Ghazies, the sirdars appearing unable to restrain them.

15th.—Grain in small quantities came in, the chiefs became more exorbitant in their demands, and required the married officers, with their families, as hostages; our march was put off on the plea of inability to supply carriage.

16th.—The chiefs now required that we should give up to them our magazine, the Rekec Bashec, and other forts, saying that they could not otherwise persuade their followers of our sincerity, and that, unless this were done, our supplies would be stopped; these forts were reluctantly given up on the nawab's brother being sent to us as a hostage. On the 19th, letters were sent to Ghuznie, Candahar, and Jellalabad, for the troops to evacuate those posts in accordance with the treaty.

20th.—The envoy and suite again met the rebel chiefs, who rose still more and more in their demands, requiring our guns and ammunition, and Brigadier Shelton as a hostage. It was ascertained on the 19th, that Colonel McLaren's brigade had returned from near Tazee to Candahar; so all hope of succour from that quarter ceased. General Sale had also at length succeeded in getting a cossid to reach us, with information that he had been compelled to retire on Jellalabad; at Gundamuck he had been surrounded by the enemy, and had not sufficient ammunition to fight his way to Cabool.

On the 21st, the envoy and suite met sirdars Mahomed Akbar Khan and Oosman Khan, and the hostages were finally determined on. Major Pottinger, Lieutenants Conolly, Warburton, and Eyre. The last named and Lieutenant Conolly accompanied the chiefs, who sent back Captain Trevor.

22nd.—Some ammunition waggons were made over to the chiefs, and the envoy sent his carriage and pair, with Captain Lawrence's double-barrelled pistols, to Mahomed Akhbar, at his particular request.

On the morning of the 23rd, I received a note from the envoy, saying that

he hoped he had made arrangements which would enable us to remain in the country, and that he would shortly acquaint me with the particulars. I soon after received a message from him, desiring to see me, when he informed me he had made arrangements with Mahomed Akhbar Khan, by which Shah Soojah would remain on the throne, Mahomed Akhbar being vuzeer; he was to receive a large sum of money, and that Ameenollah Khan was to be delivered to us, a prisoner. I then asked what part Nawab Zeman Khan and Oosman Khan were to take in this? to which I received answer, that they were not in the "plot." I replied, that I did not like the word "plot;" that it was an ominous one; and then I begged to know if there was no fear of treachery. The envoy's reply was, "None whatever; I am certain the thing will succeed; what I want you to do is, to have two regiments and two guns now quickly ready, and without any show, to be prepared, the moment required, to move towards Mahomed Khan's fort." I further discussed the danger he was incurring, but he replied, "leave it all to me; I understand these things better than you do." I then left him, and he shortly afterwards proceeded, with his suite, and a few of his cavalry escort, to the interview. Before we separated, I asked him if there was any thing else I could do? he replied, "Nothing, but to have two regiments and two guns in readiness, and the garrison to be on the alert;" which was accordingly ordered.

Some time after I had given the necessary orders, Capt. Anderson came to me and said, "They have seized the envoy," and one of the escort at the same time said, "They have seized the Lord Sahib, and taken him off to the city." By myself and others it was thought at the time that Sir William had proceeded to the city for the purpose of negotiating; I was also told that a few shots had been fired. The garrison was got ready, and remained under arms all day; all Affghans were turned out of cantonments, with the exception of the Naib Ameen Akbarzadah, and some others of consequence, who were detained till the 25th, when the Naib Ameen was sent to the chiefs with a renewed treaty, which had come from them on the 24th. On the evening of the 24th, a note from Capt. Lawrence, military secretary, and Lieut. Conolly, political agent, reached us, informing us of the murder of the envoy and Capt. Trevor; a man from the sirdar also confirmed this distressing intelligence, and brought in renewed propositions.

Major Pottinger, who, as Sir William's senior assistant, had assumed political charge, was with me when these propositions were discussed by a council of officers: they were the same as those agreed to by the envoy, with three additional articles. On the 25th, we sent in the Naib Ameen with the renewed treaty, which the council of war, *viz.*—myself, Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, and Captains Bellew and Grant, had deemed it absolutely necessary to renew, on the grounds of our inability to reach the Bala Hissar from our sick and wounded, the want of carriage for them and the ammunition, the weakened, harassed, and depressed state of our troops, and our cavalry horses, from having had nothing to eat for three weeks but the bark and branches of trees, were unable to cope with the enemy. On the 26th, Major Pottinger received letters from Captains Macgregor and Mackeson, addressed to the late envoy, announcing the march of strong reinforcements from India. He also received a tender from Mahomed Oosman Khan to escort the troops to Peshawur himself, for five lacs of rupees. Shortly after, the Naib Ameen Mahomed Khan came into cantonments, with a verbal agreement to the amendment proposed to the renewed treaty, and brought with him a Cashmere

merchant, and several Hindoo shroffs, to negotiate bills, payable to the several chiefs, on the verbal promise of the late envoy, amounting to about fourteen lacs of rupees. The proposal was submitted to the council of war, composed as above. Major Pottinger informed the council, that he considered any treaty with the chiefs as exceedingly doubtful, and he thought it was our duty either to hold out, or to force a retreat to Jellalabad, so as in no way to bind the hands of our Government by promising to evacuate the country, or to waste so much public money to save our own lives and property under such doubtful circumstances of faith being kept with us. The council one and all were of opinion that Major Pottinger's views were impracticable; that we could not hold out for want of provisions, and from having surrendered the forts commanding cantonments, and that we could not force a retreat to Jellalabad; also that it was better to pay any sum of money than sacrifice the troops then at Cabool. It was consequently determined, *nem. con.*, that Major Pottinger should enter on negotiations, and pay the money to the different chiefs, which was accordingly done.

Nothing particular occurred on the 27th and 28th. On the 29th, the Naib Ameen returned, bringing Capt. Lawrence and the shroffs, when the bills were given. On the 30th, Captains Mackenzie and Skinner were sent into cantonments on the arrival of four additional hostages in the city, *viz.*, Captains Drummond and Walsh, Lieutenants Warburton and Webb.

Up to the 4th, matters continued much the same, the chiefs delaying our march on pretext of their men not being ready, and our sick were sent into the city; a subadar and two medical officers were left with them, and some guns and waggons were made over, with a few small-arms: we had previously replaced all that were objectionable among our own troops, by new ones from the magazines. On the 5th, the chiefs, instead of being ready, sent to say they certainly would be so by sunrise the next morning. We were, therefore, in marching orders at gunfire on the morning of the 5th. A temporary bridge was laid over the river, and a wide opening made for our exit in the ramparts by Lieut. Sturt, of the engineers. On that officer's reporting the bridge ready, and the banks of the bund sufficiently sloped, the advance moved out at last, at ten A.M., and reached camp without molestation. The baggage was greatly delayed by the breaking down of the temporary bridge, and by the imperfect cut across the canal, and towards evening a considerable portion of it was plundered. The Affghans, who had promised to guard the cantonments, set fire to the houses, and fired on the rear-guard with such force that the gun was abandoned. Lieut. Hardyman, of the 5th cavalry, and many sepoys, were killed, besides many more wounded. The rear guard did not reach camp, at Bygram, till 2½ A.M. On the 7th, at 8 A.M., the force again marched, but the baggage was stopped by a deep cut, and formed such a confused mass on a narrow road, that the guns of the mountain train could not proceed; three guns, in attempting to avoid this obstacle, by diverging from the direct route, got separated from the main body of the rear-guard; the leading gun upset, and gave time to the Affghans, who were pressing on us, to come up and seize the whole three, which we were obliged to spike and abandon. Brigadier Anquetil, commanding the rear-guard, sent an urgent request for reinforcements, which we were unable to furnish, in consequence of the fearful manner in which the baggage and camp-followers had crowded upon and mingled with the troops. Towards evening, at Boockak, Captains Lawrence and Skinner met with an agent of Mahomed Akbar's, near camp; by him they were informed that this

sirdar had been sent by the other chiefs to complain of our having marched, and to cause us to halt. Capt. Skinner went to the sirdar, who confirmed the message, and endeavoured to find excuses for the men who had attacked us; he said provisions should be sent to us if we would halt till intelligence had been received of the evacuation of Jellalabad by General Sale: owing to the extreme inclemency of the weather, I could not consent to halt at Boodkak. On the morning of the 8th, the enemy tried to surround us: Capt. Skinner again went to the sirdar, who agreed to our marching to Tezeen, on our providing six hostages to ensure our not advancing further; he also promised us supplies of every kind. Brigadier Shelton and Capt. Lawrence were particularly named as to form part of the hostages; but as the former was required, and Capt. Lawrence could not be spared, Major Pottinger tendered himself, being unable to move in consequence of the wound in his leg, also hoping that this mark of confidence would induce the sirdar to content himself with a smaller number. The major was received courteously, but sent for Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie, they being required by the sirdar to remain with him.

The force entered the Khoord Cabool Pass, I regret to say, in a state of the utmost confusion, our own followers plundering the baggage, and mixing up with the soldiery to an extent which defied the utmost exertions of the officers to disengage them. Had I not witnessed it, I could scarcely have credited the dreadful effects of the severe frost; many had died during the night; it not only froze the feet and hands, from which the skin peeled off in flakes, but it also rendered otherwise strong men incapable of exertion. By this time it had rendered nearly half the force useless as combatants. As we advanced, the confusion increased, the followers forcing themselves into the ranks of both cavalry and infantry; and the enemy firing upon us from the heights, caused the previous disorder to become, if possible, worse. The pressure of non-combatants and cattle rendered vain all attempts to restore order. The horse artillery had unfortunately got some spirits, and were many of them slashing with their swords at all who opposed their progress. Towards the end of the pass, the firing increased, and the line of march presented the appearance of a rout. The rear-guard, H.M.'s 44th and the 54th regts, suffered very severely, and were at length obliged to hurry their way up to the main body as they best could; they were aided in so doing by a gun, which was turned with good effect near the outlet. Capt. Paton, assistant quarter-master general, Lieut. Sturt, engineers, and Lieut. St. George, 37th N.I., were killed; Majors Griffiths, 37th N.I., Scott, H.M.'s 44th, Capt. Bott, 5th cavalry, Capt. Troup, major of brigade Shah Soojah's force, and Capt. Shaw, 54th N.I., wounded. Ere we reached the bivouac, snow fell, and continued during the night. Nothing could be done for the wounded, and we had to pass another night on the snow, without tents, food, or firewood. On the 9th, the march was ordered at 10 A.M., but, consequent on a message from the sirdar, requesting us to halt till he could organize an escort for us, and promising supplies and firewood, it was countermanded. But a similar scene of confusion to that of the day before had taken place, and it was past mid-day before any thing like order was restored. Capt. Skinner returned to the sirdar, by whom he was again sent back, with a proposal that the married people and their families should be made over to him, promising honourable treatment to the ladies. I complied with his wish, being desirous to remove the ladies and children, after the horrors they had already witnessed, from the further dangers of our camp, and hoping that, as from the very commencement of the negotiations, the sirdar had shewn

the greatest anxiety to have the married people as hostages, this mark of trust might elicit a corresponding feeling in him. During the day, many desertions had taken place, particularly among the irregular cavalry. I had the troops paraded, and caused it to be explained throughout camp, that any person caught in the attempt to desert should be instantly shot for example. A sirdar, sent for the purpose by Mahomed Akbar, accompanied me to the troops, and affirmed that he would either ~~have~~ put to death, or send back, any one who might go over to him. A mission chuprassy, shortly afterwards, taken in the act, was shot by my order, which appeared to have a salutary effect. The irregular cavalry having, up to this time, behaved very well, their desertion may be attributed to their having been tampered with, and their probable knowledge of what was likely to be the fate of the army. At the above parade, the native infantry corps did not muster more than seventy files each effective; H.M.'s 44th, one hundred. The cavalry were stronger. The sirdar's promise of fuel and provision was not fulfilled, and we passed another night on the bare snow, without food, covering, or fire, but in constant expectation of these necessities being supplied to us.

On the morning of the 10th, at 7 A.M., the troops marched, the same disorder as on the previous day prevailing. The enemy, in small parties, hovered round us. The 44th, in advance, passed Tangee Tareekce unmolested, though the Tangee was occupied by the enemy in force; when, however, the main body arrived, a furious and overwhelming attack was made on it. The column was completely routed, and the treasure seized; little or no resistance was made by the sepoys, most of whom had lost their fingers and toes; their muskets, covered with frozen snow, would have been of little use could the men have handled them. The slaughter was dreadful, and when we reached Kubbur Jubber, fighting-men were with difficulty distinguished from camp-followers, most had thrown away their arms and accoutrements. At Kubbur Jubbur, I sent Capt. Skinner to the sirdar, to remonstrate with him on these continued attacks. The sirdar said he exceedingly regretted his utter inability to control the Ghilzies, but as the force was composed of few but Europeans, he would guarantee their safety to Jellalabad, if I would send them to him without arms; but as we had still some thousands of camp-followers, and he only had with him 300 horse, he could only protect them. To this I would not agree. Near Tezeen, the few irregular horse who had remained with us, went over in a body to the enemy.

Worn and dispirited as was the small remnant of the army, I deemed it expedient to make another attempt to save them, if possible, and again sent Capt. Skinner to the sirdar, with whom he found Captains Bellew and Hay. The sirdar urged, as the only chance of saving the army, that they should give up their arms, and rely on his conducting them to Jellalabad; that, as long as they maintained their arms, his men would distrust them; to attempt to save the natives would be futile, but that he could save the Europeans. To this I would not agree; so, after three hours' halt, our little band moved towards Jugdulluck, at 9 P.M., abandoning our last gun. For some time, the enemy appeared not to be aware of our march; it was therefore uninterrupted, save by an occasional shot, till we reached Bareekab, when some volleys poured into us from some caves in the hill side. The camp-followers here crowded to the front, and so greatly retarded the progress of the troops, that we did not reach Rattulbary till 8 A.M. on the 11th, which delay was most fatal, as the sirdar, on hearing of our move, proceeded by a short cut across the hills, and

the intelligence of our approach, thus conveyed, enabled the enemy to occupy the hills on both sides of the road, within two miles of Jugdulluck, from whence they opened a destructive fire upon us. At three p.m. we reached Jugdulluck, and vainly sought a partial shelter from their fire within some ruined walls. The enemy, however, took up a position close to and commanding ours, from whence they poured volley after volley into our diminished ranks. A party of twenty Europeans sallied out, and drove ~~them~~ from their position, but they immediately re-occupied it on the party withdrawing, and continued the work of destruction from time to time till dark. At about five o'clock, Capt. Skinner came with a message from the sirdar, inviting Brigadier Shelton, Capt. Johnson, and myself to a conference, saying, that unless he had a personal interview with myself, he found all his endeavours to afford protection ineffectual.

Strongly averse as I naturally felt to such a measure, I did not consider that I should be warranted in rejecting the proposal altogether, as it was now too evident that every soul must be sacrificed if the alternative offered was rejected. To assemble a regular council in the then state of the troops, exposed as they were to the fire of the enemy, and scattered as the principal officers were, was impossible; so I was necessitated to content myself by advising with those senior officers who happened to be near me. Col. Chambers and Major Blair gave it as their decided opinion, that no effort of ours could release the small remnant of our army from its perilous predicament, and urged me in the most pressing manner to waive personal objections, and to consider only the possibility, that my acceding to the sirdar's proposal offered, of extricating the rest from the prospect of immediate annihilation. Capt. Skinner assured me that there would be no objection or obstacle to my immediate return to camp, should I find my interview with the sirdar not likely to produce the desired result. He also said that, on my proceeding, supplies of all sorts would be furnished to the famishing troops. Relying on these assurances, thus strongly urged, and seeing no other hope of escape for the troops, I at length consented, and having had my wound dressed, and made over the temporary command to Brigadier Anquetil, I was put upon my horse, and, accompanied by Brigadier Shelton and Capt. Johnson, started for Mahomed Akbar's camp; contemplating a speedy return, I took no servants, baggage, or even a change of clothes with me.

The sirdar received us courteously, and on my urgent solicitations, promised supplies should be immediately sent to the troops (another most gross breach of faith), and that he would obtain the consent of the Ghilzie chiefs for our safe progress to Neemlah. Having obtained this promise, I pressingly urged the absolute necessity of my own immediate return to camp, assuring the sirdar that, if required, I would send Brigadier Anquetil in my place; but to all my solicitations on this head, the sirdar turned a deaf ear. At 9 a.m. on the 12th, we were summoned to a conference with the sirdar; the Ghilzie chiefs were present, and were loud in their execrations against us and vociferations of enmity, declaring they only wanted our blood. After much angry discussion, the sirdar apparently wrung from the Ghilzie chiefs an unwilling consent to a cessation of hostilities, and for our safe conduct to Neemlah, on my promising to write and endeavour to procure the evacuation of Jellalabad, and paying two lacs of rupees for distribution among the Ghilzies. He at the same time assured me that, at my request, Capt. Skinner had been sent for early in the morning.

I was anxious to have Capt. Skinner present, as he had hitherto been the medium of communication ; but here again I have reason to believe I was deceived, and that my message had not been sent. Before any thing final had been settled, the sirdar withdrew, detaining me, in spite of my remonstrances ; he returned at dusk, when the discussion was renewed, and at the time I had reason to hope that matters were about to be adjusted, we heard heavy firing in the direction of our camp, and messengers came, bringing word that our troops, impatient at my unexpected detention, had pushed on towards Gundamuck. At first, the sirdar thought of following ; but afterwards changed his mind, saying that his doing so would only cause all the Ghilzies with him to pursue the troops, and that it would be better to wait until morning.

It may be proper to observe that, at the time I left camp to visit the sirdar, our force was reduced to about the following strength : H. M.'s 44th, from 160 to 180 men ; 5th cavalry, 50 or 60 ; and 30 of H. A. ; not one native sepoy with arms, and the Europeans had only a few rounds in pouch, and no spare ammunition.

(Signed) W. R. ELPHINSTONE, Major-General.

The entire history of these lamentable occurrences is not yet before the world : it may, however, be soon expected. There is reason to believe (says an Indian journalist*) that Lady Sale was mistaken in supposing that every original record of these events perished in the fatal retreat, except her own. Lady Macnaghten's trunks, which contained a collection of important documents, accompanied her when she placed herself under Akbar Khan's protection. They were not taken from her, and they will afford her deceased husband's relatives at home ample materials for vindicating his character. Sir W. Macnaghten's own official despatch to Government, containing a narrative of these events, to which he made the last addition only a few hours before he fell a victim to the Sirdar's treachery, is safely lodged in the public archives. Two others of the prisoners are known to have kept journals of occurrences, and brought them in safety to India. From these various sources of information we are sure, sooner or later, to be put in possession of the truth ; and the history of that period will eventually be as clearly known as that of any other period.

* *The Friend of India.*

MAHOMEDAN VERACITY.

MUSULMAN morality is not over-scrupulous on the subject of veracity, since, according to a tradition of Mahomet, it authorizes falsehood in three cases : it is permitted to a husband to lie in order to content his wife ; to a warrior, in order to get away from his foe ; and a falsehood is allowable for the purpose of reconciling enemies. This triple sanction to falsehood by Musulman morals is as little known as the approbation given by *fetwas* to evasive replies and mental reservations. Thus, for example, if you have purchased any thing for sixpence, and you should reply to the question, "What did it cost?" that you had bought it for five pence, this is not considered to be a falsehood, because *five* is contained in the number *six*.*

* *Journ. Asiatique.*

Monthly Commentary.

BY AN OBSERVER.

November.—When the artist in the Happy Valley refused to make known his invention of the art of flying, because “men were not all virtuous”—and it might be abused by the bad to the injury of the good—he shewed a larger knowledge of mankind than his limited experience in an Abyssinian prison would have led us to expect. From schemes devised for the common good and general utility, selfishness and malice can easily extract evil.

I think it possible that this observation may have occurred to others. It has been forced upon my mind by the proceedings of the repealers in Ireland now under prosecution for sedition. The precautions which the forms of the law have devised to guard innocence against oppression are threatened to be abused to the averting of an ordeal which innocence should desire, not avoid. The charge of perjury against the principal Crown witness seems to have fallen to the ground; then came an application for a copy of the caption of the indictment (contrary to established practice and the *strict* meaning of the statute), which was refused by the Court; the next attempt was to support an objection to the indictment, that it had not been found upon the testimony of witnesses sworn in open court, the oaths having been administered in the grand jury-room; and this objection has likewise been overruled by the allowance of the demurrer on the part of the Crown. There is apparently no obstacle now to the trial—that is, to its commencement; but it is currently reported, we are told, on the part of the defence, that one of the traversers has 30,000 witnesses to bring forward; and, by way of further procrastinating the proceedings, it is said that ten notices for bills of particulars have been served, one for each traverser respectively, upon which the arguments raised upon the right of each of them will, as a matter of necessity, have to be answered by the counsel for the Crown.

Meanwhile repeal meetings have been held in Dublin, and resolutions passed in support of Mr. O’Connell. At one of these he said it had been most erroneously supposed by some persons that he had changed his mind on the subject of repeal; he had merely repeated what he had often before stated on the subject of a movement respecting the attainment of a “Federal Parliament;” but he retained his own opinion that nothing short of repeal ought to satisfy the people of Ireland, and that nothing else would afford an efficient remedy for the manifold grievances of the country. He was still firmly attached to the principle of independent legislation, but having reason to believe that a movement for a federal parliament would rally a considerable and very influential party, he had expressed himself ready to make the experiment, because he felt conscious that the result would be a still deeper conviction that in repeal alone the true remedy would be found. In his address to the people of Ireland (November 11th) Mr. O’Connell makes professions of a desire for tranquillity and order:—

My advice is this—I wish I could make it a command—that there be perfect peace, order, and tranquillity in every parish in Ireland; that there shall not be the smallest riot, tumult, or violence; no public meeting, unless it be called by public advertisement, sanctioned by at least some of the clergy; and not even then, except for the sole purpose of petitioning the Queen and the Parliament. I want the most perfect quiet, peace, and tranquillity, until all these trials are over. No matter what the event of the prosecutions may be, I am thoroughly convinced, that in any event they will tend to facilitate the obtaining of repeal: provided only that the people preserve the condition of the most perfect quietude during those trials. It will be easy to preserve tranquillity after those trials shall, as they ought, have terminated successfully for the unjustly accused, or however they may terminate. Nothing could possibly injure our cause before the court and jury half so much as any occurrence of tumult, riot, or physical force of any kind whatsoever. If anybody gives you advice contrary to mine, believe me that he is an enemy of mine and of yours. Arrest every such man and bring him before the police.

That peace, order, and tranquillity are much wanted in that country is pretty well shewn by some recent occurrences there. At Finnoe, in Tipperary, the house of a gentleman named Waller was entered at broad day, when he was at dinner with some friends, by ruffians, not for plunder, but for murder, who barbarously wreaked their malignity upon the host, his friends, even the ladies, and an old servant.

The outrage recently perpetrated upon the house and person of Mr. Waller (says the *Times*), his unsuspecting guests, his brave and faithful servant, and the luckless women under his roof, has all the worst features of a regular *Irish* barbarity. It was treacherous—committed at the unprepared hour of festive and social enjoyment. It was heartless and cruel—being violent, unprovoked, and bloody. It was base and cowardly—being inflicted by armed numbers upon a defenceless few. There was no revolting, no disgusting property of the most execrable crime, not present and conspicuous in this genuine anti-Saxon slaughter, perpetrated by the malignity of demons. And how has it been avenged, and by whom? Not by the neighbours of the unhappy victims; not by the surrounding peasantry; nor did they stir an inch towards the detection of the villains, but negatively shelter them from punishment.

In the same county, a wealthy and popular nobleman, and liberal landlord, the Marquess of Waterford, has been driven from his home by outrages committed upon his property. He has had his hounds twice poisoned, his stables burned, and many threatening letters sent him about persons in his employment. His lordship states, that he discovered the miscreant who poisoned his hounds in 1841, and forgave him; but they were poisoned again in 1843. The threatening notices, and evidence of persons on the spot, convinced the Marquess that the firing of his stables was malicious; upon which, he says, “I immediately determined to leave Tipperary.” Who, after this, can wonder at the prevalence of the “monster” evil which afflicts Ireland, the absence of its landlords?

The measures taken to allay the disturbances in Wales have not yet had that salutary effect. The Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer

has convicted some of Rebecca's agents, and three of them, from their cell in Cardiff gaol, where they were under sentence of transportation, have implored their former companions to take warning by their fate, and "stop their mad course." But neither their conviction nor their counsel appears to have had any effect in diminishing the spirit of Rebeccaism. As a proof of this, all the jurymen by whom John Hughes was convicted have received threatening letters, and four shots were fired through the windows of the foreman's house. The resistance to toll appears to be as determined as ever. At the village of Pontyberem a gate and toll-house were destroyed more than once; they were again erected, and the posts strengthened by two pillars of wrought iron, an inch in thickness; yet it has been again destroyed, and these ironed posts torn completely to pieces. It is stated that the system of night-drilling is carried to a great extent in the disturbed districts of South Wales, and the same lawless spirit is extending to North Wales.

I cannot persuade myself that this system of secret combination is not countenanced, and perhaps prompted, by the open combinations which exist amongst us, such as the Anti-Corn Law League, which, though not illegal in itself, is certainly dangerous in the way of example. I do not, indeed, know whether the use which the League makes of its influence and money in elections is quite compatible with constitutional principles. Mind, I am no friend of the corn-law, but I wish that and every bad measure to be removed by proper means. To be sure, I am not such an enthusiast on this point as Molière's valetudinarian, who preferred being sick to being cured *contre les règles*.

A case of some importance in respect to slave-trading (which, I am told, is much more prosperous now than it was before it was *put down*) occurred during this month; I mean the trial of M. Pedro de Zulueta, at the Old Bailey, for equipping, freighting, and sending out a vessel for the purpose of trading in slaves. By the evidence it was shewn, that the vessel (a condemned slaver) was purchased, chartered for the Galinas, loaded, and despatched, by the house of Zulueta and Co., the cargo being consigned to three persons, named Rolla, Alvarez, and Ximenes; and the Hon. Capt. Denman, Col. Nicholls, and others, who had been engaged in suppressing the slave-trade, deposed that Galinas was the most notorious slave-dealing port in Africa, the country around producing nothing but slaves for exportation; that some vessels landed their goods and sailed away in ballast, the freight being paid at the Havana, but that persons landing goods there must do so for the purpose of their being bartered for slaves, as no other trade is carried on; and Rolla, Alvarez, and Ximenes were the chief slave-dealers. Mr. Kelly, on behalf of the prisoner, stated that the adventure in question was only a small part of the extensive transactions of his house as agents for Martinez and Co., of Cadiz and Havana, the goods being sent to Galinas according to order, just as they might have been sent to any other port, and without any previous knowledge of the persons to whom they were consigned, or of Messrs. Martinez having been engaged in the slave-trade. A number of respectable witnesses were called to character.

Mr. Justice Maule, in summing up, said, the charge did not necessarily require it to be proved that the ship in question was intended for the conveyance of slaves. If there were an adventure, the object of which was, that slaves should be carried from the coast of Africa, and if this ship were despatched for the purpose of accomplishing that object, whether by bringing back slaves, or in any other way, the crime charged in the indictment had been committed. From the evidence of the character of the port to which this cargo was consigned, he thought it must be held to be a^t slave-trading adventure, and it was proved that the house of Zulueta and Co., of which the prisoner appeared to be an active member, were the doers of whatever was done in this country with regard to that adventure. If the house of Martinez and Co. had not sent out this vessel for slave-trading, they or their clerks might have been called to prove it; if they were not innocent, but the house of Zulueta and Co. were ignorant of their dealing in slaves, the prisoner's two partners, and others conversant with their business, might have been called to prove that they knew nothing whatever of any dealing in slaves. The jury, after deliberating for an hour and a half, returned a verdict of not guilty.

The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* observes that this trial is one of the most important events, in relation to the anti-slavery cause, which has occurred of late years. It has long, it says, been a matter of notoriety that the Act of 1824 has been extensively violated by British merchants, who have in various ways administered to this nefarious traffic a support without which the foreigners engaged in it could not have carried it on. The present prosecution, it appears, was instituted by Sir Geo. Stephen, on his own responsibility, the law officers of the Crown having, for some reason, declined to pursue it.

It is owing, I suppose, to the swimming way in which our affairs are going on in the East,—whence every other mail brings intelligence of some province or kingdom having dropped into our hands in spite of all we could do to prevent it,—that the French are gasping after colonial acquisitions :—

In all parts of the globe (observes the *Morning Chronicle*), the French are looking out for places as yet unappropriated. The Marquesas islands are taken under protection; a treaty of navigation and commerce is entered into with the government of the Wallis islands, a settlement in Madagascar is, we believe, determined on, and there is some talk of an intention to seize one of the ports of St. Domingo. But we had thought that in Algiers they had got a sickening of African colonization; we were, however, mistaken, for it appears that a strong effort is to be made to extend the trade, and, no doubt, the possessions of France, on the coast of Guinea. Assinia, a place situated on the Gold Coast, and which is stated to have been long in the possession of France, is the place^l chosen for the experiment. It is to be immediately fortified, and a glowing account is given both of its climate and the advantages for commands in extending trade.

All this is, no doubt, very greedy and rapacious; we would not do such things for the world.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, November 17th, 1843.

A special general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day, at the Company's house in Leadenhall Street, pursuant to requisition, for the purpose of taking into consideration certain resolutions relative to the late proceedings in Scinde.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,—

The *Chairman* (J. Cotton, Esq.) said,—I have to lay before the Court, in conformity with the by-law, cap. 6, sec. 19, a list of superannuations granted by the Court of Directors since the last general Court to officers of the Company in England, under the 53rd Geo. 3, cap. 155, sec. 93; and I have further to acquaint the Court, that it is specially summoned in pursuance of a requisition signed by nine proprietors, which is as follows:—

“ To the hon. the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

“ Hon. Sir,—We, the undersigned proprietors of East-India Stock, request that a special general Court may be convened at the earliest period, to take into consideration the following resolutions proposed to be submitted to them:—

“ 1. That, from the printed papers recently laid before Parliament on the subject of Scinde, it is the opinion of this Court that the proceedings of the Government of India, which ended in the dethronement, exile, and imprisonment of the Ameers, and the seizure of their country, were uncalled-for, impolitic, and unjust.

“ 2. That this Court does, therefore, most earnestly recommend to the Court of Directors the immediate adoption of such steps, by representation to her Majesty's Government or otherwise, as may cause all practicable reparation to be made for the injustice already committed, and enforce the abandonment of a line of policy inconsistent with good faith, and subversive of the interests of the British rule in India.

“ We have the honour to be, hon. Sir, your obedient servants,

“ HARFORD JONES BRIDGES,	W. J. EASTWICK,
ARTHUR JAMES LEWIS,	JOSEPH HUME,
A. HOGG,	JOHN POYNTER,
THOS. MARRIOTT,	CHAS. FORBES.”
J. SULLIVAN,	

The *Chairman* then said,—Before any discussion on a question so momentous in its consequences, present and prospective, is entered upon, I feel it to be right, and a part of my duty, to state to you, that the papers on this most important subject have not yet been regularly and in the usual course of proceeding placed before the Court of Proprietors. (*Hear, hear!*) One or two copies have, as a matter of courtesy, been placed in the reading-room, but that cannot be regarded as having afforded to the proprietors at large the means of information necessary to enable them to pronounce a calm and deliberate judgment upon resolutions such as those now propounded, and without which the Court cannot, with any propriety, proceed. (*Hear, hear!*) The proprietors, I hope, will do me the justice to believe that I have no desire to withhold from them any information that can with propriety be given them. So far from it, that, with their permission, I will myself move for the papers. The Court

will, however, consider that, in taking this course, I reserve to myself the right of judging of the propriety of entering upon a discussion when the papers are in the hands of the proprietors at large—that is quite a separate and distinct question. The Court, after possessing the papers, will be better able than it now is to judge whether the period has arrived at which, in reference to the then state of India, they can with propriety and advantage enter into the discussion of a question of such vast importance. (*Hear, hear!*) This I do earnestly entreat them well and seriously to consider. In the mean time, I need scarcely say that the subject has engaged, and must continue to engage, the serious attention of your responsible executive. With these few observations I now take leave to move, “That the Court of Directors be requested to lay before this Court, such papers as may have been communicated to them by the Secret Committee, regarding the proceedings which have taken place in Scinde, and that the same be printed for the use of the proprietors.”

Mr. *Lewis* (interrupting the Chairman while he was reading the resolution).—Is this regular? Never was a more irregular course taken.

The *Chairman*.—It is to preserve the regularity of our proceedings that I take this step, in order that our decision may go forth to the country with the utmost weight and influence. (*Hear, hear!*) What would be said if gentlemen came down, having procured private information, and called for a decision, when other proprietors were without that advantage, and were ignorant of the subject? (*Hear, hear!*) It was quite clear that, in the absence of information, they could not come to a proper decision (*hear, hear!*); and he was convinced that the hon. proprietors could not shew any instance where a discussion took place on a question of such an important nature, without papers being previously laid before them. (*Hear, hear!*)

The *Deputy-Chairman* (Mr. Shepherd) seconded the motion. There was not, he observed, any information before the Court to enable them to proceed with the discussion of this question. Papers had, by her Majesty's command, been laid before Parliament; but they were not in the hands of the proprietors. When they had the papers before them, they would be better enabled to enter upon the question. Their decision, in that case, would be more respected, and would have more weight with the public, than if they hastened to discuss and decide this question before they had received the necessary information. He was always anxious that the Court should have full information on every subject; and he hoped that the proprietors would accede to the proposal of his hon. friend, and defer the discussion until the papers were before them. (*Hear!*)

Mr. *Marriott*.—Will the papers proposed to be printed embody more information than the Parliamentary papers already printed? (*Hear, hear!*)

The *Chairman*.—They will comprise all such papers as have been presented to Parliament. If any others should be obtained, they would also be produced.

Mr. *Hume* thought that, on a subject of such importance, it was necessary and proper that every information should be laid before the proprietors. Few who had not studied the question could be aware of the circumstances connected with it; and he only regretted that the Court had not before met, due information being laid before it, for the purpose of discussing the subject. These papers had been laid before Parliament some time since, and it had been stated that a subsequent set of papers on the same subject would be produced. Parliament had, however, been prorogued without that pledge having been re-

deemed. It appeared to him, from what he knew, that the proceedings in the case of the Ameers involved the character of the Company's Government. (*Hear, hear!*) It seemed that they were no longer to govern India by civil proceedings—by the authority of law—but that it was intended to retain that country by the sword. (*Hear, hear!*) It appeared, therefore, to him, to be of the utmost importance that this question should be raised. (*Hear, hear!*) The proprietors had a momentous duty to perform, not only to themselves, but to the millions who were placed under their sway. On that account, therefore, he had signed the requisition. He was not anxious to discuss this question partially, because that would do mischief (*hear, hear!*); but he felt it to be absolutely necessary that discussion should take place upon it. When he considered what the Ameers had suffered, and reflected on the policy that had been adopted towards them, he felt strongly the necessity of discussion. To defer discussion unnecessarily would, in his opinion, be a most unjust proceeding. They ought to be, but they were not, furnished with correct information of what was passing in India. The proceedings which had lately taken place were calculated to impede the prosperity of that country, and were, in his opinion, fraught with danger. He wished to be informed, by gentlemen behind the bar, whether they had not been kept in ignorance by the Government of matters of the highest importance? He did not think that there was one gentleman behind the bar who would say that India was governed in a manner to secure the tranquillity and prosperity of the population of that country. The Directors were the guardians of India, and carried on the Government of that country, under the direction and check (as he thought, most unfortunately) of the executive at home. (*Hear, hear!*) The effects which the policy recently adopted was producing in India were rapidly developing themselves. The Directors were not treated fairly by the Government. They should either be permitted to have the real rule in India, or be deprived of the nominal rule. As it was, although they were called the rulers of India, the expedition to Affghanistan, involving an expense of ten or twelve millions of money, had been undertaken without their knowledge; and, to the present hour, they were not acquainted with the reasons which led to that immense expenditure. (*Hear, hear!*) Either they were fit to govern India, or they were not. If they were, they should be permitted to do so; if they were not, they should be removed. (*Hear, hear!*) The Court, the country, and the world at large, were deeply interested in the existing state of India. The present situation of India was most extraordinary. By every post they heard of some new event, and no man breathing could tell what intelligence the next post might bring; it might be for good—it might be for evil. They, therefore, would be wanting in duty to themselves and to India if they did not proceed to consider this subject. In order that they might be prepared for such a discussion, he would suggest to those gentlemen who had taken the lead in this matter, that the Directors should be requested to apply to Government for copies of all the documents connected with it. (*Hear, hear!*) If Government refused, or limited and confined the communication, they would deserve the severest censure. They all must feel the great importance of this question. They must see that their character, and the best interests of India, were at stake. He thought, therefore, that the gentlemen behind the bar should be instructed to prefer a general request to her Majesty's Government for all the papers which they possessed on the subject; after which, a day might be fixed for a full discussion of the question.

The *Chairman*.—I am quite anxious to give every possible information to the Court of Proprietors; and, therefore, I have no objection, in accordance with the suggestion of the hon. proprietor, to add these words to the motion:—“And that the Court of Directors be requested to apply for, and lay before this Court, all further information upon this important subject which her Majesty’s Government may be able to communicate.”

Mr. *Hume*.—Let the Court be adjourned for two or three weeks, and, in the mean time, the necessary information may be called for and placed in the hands of the proprietors.

The *Chairman*.—I shall ask for all the information that can be obtained on the subject, and it shall be laid before the Court. The correspondence is rather voluminous, and I think it would be impossible to arrive at a just decision until an opportunity is afforded of reading it.

Mr. *Lewis* submitted to the Court whether this was not the most irregular motion ever brought before it? He called on their learned counsel—who, of course, was acquainted with all the laws affecting their rights and privileges—to say whether the Chairman had not, by this proceeding, infringed the rights of the proprietors. A book had been published some time ago by one of their own officers, in which the rules that ought to govern their proceedings, and those of other deliberative bodies, were laid down; and it was there stated that a motion, of which notice had been given, could only be met by moving an adjournment or the previous question, and not by the introduction of a substantive motion, as was attempted in this instance. (*Hear, hear!*) Would, then, the hon. Chairman, under these circumstances, persist in his present course, or would he not? The objection made to proceeding on this occasion came with a very bad grace from the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors had themselves caused these papers to be laid on the proprietors’ table; and for what purpose? Why, surely, that the proprietors might inform themselves on this important subject, in order that they might be enabled to discuss it. But it was said that more information would be produced. What, had the Government of the country presented to Parliament and to the public documents not sufficiently copious to enable them to come to a decision on this subject? (*Hear, hear!*) Was it to be supposed that the Government had been guilty of such a gross fraud towards the public? If there was no other information which the Court of Directors could lay before them, or were likely to procure (and such he believed to be the fact), why should they postpone this discussion? Was it fair that the Court of Proprietors should be called on to do so? Was it right towards the Ameers of Scinde, who were at this moment suffering imprisonment, that the discussion should be postponed? (*Hear, hear!*) He did not ask to bring it on as a favour; he contended that they had an undoubted right to bring it forward.

Sir *J. Lushington* said, if any one supposed that the Court of Directors were unwilling that this motion should be brought forward, he pledged himself that such was not the case. They were as anxious as the hon. proprietor that the subject should be discussed, but discussed in such a manner that the whole body of proprietors should have a fair opportunity of considering the subject before they decided on the resolutions meant to be propounded and discussed in that Court. What did the hon. Chairman propose? Why, that not only the papers laid before Parliament (and of which one or two copies had been placed on the proprietors’ table) should be printed, but that other documents should be applied for. He had no doubt that a few gentlemen had made them-

selves masters of the papers placed in the proprietors' room, and were ready to come to a conscientious decision on them; but, he asked - and that was the chief point—whether the great body of proprietors were equally prepared to come to a decision? (*Hear, hear!*) It was not from any desire to evade inquiry that the Directors approved of postponing this discussion. They were desirous that all necessary information should be produced before a discussion took place. They were asked to discuss and to decide upon a most important question; and yet he believed that not fifteen men in that Court had read the papers connected with it. (*Hear, hear!*) He trusted that those who brought forward this subject would see that it would be much more for their own advantage, and the general advantage of the Court, that the papers should be printed and laid before the proprietors previously to their entering on the discussion of a most difficult and important subject. (*Hear, hear!*) It was quite impossible, he thought, that the Court of Proprietors, unacquainted as they generally were with the matters set forth in the papers laid before Parliament, could arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. (*Hear, hear!*) A discussion they might have, but it would be entirely *ex-parte*; and no one would be prepared to reply to any statements which hon. proprietors might think fit to make. (*Hear, hear!*) It had always been held - and the maxim was fully recognized in the procrastinated discussion of the Rajah of Sattara's case—that no question of importance should be decided until all the papers connected with it were laid before the proprietors. (*Hear, hear!*) The hon. Chairman had, therefore, thought it better for the Court of Proprietors that he himself should, in this instance, move for these papers, in order that they might hereafter be enabled to come to a proper decision. He (Sir J. Lushington) therefore hoped that the Court would think it better for themselves, and more in accordance with the dignity and propriety of their proceedings, to pursue the course which his hon. colleague recommended, and which was manifestly calculated to give them that proper knowledge of the subject, without which their discussion of it must necessarily be imperfect. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Sullivan (who was to have moved the resolutions) reminded the Court that these papers had been before the public for six months, and had formed a fertile subject of discussion in the public journals. He therefore could not but think that they were ripe for the discussion of this question. He was not, it seemed, to be permitted to proceed with those resolutions; yet, if he had moved for the papers, he believed that he might have gone into the whole case on which these resolutions were founded, and he really saw no reason for not opening that case now. (*Hear, hear!*) He was much surprised at one expression that had fallen from the hon. Chairman, when he spoke of "private information"—

The *Chairman*.—I beg leave to correct myself thus far. Two copies were placed in the reading-room, but the other copies must have been procured privately.

Mr. Sullivan said, he knew nothing of private information. The whole state of the case which he intended to bring forward was founded on the papers laid before Parliament, and placed in the proprietors' room. Every proprietor had access to these papers as much as he had.

The *Chairman* submitted to the hon. proprietor whether, under all the circumstances of the case, he would proceed. The proprietors at large not having seen those papers, could he, in common justice, call on them to come to a decision on this question? Two copies had been laid on the proprietors' table, and

it was competent to the hon. gentleman to have moved that copies of those documents should be laid before the proprietors at large. Not having taken that course—not having moved that the papers should be laid before the whole body of proprietors—it appeared to him that the course which the hon. proprietor had taken was irregular, and that it was not fair to those proprietors—he might say the great body of proprietors—who had not read or seen those papers. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* was of opinion that no one could intervene with a motion when the Court was summoned, on requisition, to consider a particular subject. (*Hear, hear!*) He would ask his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan) whether, under the circumstances, he would or would not withdraw his intended motion? But certainly, if he wished it, he had a right to proceed, and it was not competent for the Chairman or any other individual to interfere with his motion. He might be requested to withdraw it, in order that it might not be said that the Court was taken by surprise; but it was for his hon. friend to decide as to the course he should pursue.

Mr. *Weeding* said, he believed that they all wished to have information on this subject, and he confessed (the blame might perhaps be said to rest with himself) that he had not read the papers connected with it. Now, he would ask whether they really could go forward, in such a case as this, without having consulted—without having the opportunity to consult—the documents connected with it? This was a most important question; and would they attempt to decide on it in the absence of all necessary information? The resolutions impugned the justice and policy of the conduct pursued by the Indian Government; and surely, that was a subject of such paramount importance, that they would not proceed to discuss it without making themselves masters of all available information respecting it. (*Hear, hear!*) In cases of infinitely less importance, would they not demand information? If that were so, then certainly they ought to have before them on this occasion all the information that could be obtained, before they proceeded to discuss the question. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee* said, the question here was, whether any discussion should be allowed on the question which they were specially summoned to consider? He thought that it was their duty to shew that they knew what their rights were, and that they were able to defend them; and he confessed he was somewhat surprised to find, when a Court was summoned for a special purpose, on the requisition of nine proprietors, that the Chairman should come forward and make a motion before the business mentioned in the requisition was introduced. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought that the Chairman ought to have made no such motion; and he was prepared in that Court to say, that the Chairman had no right to interpolate a motion on this occasion. On that ground alone he should oppose this proceeding; for it was most important that they should understand, and that they should assert, their rights. Unless they were assured that further information would be forthcoming, he saw no reason whatever for delay. Two copies of the papers, it appeared, had been furnished as a matter of course.

The *Chairman*.—As a matter of courtesy.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee*.—That made no difference. One hon. Director said that, if they proceeded now, there would be no one here to reply to any allegations that might be made. Why, every one knew that the documents were printed by, and distributed to, the House of Commons.

The *Chairman*.—They were presented by command of her Majesty, and are not to be bought. They are not to be bought as other papers are.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee*.—I care not whether they are to be bought or not.

A *Proprietor*.—I bought several copies.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee*.—The argument remained the same, whether the papers were sold or not. The papers had been sent abroad—they had been read by thousands. The question had been discussed for the last six months in every society they had entered. If it were asserted that further information would be granted, that might be a reason for postponing the debate; but if, after all, they were only to get the book which had been already published, that certainly did not appear to him to be a sufficient reason for putting off the discussion. He wished, however, most particularly to know whether the Chairman had a right to interfere, and to make the motion which he had done?

Mr. *Marriott*.—I wish to know whether the copies, which an hon. proprietor says he has purchased, were authorized copies?

The *Proprietor*.—They are authorized copies.

Mr. *Weeding*.—If they were printed by the Queen's order, and only for the members of both Houses of Parliament, the number of copies is limited.

The *Chairman*.—The hon. gentleman (Serjeant Gaselee) says that the Chairman has no right, under circumstances like the present, to make a motion. Now, I say that I have that right. I say that it is my duty, as Chairman, to preserve regularity here, and not to let the Court deviate from it. (*Hear, hear!*) It is my duty to see that the course they adopt is regular. I have no doubt whatever that my duty here is to see that regularity is preserved. My object in making a motion for papers was, to preserve consistency and regularity in our proceedings; and therefore I do hope that what I proposed will be acceded to by the Court. I am anxious, as far as I can, to procure all possible information for the Court, before they come to the discussion on this question.

Major *Oliphant* wished to know whether the Chairman was in or out of order in making a motion before the subject of the requisition was introduced. He thought that the opinion of their law officer should be taken.

The *Chairman* did not see the necessity of appealing to the law officer. They were, surely, the judges of their own privileges. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* thought that the question was one of expediency, and that the sole point was, whether Mr. Sullivan ought to go on. That was entirely a matter for the exercise of his discretion.

Mr. *Wigram* said, he would only call the attention of the Court to a recent case, when the late Chairman (Sir J. L. Lushington) took the same course that was now proposed. On the 29th of July, 1842, a special Court was called, on the requisition of nine proprietors, to take into further consideration the case of the *Rajah of Sattara*. On that occasion, the Chairman, when the requisition was read, moved, "That this Court do now adjourn," on the ground that the question had been repeatedly discussed. An extremely long discussion followed, and the Court did adjourn. It was attempted to impugn the regularity of this proceeding, but a large majority affirmed its regularity and propriety. The right to move an adjournment, as an antecedent question, was admitted. It was too much to say that, because nine proprietors had signed a requisition, some one or two of them should claim an imperative right to precedence. The course pursued on this occasion did not preclude discussion. Any individual might bring the question so far before the Court, as to impress on hon. proprietors the necessity and propriety of producing those papers, for

the purpose of justifying the propositions which it was intended to bring under consideration.

Mr. *Hume* contended that, unless some authority was proved to exist for the purpose, under the Act of Parliament or under the by-laws, the Chairman had no right to interpose a motion which defeated the object of a regularly-signed requisition (*hear, hear!*); and he was convinced that no such authority existed. (*Hear, hear!*) He did not know what occurred on the occasion referred to by the hon. Director, because he admitted that he was not present; but it was clear to him that, when nine signed a requisition, they had a right, under the Act of Parliament, to demand the discussion of the question to which that requisition related. (*Hear, hear!*) If a contrary principle were admitted, an end might be put to all discussion.

Mr. *Wigram* said, that which was done to-day was the practice of the Court, and the proceeding, as he had shewn, was perfectly regular.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee* thought that the hon. proprietor (Mr. Hume) took a correct view of the subject. He, also, instead of looking to what had been done at a former Court, would take the law from the Act of Parliament; and that Act would be an absurdity—a mere nonentity—if, when nine proprietors signed a requisition, the Chairman might interfere, and prevent the subject to which the requisition referred from being discussed.

Mr. *Weeding* asked what was the use of all this argument? Did any of them wish to avoid discussion? On the contrary, all were anxious that full information should be procured, and that then, when they were properly acquainted with the subject, discussion should take place.

The *Chairman* said, he was sorry that the honourable proprietor (Mr. Sullivan), who took so much interest in this question, did not come forward when the Court last met, and move that the papers, which were placed by courtesy in the reading-room, should be laid before the proprietors; but, as only that honourable proprietor and a few others had made themselves masters of the question, it was unreasonable now to come forward and to call on the proprietors at large to decide on so important a subject.

Mr. *Sullivan* believed it would take a man three or four months to study all those papers. (*Hear, hear!*) He, however, was in the hands of the Court, whether he should proceed or not.

Sir *J. L. Lushington* asked whether it would be just or reasonable to press a discussion upon a subject of which the great majority of the Court of Proprietors were in a state of utter ignorance; especially after the ready inclination shewn by the Chairman, on the part of the directors, to forward the objects of the requisitionists themselves, by producing all the information that could be had upon it, and thus enabling the Court to approach the discussion with the advantage of that knowledge of the facts connected with it which was essential to a satisfactory result of their proceedings. In the House of Commons, it was a very common practice to move for papers; but when it was known that those papers would be granted, would a preliminary discussion be allowed, before they were laid on the table? (*Hear, hear!*) When it was understood that the papers required would be refused, an individual had a right to go into the reasons at length for producing them. But such was not the course when the papers were at once, as in the present case, conceded.

Mr. *Hume* said, he would answer the question of the honourable director. An individual had a right, in moving for papers in the House of Commons, to state his sentiments, whether the motion was to be conceded or opposed. It

was entirely a matter of discretion. When a motion was brought forward, calling for papers relating to complicated interests, and embracing much diversity of matter, it was for the mover to decide whether it would not be more consonant with his own views to have papers laid on the table before he formally introduced the subject. It was evident to him that Mr. Sullivan had a right to proceed with the subject of his motion at the present Court if he pleased ; but it was a matter for his discretion, whether it would be advisable to waive that right, on an understanding that he should have an opportunity of bringing forward his motion at a given time.

Major *Oliphant* again stated, that he wished to know whether the Chairman was not out of order in the course he had taken. He was of opinion, that the Act of Parliament did not give to nine gentlemen the right to cause a Court to be convened, and place at the same time in the hands of the Chairman a power to deprive them of the privilege of expressing their opinions. (*Hear, hear !*) The legislature could not be guilty of such an absurdity. The present Court was assembled for an explicit and clearly defined object—to discuss a particular subject ; but, according to the principle now advanced, the nine gentlemen who signed the requisition were prevented from bringing it forward—were precluded from expressing their opinion. (*Hear, hear !*)

Mr. *Marriott*.—Our mouths are not stopped. This is merely a motion that the papers should be printed, preparatory to future discussion.

Mr. *Wigram*.—The gallant officer (Major *Oliphant*) said, that these nine gentlemen were precluded from expressing their opinion. It was no such thing. The gallant officer was not conversant with the rules of the Court, or he would not have said so. The motion was, that certain papers be printed ; and he or any other gentleman had a right to speak to that question—namely, whether those papers should be produced and printed or not. Therefore, no person was precluded from stating his opinion.

A *Proprietor* said it appeared to him that the only way to get rid of the motion (as stated in the requisition) was by moving either an adjournment or the previous question. In the House of Commons, if any member proposed a motion, however obnoxious—for a repeal of the Union, for example—no one could object to his bringing it forward, although it was competent to any member to move an amendment after the original resolution had been moved and seconded. He could not, however, do so, until the motion was made. So in that Court, he thought they had no right to say they would not hear the proposer of the motion. The Act of Parliament, he conceived, was opposed to the course which had been pursued in this instance.

The *Chairman*.—If the hon. proprietor wishes that our law officer should state his opinion on the Act of Parliament, he can do so.

The *Proprietor*.—I do not think that we are to be bound by that.

Mr. *Wigram* said, that, in the House of Commons, before it came to the turn of a member to make a motion, of which he had given notice, it was competent for any other member to move an adjournment. It was, he repeated, in the power of any member of that house to take that step. But there was another course, very commonly adopted in the House of Commons, namely, counting the House out. There was also such a thing as not making a house. Thus there were various ways of dealing with a motion. It was the established practice of that Court that the Chairman, who was in possession of the Court, might, before any individual member submitted a motion, make such a proposition as was now before the Court.

Mr. *Sullivan* wished to know whether the Court was discussing a matter of expediency or of right? If it were a question of expediency or courtesy, he should be sorry to run counter to the general wish of the Court; but if a question of right was involved, he could not sacrifice the right of the proprietors.

Mr. *Twining* was sorry that so much allusion should be made, on this occasion, to the question of privilege. It did not seem to him that the course taken by the Chairman involved the alleged right. He considered that the Chairman looked upon the papers placed in the proprietors' room as not being in the situation in which such papers usually were; because the papers placed there were generally papers for the production of which notice had been given, and the proprietors were prepared to read and discuss them. He believed that the papers, in this instance, referred to matters as important as were ever brought before that Court, and that it was not known by the proprietors generally that they were placed in the reading-room. (*Hear!*) It was the knowledge of that fact, and the opinion that the fullest information should be given, which induced the Chairman to interfere—not to prevent discussion—but to suggest to hon. gentlemen that those papers should be placed more in the possession of the proprietors at large—that they should be brought properly before them, previous to taking the subject into consideration. So far from calling in question the right to which allusion had been made, or rendering it necessary to call on their law-officer for his opinion, he thought that the suggestion was more likely to forward the proceeding which gentlemen had in view than to impede it. For his own part, he considered it to be a matter of propriety and good policy that the consideration of this question should be postponed until such time as the proprietors, by the production of the papers, were better able to decide on it.

Major *Oliphant*.—I look upon this as a question of right; and I fear, if the practice be allowed to pass, that it will be brought into precedent on other occasions. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* suggested to the Chairman the propriety of his withdrawing his motion, as there could be no doubt of its being an infraction of the privileges of the proprietors. Here was a requisition, signed by nine proprietors, stating that a certain motion was to be considered. With that proposition the Chairman ought not to have interfered, except by way of amendment, when it had been regularly brought before the Court.

The *Chairman* said he would not consent to withdraw his motion, because it was in accordance with the course which had been decided and approved of by the proprietors on former occasions. It was for the proprietors to say whether that motion should be carried or not; but it was his duty, as President, to keep the Court in order, and it was with that view that he moved for the production of the papers. It was at the discretion of one of the requisitionists whether he would proceed or not; but he hoped that that gentleman would see the propriety of postponing the discussion till the proprietors were in possession of the papers.

Mr. *Sullivan* remarked that it was not within his discretion. If the Chairman persevered with his motion, he (Mr. Sullivan) had no discretion at all.

Captain *Shepherd* said it was admitted that the question of adjournment might be moved;—but he put it to the gentleman who made that admission, whether the motion of the Chairman was not more in accordance with the general feelings of the Court, and whether it would not defeat the object of the requisitionists themselves to force a discussion when so large a majority of the

proprieters were destitute of all information on the subject? (*Hear, hear!*) It was impossible that they could satisfactorily discuss these resolutions, since so many gentlemen had had no opportunity of reading the papers. He was sure that the Chairman entertained no desire to impede discussion unnecessarily; but merely wished that a postponement should take place, until the materials for due discussion were regularly laid before them.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee* said, the Chairman, it seemed, was to decide whether his own motion was regular; and he considered that a great objection to the Chairman making any motion. He wished for the opinion of the law-officer of the Court, as the point was of great importance.

The *Chairman* called on their law-officer to deliver his opinion.

Mr. *Loftus Wigram* (the standing counsel to the Company) said, he found that, under the Charter Act of William III., nine proprietors duly qualified were competent to demand a Court to be summoned, and when assembled, to do and despatch any business relating to the government or the affairs of the East-India Company. He considered, that, under these words, the Court was not strictly convened for any special purpose, although, no doubt, it was very undesirable that any question should be entertained except that for which the Court was summoned. A Court was called, and then it constituted a general Court of Proprietors; and then the business was transacted by the general body of proprietors. The present meeting was called upon a requisition to consider certain resolutions; but he did not conceive that the requisitionists had, any more than other members, possession of the Court, or a right to move first. Any member of the Court, and the Chairman as well as any other, was competent to move on the subject to which the requisition related; for the purpose, for instance, of getting information relative to it. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* did not agree in this interpretation of the Act of Parliament.

Mr. *Lewis*.—An ordinary General Court is assembled for general purposes; but a Special General Court, as the term implies, for a particular purpose.

Mr. *Wigram*.—That does not give precedence to any of the requisitionists.

Mr. *Lewis*.—It has been asked, over and over again, whether any additional information would be forthcoming, and the question has not been satisfactorily answered.

The motion, as altered on the suggestion of Mr. *Hume*, was then put:—

“That the Court of Directors be requested to lay before this Court such papers as may have been communicated to them by the secret committee, regarding the proceedings which have taken place in Scinde; and that the same be printed for the use of the proprietors; and that the Court of Directors be requested to apply for, and to lay before this Court, all further information upon this important subject which her Majesty’s Government may be able to communicate.”

On a show of hands, the *Chairman* announced that it was carried in the affirmative.

No division having been demanded,—

The *Chairman* moved, “That this Court do now adjourn.”

Mr. *Hume* protested against the motion. The question for adjournment would be taken by the public as an intention to stifle the subject. It now appeared that the Act of Parliament, by which nine proprietors were empowered to cause a Court to be summoned specially to consider particular matters, was a nullity. It was the first decision he had ever heard in that Court, which laid

it down as a principle, that the proceedings contemplated by nine proprietors might thus be interfered with. The hon. Chairman assumed a right by which he could deprive the proprietors of the exercise of that privilege to which they were undoubtedly entitled, under the Act of Parliament and the by-law. The next point was to consider whether they might not go into the question on the motion for adjournment. The present appeared to him an unfair mode of treating the subject. The Chairman ought to have left it to Mr. Sullivan's discretion whether he would proceed after the vote to which the Court had come. The Court of Directors might depend on it, that this proceeding would not rebound much to their credit. He protested against it, as utterly at variance with impartiality.

Mr. *Wigram* said, the hon. proprietor had not taken a correct view of the question. There was no doubt that his hon. friend in the Chair, or any other hon. proprietor, had the right to submit the motion before the Court; and any proprietor had a right to move an amendment, by substituting that amendment for the motion, and on that the whole subject might be discussed. But he was under the impression that, when the first motion was carried by so large a majority, the discussion would be deferred to some future day, and that the subsequent question of adjournment had been put with the general concurrence of the Court. No doubt, the hon. proprietor (Mr. Sullivan) might, if he pleased, bring forward his motion, and have a discussion on it, if he thought the Court was in possession of the information referred to.

Mr. Serjeant *Gaselee* was sorry that, after the first motion had been carried, the motion of adjournment had been made by the Chairman. Why not let it come from one of the proprietors? It gave to the proceedings of the Chair an appearance of partiality, and it would be admitted that the Chairman ought not only to be impartial and indifferent, but should likewise appear to be so. He trusted that another opportunity would be given for discussing the whole question fully. The decision which had been come to was monstrous, and he hoped the proprietors would consider of some means of vindicating their rights.

Major *Oliphant* did not concur in the view taken of the question by the Chairman, in anticipating the motion for which the special Court had been called. He was sure that, had he (Major Oliphant) got up to submit a motion, he would have been put down by the Chair as out of order. (*Hear, hear!*)

A *Director*.—That would depend on the nature of the motion which the hon. proprietor might make.

Major *Oliphant* said, he had no doubt that, if he had risen when the Court met, he would have been told that the hon. proprietors who had signed the requisition for calling the Court, or one of them, was in possession on the question for which it was called.

The *Chairman* said, that any proprietor might have submitted the motion which he (the Chairman) had made.

Mr. *Lewis* hoped the hon. proprietor (Mr. Sullivan) would put his motion as an amendment to the question of adjournment.

The question, "That the Court do now adjourn," was again put,—when

Mr. *Hume* hoped, before the sense of the Court was taken on the question, that Mr. Sullivan would state what his intentions were. He looked upon the course now taken as completely "burking" the discussion. He wished to know whether the Chairman would consent to an adjournment to that day fortnight, or three weeks, or any fixed time, when they might have the papers a reasonable time in their possession. He strongly objected to an indefinite

adjournment of a question so important as that for which the Court had been specially called. There was one other point on which he wished to say a word. It was highly objectionable that a Court should be called with so slight a notice as that which had been considered sufficient for the present. For instance; he was given to understand that only one notice had been inserted, and in one paper only.

The *Chairman* was sorry that Mr. Hume should imagine that the Directors were capable of taking such an advantage. That was an imputation which he hoped the Court would not countenance. The hon. proprietor had been greatly misinformed on the subject. So far from the notice being confined to one insertion in one newspaper, the notice for calling the present Court had been inserted twice in each of the following newspapers:—*The Times, Morning Chronicle, Herald, Post, Globe, Standard, and Shipping Gazette*; and this was the usual course with all such notices.

Mr. *Hume* was glad he had given the hon. Chairman an opportunity of correcting an erroneous impression which had gone abroad on this subject.

Mr. *Sullivan* wished to know when the Chairman proposed that the discussion should come on.

The *Chairman* said, he really could not tell. There would be no unnecessary delay in printing the papers, but they must be in the hands of the proprietors for some time before they could make themselves acquainted with their contents. The hon. proprietor had himself said that it had taken him three or four months to get through them.

Mr. *Lewis* wished to put a question on a matter of importance. The Court were aware that it was provided by the Charter that where a requisition, signed by nine proprietors, was sent to the Directors for the purpose of calling a special general Court, the Directors were bound to call the Court within ten days from the date of receiving the requisition. Now, that course had been departed from in the present instance. The requisition had been sent in on the 27th of October, and the Court was called for the 17th of November.

The *Chairman* did not concur in this construction. He maintained that the Directors were bound to give notice within the ten days of calling the general Court, but not that the Court should be absolutely held within the ten days from the receipt of the notice.

Mr. *Wigram* said, the clause in the Act granting the Charter was to this effect: that the Directors should give notice within ten days after receiving the requisition of calling a Court, and if they omitted to do so for the space of twenty-one days from the receipt of the requisition, then the requisitionists, by placing a notice on the Royal Exchange, might call and hold such general Court.

Mr. *Lewis* contended that the words of the Act were express,—that within ten days after the demand, the Directors were bound to “call and hold” such special general Court. This involved a most important principle, for if it were once admitted that the Court of Directors might put off the Court for ten days, they might put it off to any indefinite period.

Mr. *Wigram* said that there was a penalty which might be inflicted for omitting to call a Court within a given time after the receipt of the requisition.

Mr. *Lewis*.—That was but a feeble protection against such an abuse of power. He should be glad to hear the opinion of the learned counsel in attendance on this point. In his experience as a member of that Court, he had known of no instance in which the rule thus laid down was departed from, except in the present case.

The *Chairman* said that no unnecessary or unwarrantable delay had taken place in calling the Court. The requisition was sent in on the 27th of October, and could not be brought under the consideration of the Court of Directors before the then next Court, which took place on the 1st of November, and in naming the 17th, the Directors fixed on that day which was most convenient; for he must again contend, that the Directors were not bound to have the Court held within the ten days. All that was necessary was, that the notice calling the Court should issue within ten days after the receipt of the requisition.

After a few further observations from Mr. *Lewis* and Mr. *Weeding*, the question of adjournment was agreed to by a large majority, and the Court rose.

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Mail which left Bombay on 2nd October reached London on 6th November. That portion marked "*viâ* Falmouth," which was landed from the *Great Liverpool* at Southampton, and delivered in town on the afternoon of 13th November, contained above 50,000 letters, among which were the contents of two boxes recovered from the wreck of the unfortunate *Mennon*.

An intermediate Mail was despatched from London on the 15th November, *viâ* Marseilles, to be conveyed to Bombay by the *Akbar* steamer, which had been lying some weeks at Suez.

The Government has contracted for the conveyance of a Mail from this country to the Australian colonies, to be despatched in fast-sailing vessels from Gravesend to Sydney on the 1st and 15th day of each month, commencing with the 1st of February next.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, having placed the vacant professorship in Bishop's College, Calcutta, at the disposal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, his grace has appointed Mr. Wideman, Fellow of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, to succeed the late Mr. Coles.

Lieut. col. L. B. Stacey, c.b., of the 43rd regt. Bengal N.I., is permitted by her Majesty to accept and wear the insignia of the third class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, conferred by the late King of Afghanistan, for distinguished services at Candahar, Cabul, and Ghuznee.

The rolls of the second dividend of the Burmese prize-money having reached the India-House, the several claimants will, in all probability, be paid their demands in the course of the present month.

Mr. Charles Gubbins, of the Bengal civil service, son of the late Gen. Gubbins, formerly Governor of Madras, and brother to the then Duchess of St. Albans, while labouring under a sudden paroxysm of delirium, on the morning of 20th November, flung himself from a bedroom window on the third floor of the residence of his father-in-law, Mr. Hume, M. P., of Bryanston-square. The unfortunate gentleman, in addition to other serious injuries, sustained a compound fracture of one thigh, and a fracture of the other leg; he lies in a most precarious state.

The Court of Directors have presented Mrs. Mackenzie, the aged mother of Capt. Mackenzie, who was killed during the insurrection in Afghanistan, with a gratuity of £200.

A letter published by the Rev. F. H. Loveday, in the *Delhi Gazette*, has been very generally circulated in this country, in vindication of the memory of his brother, the late Lieut. Loveday, from imputations to be found in Mr. Masson's book on Beloochistan. The remarks of the reverend gentleman upon Mr. Masson are very strong.

The proposed canal to connect the Mediterranean and Red seas has been abandoned.

An iron pilot-vessel is being built at Glasgow, to replace the *Guide*, which was lost some months since on the passage out. She is to be 20 feet longer than the *Guide*, and to be delivered in Calcutta for £6,680.

We last month alluded to the fact that the Court of Directors had been called upon to reconsider the postings in some regiments on the Bengal establishment consequent upon the losses sustained in Afghanistan. The result is, that Cornets Vibart and Stannus, of the 5th light cavalry, become sixth and seventh lieuts., and that Lieuts. Lindsay and MacMullen return to the positions they formerly occupied in their respective corps.

It is said that regulations are in contemplation which will have the effect of promoting the study of Hindustani among the European officers in India. There is great probability that at no distant date orders will be issued that no officer shall take charge of a company, who has not passed an examination for interpreter, while a qualified officer, even his junior, is present with the corps. In no case shall an officer who has not passed be permitted to draw the command allowance, though, in the absence of a qualified officer, he may have the charge of a company.

Some trophies from China, consisting of a large bell and a pair of bronze vases, have been placed in Buckingham Palace. They were brought to this country in the *Endymion*, 44, Capt. Hon. F. W. Grey. This splendid frigate made the voyage from Bombay to Plymouth in seventy-six days, including three days' stay at St. Helena.

An antique gun of Portuguese manufacture, captured in China, which was presented to the East-India Company by Com. Hall, R.N., has been placed in the Military Academy at Addiscombe.

The amount of bills drawn by the Hon. East-India Company in the month ending 3rd of November, 1843:—Bengal, £143,431. 10s. 8d.; Madras, £26,534. 17s. 7d.; Bombay, £1,353. 0s. 5d.; Total, £171,322. 8s. 8d. The amount of bullion (in coin and bars) exported from the port of London in the month of October, 1843:—China, 79,500 silver ounces.

The suggestions of Lord Ellenborough, for abolishing the system of hypothecation on advances made by the Indian government against goods shipped to England, are likely to be carried into effect.

At a meeting of shareholders of the Bank of Ceylon, held at the London Tavern on 23rd November, a dividend at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum on the paid-up capital was declared. The report stated that the business had been steadily increasing, and that no losses had been incurred. The profits of the past year were £4,929. 11s. 10d., and the gross profits since the commencement of the bank £11,582. 13s. 3d. After payment of the dividend, there will remain a balance of £2,600, to be carried to the new profit and loss account.

A number of persons proceeding to India overland in October have publicly complained of the provisions supplied on board the canal-boat and steamer on the Nile, and of want of accommodation at the station-houses in the desert.

They also state that their baggage was opened, and in some instances plundered, between Cairo and Suez.

The embassy from the court of France to China has at length been definitely arranged as follows:—M. De Lagrené, ambassador; M. De Ferrières, secretary; M. Marcy Monge, the Marquis d'Harcourt, M. De la Haute, the Duke de Guiche, and M. Macdonald, *attachés*; M. Xavier Raymond, historiographer; and Dr. Yvan, physician. If all goes on favourably, the embassy will establish itself at Peking. The command of the French naval force in the China seas has been conferred on Capt. (now Rear-Adm.) Cécile, who is to have an imposing force at his disposal.

The survey which has been carried on for some months, with a view to opening a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, has been concluded in a manner most satisfactory to the success of the enterprise, which is declared to be perfectly practicable.

Accounts have been received from Dr. Wolff, dated from Constantinople, where he was preparing for his journey to Bokhara, in which he was to be accompanied by Col. Napier. It appears, by a letter which arrived from India by the last mail, that Lieut. V. Eyre, of the Bengal artillery, is impressed with the belief that Col. Stoddart and Capt. Conolly may be still alive. Lieut. Eyre expresses his readiness to join Dr. Wolff in his journey. The subscription for defraying the expenses of Dr. Wolff's benevolent mission is progressing favourably. Sir Joseph Copley and Sir Jeremiah Bryant have become members of the committee.

The Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, A.M., has resigned the appointment of Principal of the East-India College at Haileybury.

Mr. Waghorn, R.N., has published a pamphlet shewing what he deems the best means of accelerating the transmission of Overland Mails between England and India. This gentleman considers that the conveyance of the Mails at the other side of Suez ought to remain in the hands of the East-India Company, who should despatch steamers on the 11th and 26th of each month from Bombay to Aden, where vessels are to be in readiness to proceed immediately to Suez, thus saving the time usually expended in coaling. He proposes that the transmission of the mails through Egypt should be conducted without regard to passengers, in which case it may be effected in thirty-six hours, and be despatched immediately on reaching Alexandria in a government vessel to Marseilles, thus saving the delay in Egypt of waiting for passengers who may come on by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers to Southampton, and also the delay of calling at Malta. The outward Mails he proposes shall be despatched, *viâ* Marseilles, on the 4th and 19th of every month, for Alexandria direct, and that the line between Aden and Calcutta shall be carried on by the Peninsular and Oriental Company conjointly with the East-India Company.

The details of an inquest recently held on the body of a lascar, one of the crew of the *Thames* East Indiaman, arrived in the port of London, shew the absolute necessity of adopting some means of securing to this class of seamen better treatment than they sometimes receive on board homeward-bound vessels. When the *Thames* left Calcutta, she had on board ninety five lascars, of whom twenty-three died from scurvy and dysentery, and twenty, who were in a most wretched state when the vessel arrived off Margate, were left without medical treatment or proper food or covering.

From returns lately published of the trade of Russia, we collect some rather important facts connected with the Celestial Empire. It appears that the commerce between Russia and China increased most rapidly in 1841, during which year there was an increase in the tea imported by way of Kiakhta, as compared with 1840, of 472,000 kilms, representing a value of 19,701,000*l*. In the same year there appears to have been a large increase in the demand for articles of Chinese consumption, as shewn by the table of Russian exports to China. The increase as compared with 1840 was on furs 4,480,000*l*.; leather, 558,000*l*.; skins, 418,000*l*.; linens, 460,000*l*.; cotton goods, 2,818,000*l*.; cloth, 9,192,000*l*.; other goods, 2,220,000*l*. Total increase in 1841, as compared with 1840, 20,176,000*l*. It is very probable from the information that has been collected, that the finer descriptions of articles are those best suited to the Chinese market.

Military.—Capt. Munton, of the 35th regt., has proceeded to the Mauritius on board the *Earl of Stanhope*.

The reserve battalion of the 45th regt. proceeds to the Cape as soon as its services can be dispensed with in Ireland.

The embarkation of the 61st regt. for New South Wales has been postponed.

Capt. Vereker, Lieut. Hutton, and forty-four men of the 27th regt. have sailed for the Cape.

The following detachments have sailed in the *Marion* for Van Diemen's Land : 58th regt., Lieut. Simmons and twenty-five men ; 80th regt., Ens. Coleman and twenty-five men.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

War Office, Nov. 3.

45th Foot.—Lieut. G. P. Erskine, from 72nd, paymaster, v. D. O'Meara, ret. on h.-p.

Nov. 10. 10th Foot.—Ens. J. S. Herbert, lieut., v. Shanly, prom.; A Angelo, ens., v. Herbert.

13th.—Ens. P. R. Burrowes, lieut., v. Oxley, dec.; Ens. M. Browne, from 39th, ens., v. Burrowes.

28th.—To be Lieuts. :—Ens. A. Aitken, from 77th, v. Gravatt, dec.; G. D. Robertson, from 89th, v. Owen, dec.; and W. F. J. Morphy, v. Meacham, dec. To be Ens. :—A. Wright, v. Morphy.

31st.—To be Lieuts. :—Lieut. G. Elmslie, h.-p. 49th, v. Pender, dec.; Ens. W. Bernard, v. Sayers, dec.; P. Gabbett, v. Tritton, dec.; and S. J. Timbrell, v. Kelly, prom. To be Ens. :—J. Paul, v. Bernard; H. P. Hutton, v. Gabbett; C. H. G. Tritton, v. Timbrell.

39th.—W. Leckie, ens., v. Browne, app. to 13th.

Nov. 17. 18th Foot.—Lieut. G. D. Hutton, from h.-p. 41st, lieut., v. C. Rogers, cashiered.

22nd.—Lieut. A. Miller, from 26th, lieut., v. Longmore, ex.

25th.—Lieut. A. A. Longmore, from 22nd, lieut., v. Miller, ex.

Nov. 21. 3rd Reg. Lt. Drg.—Lieut. J. E. Dyer, capt., v. Bond, prom. in 15th lt. drg.; Cor. J. H. Travers, lieut., v. Dyer; J. Brunt (riding master), cor., v. Travers.

9th Lt. Drg.—Capt. G. Manners, h.-p. capt., v. Brvt. major Huntley, dec.; Lieut. K. M. Power, capt. p., v. Manners; Cor. C. F. Studdert, lieut. p., v. Power; W. W. Bird, cor. p., v. Studdert.

15th Lt. Drg.—Brvt. maj. H. Bond, from 3rd lt. drg. maj., v. Hickman, dec.

2nd Reg. Foot.—Brvt. maj. J. G. S. Gilland, major, v. Raitt, dec.; Lieut. J. Stirling, capt., v. Gilland; Ens. E. S. Smyth, lieut., v. Stirling; Cadet R. Inglis, ens., v. Sinyth.

3rd.—Lieut. S. R. Woulfe, from 86th, lieut., v. Sparkes, exc.

44th.—Lieut. C. S. Teale, capt., v. Gibson, dec. To be Lieuts.:—Ens. T. G. Morris v. Teale; Ens. E. J. Gibson, v. Anderson, prom. in 39th. Lieut. R. Blackall, from 49th. v. Campbell, exc. To be Ens.:—Cadet W. J. Colville, v. Morris; Cadet C. G. Ellison, v. Gibson; Cadet A. Smith, v. Millington, dec.

9th.—Lieut. J. Dunne, capt., v. Campbell, dec.; Ens. F. P. Lea, lieut., v. Dunne; Ens. W. Burden, lieut., v. Lea, whose promotion on 13th Oct. has been cancelled; Cadet H. Hawes, ens., v. Burden.

10th.—Asst. surg. J. G. Inglis, asst. surg., v. Wood, prom. in 62nd.

13th.—Lieut. Thomas Henry Breedon, from 29th, lieut., v. Stehelin, exc.

22nd.—Major-gen. Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B., from 97th, colonel, v. Gen. Hon. E. Finch, dec.; Capt. T. A. Souter, from 44th, capt. v. Gardiner, exc.

28th.—Ens. W. Roberts, from 94th, lieut., v. Cormick, dec.

29th.—Lieut. W. F. Stehelin, from 13th, lieut., v. Breedon, exc.

31st.—Capt. D. Fitz G. Longworth, from 40th, capt., v. Norman, exc.; Asst. surg. D. Stewart, asst. surg., v. James, prom. in 39th.

39th.—Capt. C. T. Van Straubenzee, major, v. Urquhart, dec. To be Captains:—Lieut. H. A. Strachan, v. Eyre, dec.; Lieut. A. C. Anderson, from 4th, v. Van Straubenzee. To be Lieut.:—Ens. F. Gee, v. Strachan. To be Ens.:—Cadet H. E. Reader, v. Gee. To be Surg.:—Asst. surg. C. H. James, from 31st, v. Stark, dec.

40th.—Capt. R. Norman, from 31st, capt., v. Longworth, exc.

62nd.—Lieut. gen. Sir J. F. Fitz Gerald, K.C.B., from 85th, col., v. Lieut. gen. Sir A. Campbell, Bart., and G.C.B., dec.: Asst. surg. R. Wood, from 10th, surg., v. Orr, dec.

84th.—Capt. W. Johnston, from 49th, capt., v. Goslin, exc.

86th.—Lieut. R. M. Sparks, from 3rd, lieut., v. Woulfe, exc.

94th.—Cadet Fraser, ens., v. Roberts, prom. in 28th.

OBITUARY.

Lieut.-Colonel Hillier, H.M.'s 62nd Foot. — Lieutenant-Colonel Hillier obtained an ensign's commission in the army, on the 23rd March, 1809, in the 29th Foot, and was present at the battle of Talavera in the same year. Though he had only been a few months with his regiment, his coolness and gallantry were particularly observed, and Lord Hill, who commanded the brigade to which his regiment belonged, attached him to his personal staff. In 1809 and 1810, though only a young subaltern, in consequence of his great intelligence and activity, he was frequently employed in reconnoitring the enemy's positions, and watching the movements of the French on the banks of the Tagus. His satisfactory reports were highly approved of by the Duke of Wellington, as may be seen in the despatches. He continued to be employed on the staff, until the embarkation of the British army at Bourdeaux in 1814. In 1810 he was promoted to lieutenant, and in 1812 to captain.

On the assembly of the army in Flanders, in 1815, Capt. Hillier was again appointed to Lord Hill's staff, and particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Waterloo. He was made brevet-major on the 21st June, 1817. The brevet commission of major was granted for service at Waterloo, but in 1815 he was not of sufficient length of service to hold the rank.

On the appointment of Major-General Sir Peregrine Maitland as governor of Upper Canada, Major Hillier was nominated his military secretary; and on Sir Peregrine's being removed to be governor of Nova Scotia, Major Hillier was appointed deputy quarter-master-general, at Jamaica, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, which situation he held for seven years. He became regimental major in 1826, and brevet lieut. colonel in 1828.

Brevet Lieut. Colonel Hillier was placed on the full pay of the 62nd Foot, as

major, in 1833, the regiment being then in India. He was sent out to India, with directions from the Horse Guards that he should fill the first vacant situation on the staff of the army. In 1835, he succeeded to the regimental lieutenant-colonelcy of his corps, and proceeded in the command of it to the Tenasserim provinces, in the same year. He soon afterwards was appointed a brigadier in command of all the troops there, which appointment he held till 1840, when he accompanied his corps to Calcutta. During his command at Moulmein, he gave the greatest satisfaction to the Governor-general (Lord Auckland) by his judicious military arrangements for the protection and security of the provinces.

On his return to Calcutta, there being some prospect of operations against the Nepanlese, Lieut.-Colonel Hillier was selected by the Governor-General for an important command, but the formation of the intended force was abandoned. As there was no prospect of service, and in consequence of the state of his health, he was appointed to the command of the sanitary depôt at Landour; but he died in Calcutta, in Dec. 1840. He was a perfect gentleman and a thorough soldier, and gave early promise that, if ever he was placed in any command, he would distinguish himself highly. On his death, Lord Auckland appointed his eldest son an A.D.C. on his staff, and Lord Ellenborough has continued Capt. Hillier on his personal staff.—*Abr. from Cal. Englishman.*

Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Pogson.—On the 2nd August, at Benares, died Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Pogson, of the Bengal army. A Calcutta paper contains the following notice of this rather eccentric gentleman:—

Colonel Pogson was one of our oldest Anglo-Indian literati. He was constantly writing, and publishing too; but few men have written so much and been so little read. The public had but little sympathy with the literary pursuits of the gallant colonel. He was possessed of a considerable stock of cumbersome learning, and must have been most diligent in his antiquarian researches; but he had little of either taste or judgment, and had not the art of making his lucubrations acceptable to the general reader. He published, four or five years ago, a Prospectus, and a few specimen sheets, of a *Magnum opus*, entitled *Historical Researches*, which was to have extended to several bulky volumes; but as the work was to be published by subscription, and subscriptions were not forthcoming, Major Pogson was compelled to abandon this speculation, and to turn his thoughts towards the local periodicals as a medium of publication. Accordingly, several chapters of the *Historical Researches* were published in the *India Review*, and we believe that the learned author was preparing these papers for the press up to the time of his death. The last number of the *India Review* contained an instalment of the great work. These papers embraced a large quantity of very curious matter, relating to the people of remote ages; but the discoveries of the learned writer were sometimes not a little far-fetched, and the conclusions not a little startling. He was a good linguist, well acquainted with the native languages, and a Hebrew scholar of some experience. Col. Pogson has held more than one good appointment on the general staff. He was brigade-major during the mutiny at Barrackpore, and has written a Memoir of that disastrous event. His character was marked by no small measure of eccentricity; and we have heard that he left directions in his will, or expressed a desire before his death, to be buried by the roadside, or in some spot not duly consecrated. This was done, and by torch-light, the adjutant reading the burial

service, as the chaplain of the station refused to officiate under such circumstances.

Thomas Hervey Baber, Esq., Bombay Civil Service.—The following affectionate tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Baber is from a native of Virgorla, and given in his own imperfect English:—

“I shall be wanting on my part as a gratitude due to the memory of the deceased, were I to refrain, on this lamentable occasion, to record a few lines of the deceased's sterling and meritorious services rendered to the East-India Company, and with interest to the state. Although my pen is too weak to undertake such a bounden duty, still I shall endeavour, as much as I possibly can, and my memory would afford me to recall to the mind. I knew the deceased, I may freely say, from my youth, when he was holding the zillah judgeship at Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, from whence he was transferred to the judgeship of Mangalore, in Canara, where he had been promoted and appointed third-judge of the Western Provincial Court. After presiding in that appointment for a few years, ill health compelled him to proceed to Bombay, and whilst recruiting his health at that presidency, he obtained his appointment of principal collector and political agent in the Southern Concan at Dharwar, from whence he was once more recalled by the Madras Government to fill up the situation of the first judge of the Western Provincial Court, vacated by the demise of the late James Stevens, Esq., to which appointment he continued up to the 10th January, 1828, when he was suspended by the orders of the Madras Government, on an alleged charge of assault, said to have been committed at Mangalore on the Mohurram festival, of which gross calumny and imputation he had been most fully and honourably acquitted by the authorities in England, and on his return to India he was again appointed by the Bombay Government to his former post of principal collector and political agent at Dharwar. Whilst holding that appointment, he, in April, 1837, received an express letter from the then magistrate of Canara, Malcolm Lewin, Esq., which induced him to despatch breathlessly troops to Mangalore for the assistance of the magistrate, to quell the insurrection and disperse the Coorg insurgents, then bordering in the vicinity of Canara, for which act of his co-operation, though stationed in another sister presidency, he has received the most praiseworthy commendation from the Madras Government, through the medium of the Bombay Government, which essential document is very likely still forthcoming in the records of the Dharwar collectorate. After which period, Mr. Baber resigned his appointment, in 1838, and retired on an annuity to the Malabar coast, where he first held his appointment as a public officer. And thus ended his career, after serving for a period of upwards of forty years. His talents of the vernacular language entitled him to the highest estimation amongst the natives of Malabar, Canara, and all over the Southern Concan, particularly for his able and impartial manner in conducting the duties of the revenue, criminal and civil justice intrusted to his administration, with the unremitted satisfaction of the ryots and interest to Government.”

Rev. R. de Rodt.—The Rev. Rodolph de Rodt, an amiable and excellent missionary, of the London Missionary Society, died at Durruntollah, Calcutta, on the 29th August, at the early age of thirty, of jungle fever.

Mr. de Rodt was a native of Berne, in Switzerland. He was descended from a noble and ancient family in that country, and could, had he chosen to engage in secular pursuits, have held a very honourable appointment; but he, in connection with another brother, preferred the office of a missionary amongst the heathen. Mr. de Rodt studied for the ministry at Geneva, under the excellent Merle d'Aubigné. He came out to India in company with the Rev. Mr. Gros, at the expense of a civil servant, by whom they were for a while supported. Mr. Gros left for the Mauritius, and Mr. de Rodt attached himself to the London Society, because its catholic basis and principles were in exact accordance with his own views. He was distinguished for amiability and simplicity of manner, for humility and diligence in his calling. His acquaintance with the Bengálí language was very considerable; he spoke it with great ease and fluency. He was attached to the native Christians and villagers, and was beloved by all who knew him.—*Abr. from Cal. Christian Advocate.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Oct. 27. At Boulogne, the lady of Sir R. Murray, Bart., of Hill-head, daughter.

28. At St. Mary's Cray, the lady of Major gen. Strover, daughter.

29. At Cheltenham, the lady of Sir C. A. Bisshopp, Bart., son.

Nov. 4. At Cork, the lady of Capt. Magee, 94th regt., son.

8. At Dyrham Park, the Hon. Mrs. Trotter, son.

9. At Burghley House, the Marchioness of Exeter, daughter.

— At Burton-upon-Trent, Mrs. Henry Allsopp, son.

10. At Devonport, the lady of William Faber, Esq., late 14th Lt. dragoons, daughter.

12. At Windsor, Mrs. J. T. Judge, son.

— At Winpole-street, Mrs. J. M'Farlane, daughter.

14. At Oughterard, the lady of Capt. H. D. O'Halloran, 69th regt., daughter.

16. At Pearl-hill, the Hon. Mrs. Harris, son.

18. At Edinburgh, the lady of Capt. Glegg, E. I. C.'s service, daughter.

19. At Chesham-place, the Countess of Arundel and Surrey, daughter.

20. At Sunning-hill, the widow of Capt. F. T. Milner, Bengal Army, daughter.

21. At Stafford-house, the Duchess of Sutherland, son.

22. At Pimlico, Mrs. J. R. Marshman, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 24. At Clonbroney Church, Major Thompson, Bengal army, to Harriette, daughter of late J. Montgomery, Esq.

— At Southampton, G. R. G. Ricketts, Esq., of Woodside, to Marianne Maria, daughter of the Rev. F. Beadon.

25. The Right Hon. Edward Ellice, M.P., to Anne, Dowager Countess of Leicester.

Nov. 1. At Dawlish, the Rev. J. H. Moor, Oxford, to Emma Jane, daughter of late Capt. G. G. Maitland, Madras European regt.

— At Vienna, the Earl of Shelburne to the Hon. Emily Elphinstone de Flahault, daughter of the Comte de Flahault and the Baroness Keith and Nairn.

2. At Lewisham, Major A. B. Stransham, R.M., to Eliza, daughter of H. Combe, Esq., late Madras civil service.

— At Paddington, the Rev. J. Salt, curate of Parkridge, to Fanny, daughter of H. Alexander, Esq., of Clarendon-place.

4. At St. George's, G. B. Tattersall, Esq., Ceylon rifle regt., to Sybilla Jane, daughter of late Rev. J. Baker, vicar of Thorpe Arch.

7. The Rev. Charles R. Davy, only son of Lieut. gen. Sir W. G. Davy, of

Tracy-park, to Catharine Augusta, daughter of A. Powell, Esq., of Hurdcott, and grand-daughter of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Nov. 9. At Edinburgh, J. Matheson, Esq., of Achany, M.P., to Mary Jane, daughter of late M. H. Perceval, Esq.

15. At Farnham, Rev. J. M. Sumner, rector of North Waltham, to Mary, daughter of Col. Le Couteur.

— At Craigdarroch, J. G. Jarvis, Esq., capt. 52nd lt. inf., son of Col. Jarvis, of Doddington-hall, to Philadelphia, daughter of the late G. H. Jenkin, Esq., and niece of Major gen. J. Fergusson.

16. At the Catholic Chapel, P. H. Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, M.P. for Carlisle, to Eliza Minto, of Foxcote, daughter of the late Major John Canning.

— At Greenwich, F. G. Lovell, Esq., to Clementina Charlotte Myra, daughter of W. Fenwick, Esq., late Master in Equity of the Supreme Court, Bombay.

— At Cheltenham, H. A. Shuckburgh, Esq., Capt. 40th regt. B. N. I., son of the late Sir S. Shuckburgh, Bart., to Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of the late William Dwaris, Esq., of Jamaica.

18. At Banff, Peter Macarthur, Esq. of Malda, Bengal, to Christina A., daughter of Capt. Macgregor.

21. At St. George's, Capt. Colin Mackenzie, Madras army, to Helen Catharine, daughter of Admiral J. E. Douglas, of Charles-street, Berkeley-square.

23. At Trinity Church, St. Marylebone, William Price, Esq., of Richmond, to Amelia Hannah, daughter of the late J. G. Ravenshaw, Esq., of Harley-street.

— At Richmond, William Wright, Esq., late Bengal civil service, to Sarah Edmunda, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Bourdillon.

DEATHS.

Oct. 10. At Soorah, near Thebes, by the accidental discharge of his gun, aged 28. George Lloyd, Esq., only son of Sir William Lloyd, formerly a major in the Bengal army.

23. In Upper Grosvenor-street, Maria, wife of the Hon. F. West.

— At Salisbury, Wadham Wyndham, Esq., M.P.

— At Paris, Lieut. W. Y. Torker, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

26. At Manchester, B. Glegg, Esq., of Backford Hall, Captain 12th Lancers.

27. At Meriden, Gen. the Hon. E. Finch, col. 22nd Foot.

28. At Islington, Lieut. Charles Parbury, late Indian navy.

— At Southampton, Mrs. Ann Fergusson, niece of the late Admiral Fergusson.

30. At Cossington, Fanny, the wife of Capt. A. F. Oakes, Madras army.

— At Nice, the Hon. E. F. Villiers.

Nov. 3. At Sunning-hill, Capt. E. T. Milner, Bengal army.

— At Elderslie, G. Arbuthnot, Esq.

4. At Llandough Castle, Lieut. col. Morgan.

7. In Charles-street, Lady Mary Cavendish Bentinck, sister of his Grace the Duke of Portland.

8. At Perth, Capt. E. Marshall, Bengal army.

12. Emily, daughter of Francis Leggett, Esq., of Bombay, and grand-daughter of G. A. W. Trotter, Esq., of Hammersmith.

— In York-street, Edward Chapman Bradford, Esq., one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House.

13. At Hammersmith, Lieut. col. William Ingleby, late 53rd foot.

14. At Campden Hill, Gen. Sir John Frazer, G.C.H.

17. At Brixton, Thomas Hennah, Esq., of the Accountant's office, East-India House.

— At Hampton, Richard Bright, son of Sir W. Follett, M.P.

18. At Brompton, John Alexander, Esq.

— At Charlton, Emily, daughter of Lieut. col. H. W. Gordon, R.A.

20. At Clapham, Louisa Janet, daughter of the late Alexander Gibb, Esq.

— At Elvetham, George Arthur, son of the Hon. Frederick and Lady Charlotte Calthorpe.

Nov. 21. At Bushmills-house, Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten, Bart.
 23. At George-street, Portman-square, Alexander Grant, Esq., Bengal civil service.
 At Ratlmines, Capt. T. Scallan, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.
 Lately, Major gen. Thomas Webster, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

Oct. 26. *Glenview*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Lord Hungerford*, Bengal, Falmouth.—27. *Camien*, Singapore, Portsmouth; *Tamerlane*, and *Bland*, Bengal, Liverpool.—28. *Erin*, Bengal, Portland; *Elizabeth and Jane*, Launceston, Portland; *Nautilus*, Algoa Bay, Portsmouth; *Hiram*, Singapore, Downs.—30. *Hannah*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Oriental*, China, Downs; *George*, Algoa Bay, River; *Seagull*, Ceylon, Downs; *Symmetry*, Manilla, Cork; *Zenobia*, Bengal, Downs; *Eden*, Bombay, Downs; *Minerva*, China, Greenock; *Garland*, Batavia, Dover.—31. *Elizabeth*, South Seas, Downs; *Shepherdess*, Singapore, Beachy Head.—Nov. 1. *Emma*, China, Downs; *Water Witch*, New South Wales, Gravesend; *Bosphorus*, Cape, Scilly; *Runnymede*, Bengal, Plymouth; *Margaret*, Bengal, Folkestone.—2. *Warrior*, Bengal, Downs. 3. *Thistle*, Bombay; *Peruvian*, Bengal, Liverpool.—4. *King William*, Java, Falmouth, bound to Gottenburgh; *Duchess of Clarence*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Eugenie*, Batavia, Plymouth.—6. *Scotland*, China, Cork; *June Blain*, Singapore, Downs; *Paragon*, Bengal, Downs; *Elcira*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Coromandel*, Bengal, Beachy Head; *St. Vincent*, China, Falmouth; *Frances Yates*, St. Helena, Falmouth; *Straal Sunda*, Batavia, Falmouth.—7. *Tigris*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Margaret*, New South Wales, Beachy Head; *Alexandrina*, Bengal, Liverpool.—8. *Culdee*, China, Downs; *Mars*, Bengal, Falmouth; *Arethusa*, Java, Falmouth; *Sumatra*, Ceylon, Gravesend; *Thames*, Bengal, Dover.—9. *Inglewood*, China, Liverpool; *Westmoreland*, Moulmein, Downs; *John McVicar*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Lord Eldon*, Java, Dover; *Cygnat*, Sydney, Hastings.—10. *Equestrian*, China, Downs; *Barretto Junior*, Singapore, Downs; *Orwell*, Bombay, Downs; *British Empire*, Madras, Falmouth; *Constellation*, Bengal, Clyde; *Harmony*, Bombay, Margate; *Thomas Snook*, Bengal, Gravesend.—11. *Caledonia*, New South Wales, Dover; *Chatham*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Sandersons*, Ceylon, Gravesend; *Thomas Lee*, Singapore, Gravesend.—13. *Lena*, Madras, Portsmouth; *Venelia*, Algoa Bay, Gravesend; *Chilena*, Batavia, Wight.—14. *John Knot*, Manilla, Plymouth.—16. *Diana*, South Seas, Downs.—20. *Morley*, China, Portsmouth, London; *Attwood*, Madras, Portsmouth.—21. *Agile*, Cape, Downs; *Universe*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Nederward*, Batavia, Plymouth.—22. *Dartmouth*, Bombay, Downs; *Asia*, Bengal, Downs; *Bengal*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *H.M.S. Algerine*, China, Portsmouth.—23. *Bidston*, Bengal, Liverpool; *H.M.S. Satellite*, Otaheite, Portsmouth.—24. *Glen Bervie*, Port Philip, Downs.—25. *George*, Bengal, Downs.—27. *Commodore*, Singapore, Downs; *Fenella*, Singapore, Downs; *Churthly Castle*, Bengal, Margate; *Patriot King*, Bengal, Liverpool; *H.M.S. Camoleon*, New Holland, Portsmouth.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—Oct. 25. *Birman*, Bengal; *Bromleys*, Algoa Bay; *Lady Leith*, Cape and Singapore.—30. *Courier*, Cape; *Lady Emma*, Mauritius; *Lerwick*, Cape; *Royal Consort*, Port Philip.—31. *Prince of Wales*, Bengal.—Nov. 2. *Maria*, Bengal; *Governor*, New Zealand; *Kinnear*, Hobart Town; *Phoebe*, St. Helena.—5. *Briton*, Mauritius; *Jane Catherine*, Ceylon; *Albion*, Cape; *Wilmot*, Tristan de Cunha.—8. *Vanguard*, Bengal; *Devonshire*, Batavia; *Mountain Maid*, Cape.—9. *Samarang*, Bordeaux and Bengal; *Berkshire*, Bombay.—10. *Coquette*, St. Helena.—11. *Roberts*, Madras and Bengal; *Earl Stanhope*, Mauritius.—15. *Ann Laing*, Algoa Bay.—24. *C. C.*, and *Marchioness of Dorset*, Singapore; *Arrow*, Cape and Bombay; *Cremona*, Sydney; *Tar*, Havre and Mauritius; *Dauntless*, Bengal.

From Gravesend.—Nov. 2. *Briton*, Mauritius.

From Portsmouth.—Nov. 2. *Penyard Park*, New South Wales.—11. *Phabe*, St. Helena; *Kinnear*, Hobart Town; *Palmyra*, China.—13. *Berkshire*, Bombay, From Liverpool.—Oct. 26. *Blucher*, Cape; *John Bibby*, China; *Liverpool*, China.—27. *James Matheson*, China; *Jumna*, Bengal.—31. *Jane and Esther*, Cape.—Nov. 9.—*Munro*, Sydney; *Indus*, Bengal.—10. *Orleana*, Lintin; *Gillman and Bolivar*, Bombay; *William Parker*, Bengal; *Clydesdale*, Cape.—15. *Hudson*, Cape.—16. *Crown*, Bombay.—17. *Louther*, Gibraltar and Cape; *Superior*, Batavia.—24. *Perseverance*, Ceylon and Madras; *Charles*, Cape.

From Plymouth.—Oct. 24. *Medusa*, Port Philip.—Nov. 1. *Alfred*, New South Wales.

From Cowes.—Nov. 2. *Enterprise*, Hobart Town; *William Hyde*, China.

From Shields.—Oct. 21. *George Glen*, St. Helena.—25. *Prince of Wales*, Bengal.—26. *Samarang*, Bordeaux and Bengal.—Nov. 11. *Duchess of Buccleuch*, Bombay.—23. *Caledonia*, Bombay.

From the Clyde.—Oct. 26. *Margaret Skelley*, Bombay.—31. *Mobile*, Madras and Penang.—Nov. 2. *Jane Goudie*, Sydney; *Robertson*, Bengal.—7. *Countess of Durham*, Hong Kong; *John Knot*, Batavia and Singapore.—11. *Christina*, Hong Kong.—22. *Ann Martin*, Bombay.

From Leith.—Nov. 9. *Urania*, Cape.

From Bristol.—Oct. 31. *Vanguard*, Cape.—Nov. 15. *Prince*, Cape.

From Torbay.—Oct. 27. *Henry Bell*, Cape.—Nov. 11. *Penyard Park*, Sydney.

From Falmouth.—Oct. 30. *Louisa*, South Seas.—Nov. 5. *Lerwick*, Cape.

From Ramsgate.—Oct. 26. *Munster Lass*, St. Helena.

From Cork.—Oct. 26. *Neptune*, New South Wales.—Nov. 9. *Royal Consort*, Port Philip.

From Dartmouth.—Nov. 9. *Cape Packet*, Cape.

From Bordeaux.—Nov. 10. *Olive Branch*, Mauritius.

From Hull.—Nov. 17. *William and Ann*, Cape.

From Marseilles.—Nov. 13. *Dublin*, Mauritius.

PASSENGERS FROM THE EAST.

Per *Great Liverpool*, steamer, from Alexandria and Malta:—Mrs. Lowe, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Pears, Mrs. Boyce, Mrs. Rook, Miss Dalzell, Capt. Lowe, Capt. Cooper, Capt. Archer, Capt. Gardiner, Capt. Kennedy, Capt. Troubridge, R.N., Capt. Smart, Capt. Hannell, Major O'Connor, Dr. Mitchell, Major Pears, Mr. Bartley, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Garrett, Mr. Rudyard, Mr. Bastis, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Guerin, Mr. Rennie.

PASSENGERS TO THE EAST.

Per *Oriental*, steamer, for Malta and Alexandria:—Lord and Lady Hay, with governess and 2 children, Sir Jas. and Lady Reid, Gen. Wilson, Mr. Dent, Mr. Bouring, Mr. Ballard, Mrs. and two Misses Le Mesurier, Mrs. Stack, Mr. and Mrs. Spooner and infant, Miss Davison, Mrs. Robinson, Lieut. Bedford, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Donald, Mr. Ferrier, Rev. Mr. Vietch, Mrs. Vietch, Miss Raitt and 2 children, Mr. and Mrs. Yule, Mr. Youry and servant, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. and Mrs. Pemberton, Capt. and Mrs. Hannah, Lieut. and Mrs. Margary, Lieut. and Mrs. Hoare, Capt. Ponderdant, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hutchinson, Capt. Clifton, Mr. Yennent, Mr. Glover, Lieut. M'Donald, Mr. Ceme, Major Dunsmore, Mr. Grant, Mrs. Hemming and 3 children, Miss M'Gilloway, Mrs. Keays, Miss Barnes, Miss Carnar, Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Caldecott and 2 children, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Babington, Miss Glover, Mr. Locke, Mr. Kennedy, Miss Bennett, Mr. Ventura.

Per *Great Liverpool*, steamer, for Malta and Alexandria:—Mrs. Reed, Mrs. Dirom, Mrs. Bruce, Mrs. Pratt, Mrs. Shaw, Mrs. B. Cumming, Mrs. Haslewood, Mrs. Major Carpenter, Mrs. Gibbon, Mrs. Donelly, Mrs. Gubbins, Mrs. Stowell, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Sealy, Mrs. Oorie, Mrs. Birley, Mrs. Money, Mrs. Young, Mrs. Waters, Mrs. Kettlewell, Miss Rentool, Miss Birley, Miss Stowell, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Bird, Mr. Gubbins, Mr. Hadow, Mr. Cumming, Capt. M'Kenzie, Capt. Harvey, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Jones, Lieut. Roberts,

Mr. Dirom, Lieut. Bruce, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Beresford, Colonel Pratt, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Gibbon, Capt. Faber, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Lennox, Mr. Ward, Mr. Schlusser, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Burn, Mr. Lackerstein, Mr. Burgett, Mr. Dubine, Mr. Logan, Mr. Alexander, Lieut. Sealy, Mr. Oorie, Mr. Birley, Mr. Money, Capt. Waters, Mr. Kettlewell, Mr. Muir, Mr. Thurburn.

Per *Alfred*, to Sydney:—Capt. Lethbridge, Capt. M'Kellar, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Ferst, Mr. Smith, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Clements, Mr. Kindoch, Mrs. Dawson, Dr. Dawson, Dr. Harvey, Miss Balmain, Miss Richardson—8 steerage.

Per *Rinyard Park*, to Sydney:—Mr. and Mrs. Isaacs, Mrs. Christalls—18 steerage.

Per *Kinecar*, to Hobart Town:—Mr. John Harrocks, Mr. T. C. Hayes, Dr. Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliffe, Mr. John Scott.

Per *Pulmyra*, to Hong Kong:—Capt. Farquharson, barrack master, Mr. Pett, ordnance store-keeper, Mrs. Pett and 7 children, Mr. and Mrs. Beate and infant, deputy store-keeper, Mr. Tetley, 1st clerk, Mr. Foord, 2nd clerk, Mrs. Foord, Mr. Rees, clerk of the works, Mrs. Rees and 3 children, Mr. Pack, clerk of the works, Mr. Cargill, clerk, Mr. Ollis, foreman of works, Mrs. Ollis, Mr. Burgoyne, Mrs. Burgoyne and 5 children, Mr. Ilbery.

Per *Roberts*, to Madras and Bengal:—Dr. Miller, Hon. Mr. Hope, Mr. Jarvie, Mr. and Mrs. Dawe, Mrs. Queiros and 2 children, Mrs. Storme, Lieut. Halfhide, Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Money, Mr. Rees, Mr. Owen, Mr. Barton, 5 women, 6 men, and 5 ayaks steerage.

Per *Berkshire*, to Bombay:—Captain Pickering and family, Mr. J. Grew, Mr. McCrea, Mr. Bannister, Messrs. Evans.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1842-43.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (via Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(via Marseilles.)						
July 6	Aug. 6	31	Aug. 13 ..	38	Aug. 17	42
Aug. 4	Sept. 6	33	Sept. 13 ..	40	Sept. 17	44
Sept. 6	Oct. 12	37	Oct. 18 ..	43	Oct. 20	45
Oct. 4	Nov. 14	41	Nov. 20 ..	47	Nov. 26	53
Nov. 4	Dec. 13	40	Dec. 21 ..	46	Dec. 23	50
Dec. 6	Jan. 14	39	Jan. 20 ..	45	Jan. 24	49
Jan. 6, 1843 ..	Feb. 14	39	Feb. 19 ..	44	Feb. 23	48
Feb. 6	March 15	37	March 18 ..	40	March 23	45
March 4	April 14	41	April 20 ..	47	April 23	50
April 6	May 13	37	May 20 ..	44	May 23	47
May 6	June 6	31	June 12 ..	37	June 14	39
June 6	July 7	31	July 14 ..	38	July 17	41
July 6	Aug. 7	32	Aug. 15 ..	40	Aug. 18	43
Aug. 5	Sept. 9	35	Sept. 16 ..	42	Sept. 20	47
Sept. 6	Not known					

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, via Southampton, at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 1st, and via Marseilles on the 4th Dec.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London via Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London via Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1843 ..	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Feb. 7	36	Feb. 13	44
Feb. 3	<i>Atalanta</i>	March 10	38	March 16	41
March 2	<i>Victoria</i>	April 7	36	April 11	40
April 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	May 8	37	May 13	42
May 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	June 5	35	June 10	40
May 20	<i>Victoria</i>	July 3	44	July 10	51
June 19	<i>Semiramis</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 7	47
July 20	<i>Mennon</i>	Lost			
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46	Nov. 13 ..	67
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 ..	46

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Lady Kiinnaird</i>	350 tons.	Robb	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 6.
<i>Gemini</i>	517	Mardon	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 8.
<i>Pathfinder</i>	362	Bruton	St. Kat. Docks.	Dec. 15.
<i>Culder</i>	387	Campbell ...	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 24.
<i>Lady Clarke</i>	440	Lawrence ...	—	Dec. 31.
<i>Thomas Lee</i>	327	Wooff	—	Jan. 1.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Earl Durham</i>	462	—	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 3.
<i>China</i>	658	Livesay	E. I. Docks ...	Dec. 5.
<i>Zenobia</i>	581	Owen	St. Kat. Docks	Dec. 15.
<i>Duke of Bedford</i>	730	Thornhill ...	E. I. Docks ...	Dec. 26.
<i>Malacca</i>	523	Shettler	—	Dec. 27.
<i>Sophia</i>	537	Saxon	—	Jan. 10.
<i>Walmer Castle</i>	656	Campbell ...	—	Jan. 27.
<i>Lord Hungerford</i>	708	Pigott	—	Feb. 1.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Madura</i>	509	Smith	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 2.
<i>British Empire</i>	616	Young	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 20.
<i>London</i>	612	Atwood	E. I. Docks ...	Jan. 10.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Lady Feversham</i>	500	Webster ...	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 10.
<i>Australia</i>	935	Cumming ...	—	Dec. 10.
<i>Duilius</i>	328	Underhill ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 10.
<i>Roseberry</i>	312	Young	—	Dec. 10.
<i>Isabella</i>	580	Johnstone ...	E. I. Docks ...	Dec. 20.
<i>Token</i>	625	Cheyne	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 31.
<i>London</i>	450	Andrews ...	E. I. Docks ...	Jan. 1.
<i>Earl Durham</i>	453	Cabel	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 1.
<i>John Macvicar</i>	648	M'Leod	—	—

FOR CHINA.

<i>Alexander Baring</i>	500	Hale	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 3.
<i>Erin</i>	285	Maine	—	Dec. 25.
<i>Lady</i>	315	Marshall ...	St. Kat. Docks	Jan.
<i>Mary Bannatyne</i>	535	Picken	E. I. Docks ...	Jan. 1.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>John Graham</i>	300	Pearson	Lond. Docks...	Dec.
<i>Symmetry</i>	450	Mackwood ..	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 6.
<i>Sumatra</i>	353	Duncan	—	Jan. 20.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Brenda</i>	301	Lewis	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 3.
<i>Vixen</i>	168	Bigger	St. Kat. Docks	Dec. 10.
<i>Eleanor Russell</i>	306	Jefferies ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 24.
<i>Volunteer</i>	242	Jackson	W. I. Docks ...	—

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Conservative</i>	200	MacLaren ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 7.
<i>Eliza Scott</i>	150	Beale	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 25.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. III.

THE sanguinary transactions in the Punjab, the character and details of which we naturally suspected to have been somewhat exaggerated, are confirmed by the last advices from India, which even extend the dismal catalogue of assassinations. The outline given in our last Review, of the structure of the Sikh kingdom, and of the policy of its architect, will afford a key to the otherwise inexplicable causes of the mutual extermination prosecuted with such a persevering spirit of vindictiveness by the sirdars.

It will be recollected that the late Runjeet Sing was but the head of one of the twelve *missuls*, or associations, into which the Sikh nation is divided; that by the territorial acquisitions of his father, by his family alliances, and by a skilful employment of his influence and wealth, the unscrupulous Runjeet attained a supremacy over the other chiefs of *missuls*, and, like the Cæsars, he engrafted the despotic authority of a sole ruler upon the institutions of a republic. One of the means whereby he neutralized the power of the Sikh sirdars, who, if combined, would have speedily overturned a government based upon so superficial a foundation, was that of fomenting their private quarrels and jealousies, whilst he attached them to himself by a profuse liberality, and by the encouragement of unbounded licentiousness at his court. The firmness and decision of Runjeet's character, and the benefits which his vast wealth enabled him to dispense, kept all these discordant elements in proper equipoise—as Lucan makes his hero's bark balanced by the adverse forces of contending waves :—

Discordia ponti

Succurrit miseris, fluctusque evertere puppim

Non valet.

But, when released from subjection, these secret animosities had acquired all that intensity which a long suppressed desire of revenge never fails to impart to personal rancour, especially in an Asiatic breast. The mutual assassinations at Lahore may, therefore, be attributed only partially to motives of ambition or of partizanship; most of them, probably, originated in those private feuds and smothered grudges, which had been kept down by the strong chains of fear or hope, but which a dissolution of authority afforded the opportunity of gratifying with impunity.

The reports of the newswriters at Lahore, given in the form of daily records of transactions, will afford a good, and perhaps the

most faithful, account of the occurrences which preceded the first act of the tragedy. We resume these reports from the date at which they conclude in our last Review :—

Aug. 31st.—The Durbar was held at Shah Belaval (garden), and Rajahs Dhyan Singh, Soochet Singh, and Heera Singh, with Sirdars Ajeet Singh, Lena Singh Majecteea, and Hukeem Azeezooddeen, were present. The troops were inspected until mid-day. Rajah Dhyan Singh informed the Maharajah that he had sent for Prince Dhuleep Singh, son of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, from Jumboo, and that he had arrived in Lahore. He also begged that a salute might be fired on the occasion. The Maharajah replied, there was no necessity for so doing; inquired why he had been brought from Jumboo, and desired he might not be brought to the Durbar. The Rajah explained that the boy's mother was sick, and had expressed a wish to see him !

Sept. 1st.—The Maharajah directed a *purwannah* to be addressed to Rajah Goolab Singh at Jumboo, inquiring why he had sent Dhuleep Singh to Lahore, and had not acquainted him (the Maharajah) with his having done so. He afterwards directed that some of his own attendants should replace those of Dhyan Singh in the care of the person of Dhuleep Singh, an arrangement which Dhyan Singh opposed. Rajah Dhyan Singh reminded the Maharajah that a *purwannah* had been addressed several days ago to Dewan Sawun Mull, to send 10,000 men to assist at the festival of the *Dusserah*, but that he had paid no attention to this order. Another *purwannah* was ordered to be written forthwith.

Sept. 2nd.—Ram Chund reported that the number of troops in the vicinity of Lahore amounted to 100,000 men. The Maharajah answered, that orders for their dispersion should be issued immediately after the *Dusserah*. His highness then went to inspect the treasury, and was informed the contents amounted to five crores of rupees. Misser Belee Ram was instructed to send two crores to Govind Ghur. General Ventura was admitted to a private audience after the Durbar.

Sept. 4th.—A Durbar was held this morning, and a letter received from Rajah Goolab Singh at Jumboo, stating that, as he was anxious to see his highness, he should shortly present himself at the Durbar. The Maharajah, having gone into the fort, was privately informed that Dhyan Singh, Soochet Singh, Heera Singh, Lena Singh, and Ajeet Singh, had met privately at the house of the mother of Dhuleep Singh, and been in consultation for three hours. Foujdar Khan was immediately directed by the Maharajah to depute a *hukaru* to watch the movements of each of the Sirdars, and report their proceedings.

Sept. 5th.—A Durbar was held, at which the Sirdars, with General Ventura, presented themselves. His highness took an account of the number of the troops. On the dismissal of the Durbar, General Ventura solicited a private audience of his highness, who took him aside, and having inquired what he wanted, the general then informed him that the Sirdars above named had certainly conspired against his high-

ness, to which end they had sent for Dhuleep Singh, and that Goolab Singh was coming from Jumboo to aid them. He recommended the Maharajah to use every precaution. The Maharajah replied, he could not believe this of Dhyan Singh, as it was to him he owed his elevation.

Sept. 6th.—His highness, being indisposed, held no Durbar, but took some medicine from Bhugwandass. He then sent for Saheb Singh, the Gooroo, and mentioned the report of the conspiracy. The priest said it could not be, as Ajeet Singh was bound by blood to the Maharajah; he at the same time inquired who had informed him of this. The Maharajah would not tell, but added that, if he found out that Ajeet Singh was conspiring against him, he would certainly put him to death, *as he had done with Ranee Chund Kowr!*

Sept. 7th.—Prince Purtab Singh was present at this morning's Durbar, spoke much on behalf of General Ventura, and suggested an increase of rank. The Maharajah said he should have five regiments in addition to the ten he already commanded. The Goorkhas were subsequently reviewed by his highness, who picked out and discharged 100 ill-conditioned men.

Sept. 8th.—Prince Bukhsish Singh reported his having organized two regiments of Goorkhas, according to his highness's direction. A *hurkaru* announced the arrival of Rajah Goolab Singh at Lahore, from Jumboo. An order was sent him to present himself at the Durbar on the morrow. Ramchund reported that he had observed some signs of enmity between General Ventura and Sirdar Ajeet Singh; the latter was stated to have collected 20,000 of his own men. Ramchund was directed particularly to inquire into and report the occurrences in camp.

Sept. 9th.—Rajah Goolab Singh presented himself at the Durbar, and offered twenty-five banghees of gold as a nuzzur. The Rajah was most kindly received by the Maharajah, and assured him in return that both himself and his brother were most devotedly attached to his highness's person! The Maharajah said he should require an oath at his hands on his head, that he entertained no evil intention against him. Goolab Singh excused himself for two or three days, on the plea of hearing what was doing in Lahore. General Ventura was sent for to the Durbar, and directed to keep all his regiments in a state of readiness for service at a moment's warning. The guards were strengthened at each gate. Prince Purtab Singh presented himself to his father, and told him he did not believe there was any necessity to mistrust the Sirdars, except Ajeet Singh, who was a man not to be depended on. After some conversation, orders were given to exclude Ajeet Singh from the Durbar, pending his highness's pleasure.

Sept. 10th.—A Durbar was held, after dismissing which, the Maharajah took aside Rajah Goolab Singh and Dhyan Singh, and having assured them that he felt it was to them he owed his elevation, asked them what they were about. They both placed their hands on the Maharajah's head, and swore they were and would continue good ser-

vants! They added that, as far as Ajeet Singh and his troops were concerned, there was no fear of them.

Sept. 12th.—Davee Deal, nephew to Dewan Sawun Mull, reported that 5,000 men had left Mooltan, and would soon be at Lahore. The Maharajah said he must have 5,000 more.

Sept. 13th.—The Maharajah sent this morning for his two sons and General Ventura: the nature of their consultation did not transpire.

Sept. 14th.—A Durbar was held this morning, and Rajah Dhyan Singh suggested to the Maharajah that he ought to review Ajeet Singh's troops, and gain their good-will by bestowing some honours and rewards on the officers. His highness replied that he had no leisure to do so this day, but would proceed to the camp the next morning. Rancee Issur Chund gave birth to a son about nine at night, which pleased the Maharajah, who ordered a salute to be fired. He then sent for Mut-suddun Pundit to cast the infant's nativity: the Pundit replied that it was not favourable. Ten thousand rupees were ordered to be given to propitiate his destiny.

Sept. 15th.—His highness proceeded on horseback towards the northern gate of Lahore. His suwaree no sooner approached the ranks of Ajeet Singh's regiments, about twenty in number, than the officers and men became loud in their abuse of his highness; on which Ajeet Singh came forward, and having addressed him in an insolent tone, told him he was no son of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, but a purchased slave, brought up by his supposed mother. The Maharajah was excessively astonished at this address, and turned round to look for Rajahs Goolab and Dhyan Singh, but they were not to be seen. He then discharged an arrow at Ajeet Singh, but missed him. The Sirdar, on this, drew his pistol, and shot Shere Singh through the head; he fell, and was instantly beheaded by Ajeet Singh. General Ventura, having been informed of this event, drew his troops out against those of Ajeet Singh, but the numbers of the latter were so greatly superior (two to one), that he was speedily obliged to retire, leaving 200 men on the field. He hurried to Prince Purtab Singh, to inform him of what had happened. The Prince ordered out his own two regiments immediately, and issued from the gate of the town. He very shortly after met Ajeet Singh at the head of his troops, his father's head being borne on a spear. The Sirdar immediately attacked the Prince, and with his own hand put him to death, and also beheaded him. He then went on his way, and having entered the palace, unmercifully slaughtered between thirty and forty of the rancees. Dhuleep Singh was then sent for and placed on the throne. The child born the night before did not escape. About 150 of the personal attendants and friends of the Maharajah were made prisoners and placed in confinement. Immediately afterwards, Rajahs Dhyan, Soochet, Heera, and Goolab Singh, with other Sirdars, presented themselves at the new Durbar, and offered nuzzurs. Royal salutes were ordered to be fired.

Sept. 16th.—Maharajah Dhuleep Singh held a Durbar. Ajeet Singh

presented himself, and proclamations were issued to the effect that Prince Dhuleep Singh had ascended the throne of Lahore, and that all orders issued by him or in his name were to be duly obeyed. Sirdar Ajeet Singh then proceeded to the camp, and having summoned Rajah Dhyani Singh, the two proceeded to sound the chief officers of the army as to the future. As they were proceeding along, Ajeet Singh suddenly drew his dagger and stabbed the Rajah. The news no sooner reached Heera Singh and Soochet Singh, than they assembled a large body of troops (40,000), and completely surrounded Ajeet Singh, who was supported by Sirdar Lena Singh. The young Rajah attacked them with impetuosity, and both were, with many other Sirdars, killed in the conflict. Rajah Heera Singh sought his father's body and ordered the funeral rites to be performed. The two then presented themselves before Dhuleep Singh, and caused a proclamation to be issued, constituting themselves ministers of the young Maharajah. The troops in the mean time, availing themselves of the favourable opportunity presented, for eighteen hours plundered the city, and could only be induced to desist on Heera Singh distributing among them ten lakhs of rupees.

A *purwana* (official notification) from the new Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, to his vakeel at Ferozepore, has been published, and is supposed to contain a true representation of the facts attending the assassination, and which differs from the foregoing. It appears from this document,* that Lena Singh and Ajeet Singh, Sindanwalla, proceeded to announce the muster of their troops to Sher Singh, who (it being the first day of the Hindu solar month, and consequently a holiday) had gone to amuse himself in the garden of Shah Belaval. "As my elder brother (*Akhwan Sahib*) was sitting in the garden," the paper states, "the Sirdars Ajeet Singh and Lena Singh presented themselves, and offered a case containing a rifle to the Maharajah. While engaged in examining the rifle, Ajeet Singh drew forth a pistol and fired at him. My elder brother was wounded in the face by the pistol being discharged so close to him; and the faithless men instantly struck off his head." Several Sirdars were killed at the same time, and afterwards, Lena Singh, Sindanwalla, being accidentally at another garden, near that of Shah Belaval, killed Pertab Singh, who was there "celebrating the day by bestowing charity." Ajeet and Lena then proceeded towards Lahore, and on the road met the "great rajah," Dhecan Singh, who was alone in his buggy. Lena Singh told him there had been a disturbance in the garden; that the Maharajah had been killed; that it would be dangerous to go thither, and recommended that they should go back to the fort, and make arrangements about the succession. Dhecan Singh, "ignorant of the wicked act of the Sirdar," complied, and, on

* See *Indian Mail*, Dec. 6, p. 225.

reaching the Kureeance Gate, Ajeet Sing drew a pistol and fired at Dheean Sing, who exclaimed, "Oh, Sirdar, what a foul deed!" and laid his hand on his sword. The followers of Ajeet then fired pistols at Dheean Sing, who fell dead from his horse. The Sirdars proceeded to the city, to make arrangements regarding the succession. Meanwhile, Soochet Sing was reviewing his troops, with Heera Sing and other Sirdars, and were discussing the subject of the Maharajah's death, when they heard of the murder of Dheean Sing, which they communicated to the troops of the *Khalsa* (state), who protested that they would not eat another meal till they had visited upon the faithless Sirdars the death of the Maharajah and his son. The city was accordingly besieged and taken, after the walls had been destroyed by cannon, and the heads of the two Sirdars were brought to the troops.

Private letters from the scene of blood give another report of the transaction, representing the assassination of Shere Sing as having taken place at a hunting party. One letter says that Dheean Sing, being suspicious of the motives of General Avitabili's mission to Simla, had prevailed upon the Sirdars to sanction the deposition of Shere Sing, by alleging his attachment to the "Feringhi Sahibs," which "boded no good to the Sirdars."

It appears that this revolution, which placed Dhuleep Sing on the throne, made Heera Sing (the son of Dheean Sing) vuzeer or minister, and that, with the aid of his uncle, Golab Sing, Heera Sing brought the affairs of the state into some order, proclamations being issued to all the Sirdars and officers of every description, confirming them in their governments and posts. The feuds and jealousies of the Lahore court, to which we have already alluded, seem to have absorbed into their vortex even those who were connected by the ties of consanguinity. Discord appears to have long disunited Lena Sing from his other uncle, Soochet Sing, whose character had gained him much respect and influence with the Sikhs; and hence it is not probable that Heera Sing, whose good qualities had been spoiled by his education at a depraved court, could have exerted vigour sufficient to control the mischievous spirits intent upon revenge and rapine. But his administration, it would appear, has been brought to a sudden and violent termination. The last accounts state that he has fallen in a personal quarrel with Lena Sing, Majeetea (another of that name), the particulars of the occurrence strongly illustrating the state of the capital and the country. It is said* that the two chiefs were sitting together,

* *Indian Mail*, Dec. 6, p. 225.

“making arrangements for the disposal of jagcers and offices,” when a dispute arose betwixt them, probably about the division of the patronage, which ended in a personal encounter, wherein Heera Sing was slain. The last letters from Lahore represent that this Lena Sing had been joined by General Ventura, and that Golab Sing, the second brother of Dhoean Sing, to whom the management of the highland possessions of the family had been committed, was within a few miles of the capital, with an army of 25,000 men. The post of minister and virtual sovereign, therefore, will probably be disputed between Lena Sing and Golab Sing, and new sources of bloodshed may be opened by their contentions. Already, Sawun Mull, of Mooltan, had been murdered, and it was reported, but not believed, that Dhuleep Sing had fled from Lahore. Lena Sing is described as standing high in public opinion for unblemished reputation and integrity of purpose. A private letter says:—“Should Golab Sing make his menaced attack, and fail, we could find therein matter for rejoicing, for the character of Lena Majeetee is a warrant for the restoration of order throughout the Sikh dominions, if he can maintain himself in paramount power. The ‘boy monarch,’ under his direction, would thrive sooner and more vigorously than under the guidance of more crafty and less high-minded men.” In a sketch of the “Court and Courtiers of Lahore,” to be found in the present Journal, Golab Sing is exhibited with few pretensions to talents or humanity. His oppression is notorious in Jumboo.

In this state of things, what is the course of policy incumbent upon the British Government in India? It is easy to lay down positive rules, and to promulgate authoritative injunctions, forbidding acquisitions of territory or interventions in the concerns of other states; but how difficult is it to reconcile a strict observance of them with a due regard to the conservation of our own possessions! We believe that no Governor-General ever went to India with a more determined purpose of abstaining from every temptation to enlarge the limits of our Eastern empire, and yet, in the face of his own solemn declaration, he has already been compelled to add a kingdom to it. The condition of the Sikh nation renders it equally difficult to refrain from a similar act of “usurpation,” as the former has been termed, with reference to a country which commands our whole north-western frontier. A slight glance at its present state will discover that there are no elements out of which a permanent native government can be constructed.

The constitution of the Sikhs is originally democratic, founded upon the theory of an equality of rights. Previous to the supremacy

of Runjeet Sing, there was no temporal head of the nation ; and his usurped authority, even if adapted to their wants and wishes, had not time to root itself in the affections and habits of the people ; and had his recent throne been occupied by a son who inherited his talents and popularity, it may be doubted whether his dynasty would have endured. But the sceptre, after a short interval, fell into the hands of a successor, nominally his son, but really not of kin to him,—a fact notorious to the nation ; and thus the idea of the right of blood (to which the Sikhs tenaciously adhere in the succession to landed property), which could alone nourish an attachment to the throne, was destroyed. The royal family of the house of Runjeet may now be considered as extinct, for Dhuleep Sing, the *de facto* maharajah, is generally reputed to be of spurious birth, and there is no collateral branch of the family entitled to prefer a claim to the throne, founded upon any pretext which, unsupported by power, could receive the slightest countenance from the nation. The Sikh institutions prohibit adoption by widows, which in Hindu states can promptly supply a failure of heirs, and the nobles, if we may thus designate the sirdars, generally corrupt, vicious, and mutually suspicious, seem to include no individual qualified by virtue, talent, or even influence, to establish a new dynasty. The country is virtually without a government, a prey to anarchy and crime, destroying itself and threatening destruction to its immediate neighbours. It is scarcely possible, therefore, to suppose a case in which interference on the part of a state in the position of our Indian Government can be more easily justifiable upon almost every ground, including that of self-preservation, and the necessity of such interference is acknowledged by writers in the Indian journals, who are least in the habit of eulogizing the policy of the present Governor-General.

If it were allowable to anticipate events (says the *Friend of India*),* we would venture to predict that the extension of our empire to the banks of the Indus, in the north as well as the south, is reserved for his Lordship's administration. The administration of Shere Sing was an established government capable of maintaining its public relations with surrounding states. However distracted by internal jealousies, it presented no cause of immediate apprehension to its neighbours. But his assassination virtually breaks up the strong government established by Runjeet Sing, and opens a wide field for the ambition of the various chiefs. It is likely, therefore, to be followed by a degree of anarchy which must end in subverting the independence of the Punjab. It is manifest that the formation of the two armies (of observation and exercise) has reference to the distracted state of the two governments of

Scindia and the Punjab. While that distraction continues, the armies cannot well be withdrawn. A state of things which requires the presence of so large a portion of our force cannot, however, be allowed to remain; and government will be obliged in its own defence to take military possession of those states, if they are not speedily reduced to such a state of tranquillity as to render the continued assemblage of such a force redundant.

The *Englishman*,* in its reflections upon Punjabee affairs, observes that, "Every additional stroke exposes the utter feebleness of expectation with regard to a permanent adjustment, until the British step forward to arrest the evil with a strong hand, by consolidating the Government under its own immediate auspices: we see no other chance of amelioration, and are of opinion that the onward course of events, if the Sikhs are left to themselves, can only exhibit scenes of frightful destruction and confusion."

The latest Calcutta and Bombay papers announce that it is the intention of the Government to post four armies, or *corps d'armée*, consisting of about 10,000 men each, upon the banks of the Sutlej, at convenient distances, so that the whole may unite, if need be, with little delay; and that the Bengal troops, ordered for Scinde, to replace those of Bombay (amounting to about 12,000 men), were ordered to halt.† According to the *Calcutta Star*, a corps of observation, consisting in part of the troops intended for Scinde will stand fast and form a corps of observation in the Sirhind division; a further force of 10,000 men assembling round Agra, of which the Sepree and other contingents will form a considerable proportion.

The political state of Scinde is favourable to military operations in another quarter. The country is tranquil under our rule; and the fugitive Ameer of Meerpore, Shere Mahomed, seems reduced to the humiliating extremity of being an unsuccessful suitor for aid to chiefs who were formerly his foes. It is in the Mooltan territories that Shere Mahomed is said to have sought shelter, and some believe he is assembling lawless soldiers who are everywhere ravaging the country. With the assistance of the Murrees and Bhoogties, who, though brave and hardy, are not numerous tribes, he may probably be not indisposed once more to resort to arms, and try his fortune on the banks of the Indus, where the Khyrpoor territory is any thing but reconciled to the rule of Ali Moorad. Sickness prevailed, according to the last accounts, to a serious extent amongst our troops in Scinde, which, it is to be hoped, will be checked by a

* October 20th.

† *Indian Mail*, Dec. 6, p. 226.

change of season. Sir Charles Napier is compelled to quit his new government, and return to Europe through indisposition.

The other foreign states in the East, with the politics of which our Government has any connection, are peaceable. Although the Gwalior rulers have not consented to an unconditional submission, and although the Durbar is in a state of great disorder, peace seems the prevailing sentiment. The Bhac has been urged by the chiefs to concede all the demands of the British resident; a proposal, however, which her pride cannot yet brook. Meanwhile, the Kasghee-walla experiences the vexations which customarily attend upon ill-gotten power: an extensive conspiracy, comprehending sixty individuals, amongst whom is Major David Jacob, has been discovered, the object of which was to assassinate the Dada Khasghee, whom one of the correspondents of the *Agra Ukhbar* calls "a remarkably fine fellow!"

Whilst intestine broils are thus precipitating the downfall of the relics of the once great Scindean state, that of Holkar, another shadow of a name, has devolved to an infant by the death of the rajah Hurree Holkar, on the 24th of October. This Mahratta prince ascended the throne in 1834, after being for fourteen years a prisoner. Either natural weakness, or seclusion, or both, had impaired his intellects, so that he was unfit for business; his finances became deranged, his expenditure exceeding his income by about £80,000 a year, and for many years past he had sunk into disease and sloth. The more respectable chiefs had deserted his Durbar, and he was surrounded by low and debauched companions, who abused his weakness for their own purposes. He has left no issue; but an adopted son, eight years old, succeeds him under the direction of the British Resident at Indore, Sir Claude Martin Wade.

Some disorders have taken place in Rajpootana. A contention for the *gadi* of Marwar, which is claimed by a Dhoulul Sing, threatens to re-open the wounds of civil dissension in that state. The ground on which Dhoulul Sing rests his title, in opposition to that of the heir, is an alleged written nomination, under the hand of the late Raja, Maun Sing. In the circumstances of Raja Maun, it is not improbable that he should have given such a document, but spurious wills of dead men are more common in India than even in Europe. A serious disturbance has broken out at Khetree (twenty-five miles west of Shekhawuttee), where an old ranee, named Bhutte-anjee, had collected a force of 5,000 matchlock-men, and taken possession of a strong fort, ejecting the young ranee, who is the mother and guardian of the infant prince. It is worth noticing, as an

amusing refutation of the common error respecting the degradation and impotence of females in India, how many of the recent political disorders in the petty states of that country have originated with individuals of this depressed and powerless sex. At Gwalior, at Khytul, at Khetree, and other places, the native ladies, instead of slumbering upon their cushions in the zenanas, have appeared like so many Boadiceas, infusing the spirit of opposition into the other sex. The *Indian Mail* mentions a bazaar rumour that Major Thoresby has been killed at Jeypore, which has a bad notoriety in this respect. Intelligence of a more certain and more agreeable kind, from another state in this quarter, informs us that the Rao Rajah of Ulwur has established a press, which is in full operation, issuing numerous copies of Persian and other works.

The affairs of Affghanistan wear the same external aspect of tranquillity as they did immediately after our occupation of the country, and just before the outbreak which led to our expulsion. Dost Mahomed Khan is, however, not a likely person to be lulled into security by appearances. He has organized a regiment of Hazaras upon the European model, and has been busied in restoring the buildings which were destroyed on our retreat. It is said that his necessities have reduced him to the unwise expedient, not uncommon amongst princes whose views do not extend beyond present exigencies, of deteriorating the coin. The last accounts state that Dost Mahomed has applied to the Governor-General to be permitted to enjoy the assurance of our friendship, and that his son Hyder Khan (governor of Ghuznie when it was captured by Lord Keane, and afterwards a prisoner at large, first of Bombay, subsequently at Bengal) is on his way as ambassador. Meanwhile, an expedition from Cabul against the King of Bokhara is said to be in preparation, with the view of avenging on that faithless barbarian the treacherous seizure of the Dost in 1840, and his detention of Ukhbar Khan till 1841. Should there be any truth in the rumours that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly still survive, the proposed incursion may lead to their rescue: "so that," as the *Bombay Times* observes, "the Dost, while he revenges his own wrongs, may find congenial occupation for the turbulent portion of his chiefs until his power be once more established and consolidated, and perform an act eminently satisfactory to the British Government, whose favour he is said most anxiously to desire." While engaged with such warlike purposes as these to the north and west of his capital, his attention is said to be turned towards the Indus, and it seems very possible that the Sikh troubles may induce him to attempt the recovery of Peshawur.

Sultan Mahomed Khan had written from Lahore to his brother at Cabul, informing him that he entertained hopes of being appointed ruler of Peshawur (vacant by the retirement of General Avitabile) by the "Sirkar Khalsajee," i.e., the Sikh government; adding, with true Affghan cunning, that "this would afford a good opportunity for Mahomed Ukhbar Khan to make a descent on that province."*

That a collision of interests will, in no long time, bring the British and the Affghans again into hostility, as principals, and with a more justifiable pretext than in the late quarrel, no one who looks at the relative positions and prospects of the two powers can reasonably doubt. An interference of any kind, either friendly or hostile, in the affairs of the Punjab, will increase the chances and approximate the period of such an occurrence. Political writers in India are already speculating upon the event, and are preparing specious and plausible arguments in favour of an advance of our frontiers beyond the Indus. "In a physical sense," observes the *Friend of India*, "the natural limit of India proper is not the Indus, but the termination of the plain beyond it, where it is met by a range of mountains and by a new climate; and it may be questioned whether, in a military point of view, this river, which runs through a plain, is the most appropriate boundary of such an empire. Be that as it may, the Affghans, unless awed by a power superior to that which now rules at Lahore, will lose no time in recovering Peshawur, and extending their conquests to the Indus, and possibly a little to the east of it. Stirring scenes are yet before us in the north-west and on the Indus; and our connection with Affghanistan, though wisely dissolved after our disasters, may yet be renewed under a different and more auspicious aspect of circumstances." Thus we proceed onward and onward, and no Pillars of Hercules, or *Ultima Thule*, can, even in imagination, stop the career of encroachment, until it shall meet a power of superior strength.

The last mail brought but little intelligence from British India of a domestic character. It is confidently asserted that the Governor-General and the Council of India will proceed to the Upper Provinces, and that the temporary seat of the Supreme Government will be either Agra or Allahabad. This "move" is considered to be a "good one." The political and military measures which may result from the transactions at Lahore, and the location of a large force upon the Sutlej, render it highly expedient that the ruling authority should be nearer to the scene than Calcutta: in fact, this Presidency must soon cease to be the real seat of that authority.

Some attention has been drawn at Calcutta to the system of pro-

curing coolies for emigration to the Mauritius, owing to a discovery of abuses, which it is difficult entirely to prevent amongst an ignorant and a needy population, where individuals must be employed in the capacity of agents. It would appear that, in spite of all the precautions of the Government, a species of crimping is resorted to by the *duffadars*, or native agents, who, according to a Calcutta paper, are provided with printed documents, signed by the emigrant agent, addressed to the police authorities and others in the interior, requesting that no hindrance may be offered to the bearers in their search for persons desirous of emigrating. Such a document may be easily employed as an instrument of oppression amongst a timid and illiterate people. It appears that about fifty persons were put on board a ship against their consent, and very nearly conveyed away from Calcutta. Upon being examined before the chief police magistrate, their simple testimony shewed the daring extent to which the decoying system is carried, and the ease with which it is practised. The bait with most of the poor creatures was a prospect of lucrative employment and high wages, which induced them to leave their native places with the crimps. One of them was told that Mauritius was only a short distance from Calcutta. The case was disclosed by three of the coolies jumping overboard, and swimming to the beach, where they communicated the facts to a gentleman walking there, who lost no time in despatching a European officer to the ship.* The utmost care should be taken to prevent these abuses, for the emigration is very extensive at all the presidencies, from whence the number of coolies who have emigrated since the Act passed is said to exceed 15,000. The number shipped at Calcutta alone for the Mauritius, in the month of August, was 2,109 men, 290 women, and 79 children.

In the Mauritius, the condition and treatment of the emigrants are not lost sight of by the Governor. The *Cernéen*, Mauritius paper, states that, "At the sitting of the Legislative Council, the Governor called the attention of the assembly to the necessity of reviewing the Indian emigration question. He observed that not a single irregularity had taken place without attracting the notice of the local Government and of the Protector, and that any discovery of the kind had been immediately attended with the repression of the defect. He considered that the activity and circumspection hitherto displayed by the Protector in the exercise of his duties were a sufficient guarantee for the future discovery and correction of all abuses."

* *Indian Mail*, Dec. 6, p. 227.

In our last Review, we noticed the thriving state of the tea plants in Kumaon and the Deyrah Dhoon; but we were not then aware of the real extent to which this shrub is cultivated in that quarter of India. It appears from a detailed statement, published in the *Delhi Gazette*,* that, in the neighbourhood of Almorah, there are no less than 14,000 tea-plants in bearing, and that the grand total of plants, layers, and seedlings is 123,197. There is, moreover, a prospect of the extensive cultivation of the plant in the Dhoon by an English joint-stock company.

The Madras presidency offers few topics for observation. An Act is about to pass the Council of India, which provides that the family, household, and retinue of the Nawab of the Carnatic are to be protected from liability to the process and jurisdiction of our courts of justice. The intelligence from Hyderabad states that the affairs of the Nizam's Court have become settled since the retirement of Chundoo Lall. A report was prevalent at that capital, that the Governor-General had determined to appoint a commission for prosecuting a strict and searching inquiry into the internal administration of his highness's territory, including the alienations by jaghire and pensions, the revenue, and the expenses of the Nizam's British Contingent. Such a report had created, and was well calculated to create, great alarm.

At Bombay, the baptism of a brahmin convert to Christianity is announced. He was a pupil in the school of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland's Mission, at Ambrolic, and gained one of the scholarships instituted in commemoration of Mr. Farish. The judicious system of the Assembly's schools provides against the accident of the renunciation of Hinduism being followed, as elsewhere, by a species of general infidelity. The system on which the missionaries of the Church of Scotland in Bombay in a great measure rest their hopes of eventual good to India (we are told†), is that of securing a number of young native converts to Christianity, thoroughly and liberally educated, who shall hereafter go abroad amongst their heathen countrymen—the most suitable by constitution, information, and habit of mind of any class of missionaries.

One of the peculiar lineaments which disfigure the moral aspect of Indian society, and to which must be referred the practices of Thuggee and Dacoity, has appeared at this presidency in the shape of an organized association of robbers, a sort of joint-stock thieving company, which seems to have flourished for a long time unsuspected. "Nothing short of the disclosures which have been made,"

* *Indian Mail*, Dec. 6, p. 228.

† *Bombay Times*, Sept. 16.

observes one of the local papers, "could have convinced the community that, in the very midst of them, and under the immediate eyes of the police, a system such as this could for such a period have been permitted to exist in the bosom of such a population as that of Bombay, where the harvest field of depredation, highly as it has been cultivated, and plentiful as is the crop of plunder which it has supplied, is of such limited extent." It appears that the robbers belong to a peculiar caste, and that they conducted business upon so systematic a plan, that they kept regular books of accounts, the seizure of which afforded the only development which the police could obtain of this strange confederacy. The last mail brought a report of the trials of the "Bunder Gang," as the miscreants are termed, ten in number, the whole of whom were found guilty, and sentenced to transportation. The chief witness against them was an accomplice, named Dhama Ruttunse, who had belonged to the gang, or as he called them "*Luckoo Perraja's Toly*," for six years. He had been admitted into the association owing to his having detected its existence, and he was then employed to plunder the craft at the Bunder. He says:—

The first morning of my employment we brought sugar, dry coconuts, and cotton; we took these things to the warehouse at Chinch Bunder, called Murroo's Bhakar. The next morning an auction took place; the whole of the gang were assembled there. People were stationed at four Bunders; there were fifteen Muccadums or Superintendents; some were stationed at Mandavce Bunder, some at Chinch Bunder, and some at Sawaree Bunder; my duty was to go to these Bunders and to go on board the prahoos, in tonies, and bring articles on shore and deliver them into the warehouses. The prahoos used to get these articles from ships, bugalows and pattamars. The first year I was paid about forty rupees a month; the next year my share was raised. The gang had a clerk of the name of Moraj; there was formerly another met'ha, named Kulloo Katchra. Moraj used to keep all the accounts and make disbursements; the auctions took place every day at 10 o'clock or half-past nine; goods to the value of seven lacs of rupees have been stolen during a year; two lacs from the Government, and five from different other sources. The accounts used to be balanced every day, and adjusted once a month. The last occasion a division was made was when I received 356 rupees.

Upon being asked by the judge whether they were never challenged by the customs' people or police, he replied, "How could we? they were all thieves alike, and in the pay of the gang!"

In China every thing would go on well, but for the persevering efforts of the opium-traders to introduce this article into the country under the very notice of the British functionary. In a proclama-

tion, Sir Henry Pottinger, with reference to the fact, that the traders contemplate the sending opium into the ports of China opened by treaty, and *demanding* that it be admitted to importation under the tariff, which provides for all articles not enumerated passing at a duty of five per cent., announces that, as the traffic in opium is known to be contraband by the laws of China, any person who may take such a step will do so at his own risk, and will receive no support from the British consuls and officers. Meanwhile, the withholding of permission to store opium at Hong-kong has, it is said, created much discontent, and a spirit of dissatisfaction detrimental to the interests of the colony. Six of the most influential merchants, who had expended considerable sums in Hong-kong, have withdrawn to Macao till Victoria (the new town of the island) be made a "free port" in their sense of the term.

There is nothing which invites remark in the intelligence from Australasia; but in New Zealand, at a district called Cloudy Bay, seventy miles from Nelson, and included in that settlement, a collision has taken place between the settlers and the natives, which ended in the discomfiture of the former, and the loss of nineteen lives. Two chiefs, named Rauperalha and Raugiharata, the most powerful of that part, and the original owners of the district, having disputed the New Zealand Company's right to it, and ordered their surveyors off, Mr. Thompson, a magistrate, with Captains Wakefield and England, and about forty working men, armed, proceeded with a warrant to arrest the two chiefs. The native party, about eighty in number, armed with guns and tomahawks, were prepared for resistance; an accidental discharge of a musket produced a volley from each party; the Europeans, intimidated, fled, and the natives pursued and slaughtered. If they had stood firmly by the officers, the natives are represented as being too cowardly to have maintained the conflict. Mr. Thompson, Captain Wakefield, Captain England, and sixteen others were killed. No fears are entertained of any attack on the settlement by the natives; and intelligence from Auckland states that the Government there had taken prompt measures for the security of the settlers.

We are not inclined to make any severe comments upon this deplorable affair, whereby the natives have been taught a lesson which, if they be not the cowards they are represented to be, may have the worst consequences. It is impossible, however, not to observe, that a want of discretion on the part of the leaders, in venturing upon such an errand with so inadequate a force, is as great as the want of spirit, or perhaps only of discipline, in their followers.

THE SACRED ALPHABETS OF INDIA AND EGYPT.—








IIERMES.

THE Sanserit alphabet does not concern itself with the sixteen vowels of the language, but only with the thirty-four consonants, and always appears in the following form :—

1. ka, kha, ga, gha, nga.
2. cha, chha, ja, jha, nya.
3. ta, tha, da, dha, na.
4. ta, tha, da, dha, na.
5. pa, pha, ba, bha, ma.
6. ya, ra, la, va.
7. sa, sha, sha, ha, ksha.

In form, the hieroglyphic alphabet is the same as the Sanserit ; in substance, there is this important difference between the two alphabets : the Sanserit distinguishes individual letters, whereas the hieroglyphic alphabet, as an order, chooses to recognize only generic and specific letters, disregarding individuals.

The hieroglyphic alphabet is composed of twelve specific letters, of five genera or kinds. The genera or kinds are according to certain sounds ; and certain words, bearing such sounds, are, respectively, the names of the genera. The twelve specific letters are named and pronounced either by putting a vowel after each letter, or both before and after ; or by putting a vowel after each letter, and a *t* (pronounced *t* or *d*, *ta* or *da*, *ata* or *ada*). To avoid crowding, the first method, together with a somewhat abbreviated form of name, is only here shewn, in company with one sign of each species, duly arranged according to genus :—

humzè.	huri-hod.	ai, ghai.	gangia.
			
ta.	na.		
			
ba.	ma.		
			
ya, ra, la.	va.		
			
sa, sha.	sha, ha-è-sha, ka-è-sha.		
			

Now, some of the above species have numerous equivalent signs, as many as twenty and five-and-twenty ; others only a few—one, two, or three. Some of the numerous equivalent signs are applicable only to particular words ; others, at most to three or four words. I place only

one sign of each species ; as well because, by so doing, the trouble of printing is diminished, as because the setting forth of the scheme of the alphabet does not require that I should do more : in fact, there are only twelve consonant letters, however numerous, varied, and picturesque may be the signs denoting them. Having said thus much, I may proceed to offer a few remarks upon the genera and species.

The first species of the fifth genus is the *sa sha* of the Sanscrit, and is in English *s* or *sh*. The second species, which is the last letter of the alphabet, may be thought a little curious. It is the *sha, ha, ksha* of the Sanscrit, and in English is *sh, h* or *k*. For it, in each of its powers, the modern Egyptians sometimes employ the Greek *chi*. This clearly indicates the quarter whence the Greeks obtained their letter *chi*, and the three separate purposes to which they applied it in the rendering of foreign words. If for it, as often occurs, the Copts do not employ the *chi* of the Greeks, then, according as required, they use their own *shei*, or the Greek *kappa*, or the only *h* they have. It is sometimes mute at the end of words, and then in Coptic appears in the form of the only *h*.

The first species of genus the fourth, is *ya, ra, la* of the Sanscrit, and in English *y, r, l*. As representing *r* and *l* of our alphabet, it does not require comment here ; but as the *ya* of the Sanscrit, which is the *yod*, or consonant *e*, of the ancient Arabs, it has something about it very peculiar. I may only here observe, that, in the ancient language, it always appears written as an *r* or *l*, to be pronounced either *y, e, r* or *l* ; in the modern dialect it occurs more frequently written *e*, less so *r* or *l*.* It would seem to be the origin of the vowels *rri, bri* of the Sanscrit, and therefore is apparently, and only apparently, both a consonant and a vowel. The second species is *ra* Sanscrit, *r, w* English, and *b'on* Coptic.

The first species of genus the third is *pa, pha, ba, bha*, Sanscrit, and *b, p, ph, f*, English ; the second is *ma* Sanscrit, and *m* English. The first species of genus the second represents the nine first letters of the third and fourth lines of the Sanscrit ; and the second species is the tenth, or *na*. In English *t* and *d* correspond to the first species, and *n* answers to the second. Neither the ancient nor the modern dialects of Egypt recognize much difference between the sounds *t* and *d* ; either sound, or both, may be used, not in all words, but in almost all words.

The first, second, and third species of genus the first have, at the present day, apparently, nothing to do with the Sanscrit alphabet ; whilst species the fourth represents the whole of the first two lines of it, with the exception of the first two letters. Of species the fourth I had better say, every reader of hieroglyphics is aware it replaces the Roman *c* in "*Cæsar*," the Persian or English *k* in "*Kic-Titan*," and the Arab or English *c* hard or *ch* in "*chufi*," any lady or gentleman, the Hebrew or English *g* hard in "*Megido*" and "*Migdol*," the Arab or English *g* soft in "*Geidour*," the common Armenian or English *z* in "*Beznoon*," the Hebrew or Arab *zuad*, or English *z*, in "*zoan*," and the Hebrew or Arab

* It is this letter that has kept us out of Paradise so long. *Artana*, by using the pronunciation *e* instead of *r*, becomes *Actana*, or *Aedana*, out of which the Hebrews make *Eden*.

suad, or English *c* soft, in “*hous*” or “*wuhus*,” ‘cold;’ in fact, he is aware that it represents *c* soft, *c* hard, *ch* *g* hard, *g* soft, and *z*; *g* hard is its specific power, and the other sounds, as just shewn on either hand, variations of the same. Its name is *gangia*, which oddly and much resembles *ga-unga*, familiar to Sanscrit tyros, but which, in reality, means “*ga* of extension,” or “the extensible *g*.”* It is strictly the same letter as the *suad* of the ancient Arabs, as they had nothing but their *suad*† for all the English letters above detailed. It has, like *suad*, subsequent to the Christian era, been very injudiciously divided into two letters; one of which bears the ancient name of *gangia*; and the other, being called *sima*, has the Greek *sigma* for its sign, the Roman *c* being put for the legitimate *s*.

Species the third is the *ain* and *ghain* of the Arabs. In the Coptic language it is entirely lost amongst the vowels, and *gangia*, or *g* hard. In English it must be rendered, according as required, by some one or other of the vowels, or by *gh*. It has no other equivalent sign; and the same hieroglyphic group, when not a letter of the alphabet, denotes an interjection, and one or two other particles.

Species the second is in English *h* soft, and *kh* or *h* hard. It is the only *h* the modern Egyptians have retained, merging in it the other two of the ancient dialect. Its name is *ha*, or *aha*, or *hurî-hot*,‡ *ha*, or *aha*, or *hurî-hot*,‡ “chief *h*”; *humzè* and *huous* (*ha-è-sha*), being familiarly and respectively the names of the other two.

Species the first is also in English *h*, at least so far as regards Egyptian words. It is the *humzè* noticed in the preceding paragraph; and by the ancient Egyptians was named in full *ha* or *aha-ahom-zè*, the *h* styled *ahom*, ‘eagle.’ It has given rise to infinite doubt and difficulty, in modern times, amongst the border Shemites of the Arab branch, from the circumstance of its having no equivalent, and its only sign being precisely the *ahom*, or *alif*, or *a* of variable sound. In Coptic its specific rank is entirely lost, and it appears in the form of the only *h*. So end, for the present, my brief remarks on genera and species.

Pious Brahmans believe that their alphabet was the gift of their gods. We, I think, may put our trust in this, that their gods, as well as their

* Extensible *g* or *gangia* being put to *Kio-Titan*, we may be quite certain that, in ancient times, the Persian mode of spelling the name was, either with *g* hard, or *c* hard, and not with *ksha* or *k*. I brought the name into the text for the purpose of pointedly remarking that the hierogrammatic may be always relied on, as to the species of letters they use. I have no example to offer, either from Armenia, or Persia, of *cha*, *chha*, Sanscrit, *ch* in “church,” English; but if, what I very much doubt, such a letter was in use prior to the era of Cyrus, the Egyptian scribe, I am sure, will be found invariably to put for it his *gangia*; unless, in particular words, he himself is aware that it has been incorrectly used for *hurî-hot*. The nasal letters *nga*, *nya*, are compound sounds, and not elements; and the Egyptian scribe, if occasion required, would plainly prefix *na* to *gangia* for both. It will be perceived, that the hieroglyphic is an universal alphabet; and hence that, of course, there are several letters, not here noticed, which come under species *gangia*, a name better written *ga-èn-zia*.

† There is now no intelligible mode of writing this letter except as *suad*; but the ancient Arabs considered it, specifically, a hard *g*, and called it *gad*, or *gad-ulistital*, “*g*, or *g* of extension,”

‡ This name was given in honour of the personage that figures in the sequel. They said *huta-hot*, *huda-hot*, as well as *ha-hot*, &c.

alphabet, or at least something very like both them and it, were the gifts of the once renowned son of man whose history follows.

The invisible and the visible sun, or the regent of the solar orb, and the solar orb, bear the relationship of father and son; the one is the lord of time, and the other is the son of time; the one is the Supreme Deity, the Lord and Creator of all things, and the other is the god of day, the vivificator, or regenerator of every thing in the world contained. Then in Egypt, at a very early period of his career of universal conquest, the first monarch of the *Rakot* or shepherd race proclaimed himself *Her-mes*, "*Huri*, *Horus*, *Apollo*, born of the womb," commissioned to make known to all mankind the will of his heavenly father, the lord and creator of all things. His heavenly father he named as *Phroah*,* or *Phrè*, 'the sun, or soul, or spirit of all things;' *Amm-Phroah*, or *Phrè*, 'the powerful sun, or soul, or spirit, seizing or possessing all things;' *Ara*, or *Ba-rimi*, 'the great soul or spirit superior to all things;' *Ara*, or *Ba-remhi*, 'the soul or spirit, free, uncontroled, permeating all things;' the *Ara*, or *Ba-em-pè*, 'the soul or spirit of heaven.'

So, in short, *Phroah* or *Phrè* was the supreme deity, the lord and creator of all things, and *Hermes*, his son, entrusted with his commands to man. These were the leading religious notions with which the first shepherd-monarch came forward in the character of *Hermes*, and which he superinduced upon an acknowledgment of a great many gods and goddesses, all, as he termed them, *turturs*, or grades of spirit.

Hermes, or *Huri* incarnate, the only deity ever born of the womb,† was the son of an Arab shepherd, of the tribe *Ibn-malec*, and was born at some spot in the sheep-walks of that tribe; "two horns with a *p* annexed"‡ informs us, that he rose to be at the head of all mankind, as well in spiritual as temporal affairs. So was accomplished the commission with which he said he was entrusted.

Abram, the original name of the father of the faithful, was an epithet common to *Hermes*, and each of the shepherd-princes, his successors. The epithet applies to persons in whose composition mind or spirit is said to predominate over matter; and such persons are apostles, and prophets, and other god-like individuals, of a higher order of intellect to what is usually conceded to man. The family were also styled *ni-huri-hod*, meaning 'the family whose first title always begins with an *h*,' or meaning 'the chiefs of the family of *Horus*,' 'the *Horite* chiefs.' They were also simply styled *ni-hod*, 'the chiefs;' and hence *yehod*, or *yehudi*, 'belonging to a *hod*' or a Jew.§

* The last letter of *Phroah* is *ha-è-shz*, and being mute, is often omitted; hence *Phroah* or *Phrè*. I write the two words as commonly written by us; but the pronounciation, in both cases, is precisely the same, and as nearly as possible as we usually pronounce the title of Egyptian Kings.

† The assertion is not that no other deity ever was incarnate, but that, at the epoch of *Hermes*, no such idea was in the minds of mankind. In the East, it is not considered polite to deny previous apostles, prophets, &c.; and therefore, if such a notion had been in existence, *Hermes* would not have considered himself in the light he did.

‡ He is the first *Zûl-carnain* of the Arabs.

§ The Arabic *Hod* is the name of the patriarch *Heber*, and *Yehudi* is a Jew. The two words in the text are both good Egyptian.

Rebekahs need not be ashamed of their connections. *Haron*, a name most improperly written by us *Aaron*, was invariably the first title of Hermes, whenever his styles and titles were rehearsed in a formal manner, preceding the royal legend. This first title or epithet, *Haron*, was also used as a name by Hermes; and the same may be said of others of his titles or epithets, such as *Misraim*, *Mizraim*, *Nimrod*, *Nebroth*, *Ashur Serug*.^{*} *Haron* signified 'the living Horus,' as Hermes meant 'the incarnate Horus,' and the others of his titles or epithets just noticed all variously refer to one and the same circumstance, namely, the mortal career of the Divinity as the spiritual and temporal chief of mankind. When the chiefship of Hermes, or Horus incarnate, was concluded, and he had returned whence he came, the heads of his family left on earth, *Nahor*, *Terah*, &c., were, each in their turn, the chief, the *hod*, the *apa*, *p-apa*, the patriarch of the world, in his room. To this we must add, that *Arakotieh* of Asia, *Arakotieh* of Egypt, and *Nuhuranieh*, were three of the principal points from whence Hermes, by force of arms, established his creed amongst all nations, recorded in the Egyptian sacred language; hence it arose, that as long as there was a *Rakot* patriarch at the head of the Hermesian faith at any of those places, or, which is the same thing, as long as "the shepherd-kings" continued in existence, *the whole earth was of one language, and one speech*, in regard to sacerdotal matters.

Arakotieh of Asia, *Arakotieh* of Egypt, and *Nuhuranieh*, as a central home government, comprised pretty nearly those same nations that have been numbered, and named to us by Herodotus, as subject to the rule of the Persian monarch Xerxes, some seventeen centuries and a half afterwards; and this extensive empire, or central home government, Hermes obtained by arms, and consolidated, antecedent to entering upon, and prosecuting with success external wars in all other parts of the world.

Asiatic *Arakotieh*,[†] the then capital of Ariana (*K'huri-san*, or *Huri-ana*), was the quarter whence Hermes extended the war of religious and territorial conquest to the East Indies, to the northern parts of Asia, and to China.

Egyptian *Arokotieh*, afterwards called *Ga-shen-Hor*, and *Bema-koshen-Hor*,[‡] the land, or the locality of the family tree, of *Huri* or *Horus*, was selected, because it contained the best Egyptian sea-port, and because it was the suitable point of departure, by land, for the east

^{*} Modern Egyptians, having adopted the Roman *c* for their legitimate *s*, are obliged to make a very abusive use of *k*, and led me into a foot-note error regarding *Serug*, in my notice inserted in the *Asiatic Journal* of October last year. The word for "earth, land," is not *kahi*, but *gahi* or *cahi*; and as the syllable *hi* is nothing but *humc*, grammatically liable, at all times, to be changed, in pronunciation, to *ahom* or *u*, *Serug* for *Seru-ga*, 'son of the earth,' and *Canopus* for *Ca-en-apa*, 'land of the point,' are words not improperly abbreviated.

[†] *Sidgistan* is called *Sagh-ustan* by Moses of Chorene, which means the *stan* of the dog, that is, *Anub-ouh*. *Seestan* is the country of the shepherd, or *Arakotieh*. I forgot the former of these two words in my former sketch.

[‡] I have inserted this name nearly at full length; because *Bema*, like *Cuissoun* mentioned in my previous sketch, is a name of Alexandria, and, indeed, of all northern Egypt, still known to Arab writers. *Ga* means 'land,' and *Bema*, 'the locality;' and *shen* and *hoshen* both signify 'tree.'

coast of Africa, Spain, and, generally, the western part of Europe. Hermes, in person, however, entered Europe, not by the western, but the eastern confines; and so it may be said, that Europe succumbed to several concentric movements of the Hermesian forces, and that no Charles Martel of that epoch had any other alternative—he must repeat the confession of faith in Hermes, or go in bondage to a pyramid.

The King of Ethiopia, “King Ivory,” according to the poet Ferdousi, was brother of Zohak; and monuments prove that the subjugation of Cush, or Ethiopia, was effected by Hermes himself, together with that of many other African nations of the south.

The peninsula of Arabia was, no doubt, the grand dépôt, from whence the armies of Hermes were supplied, as well with the soldiers, as with officers or leaders, sufficiently ardent in his cause. Arabs of every age have been well acquainted with the south of India, and what is called the Eastern Peninsula, and the Eastern Islands. On this occasion, powerful bodies of Arab soldiery would be sent to act in both these directions; the one body to assist their brethren in the north of India, and the other those in the north of China. From some of the Eastern Islands to the American continent the distance is by no means great; and obviously the mission of Hermes to this world was incomplete, unless he did forward on detachments from some of these islands in the direction specified. I feel confident he did so, and that the hieroglyphic writings of Mexico and Peru are a proof.

Amlak Nuhuranich,* or ‘the regions contiguous to two rivers,’ were otherwise collectively known as Syria, or Assyria. From the capitals of these regions, either from Babylon or Nineveh, Hermes, at some time or other, may have repaired to Sardis; but at this place, at that epoch, no great demonstration of military strength could ever have been called for; no grand parade of troops, in columns of nations, could have been requisite, either at Sardis, or anywhere else thereabouts, preparatory to passing the Hellespont and Bosphorus; because, on the one hand, the continent of Greece, the Greek islands, and the Roman peninsula, like several other Mediterranean localities, respectively obeyed the orders of Hermes, conveyed to them from Egypt; whilst, on the other, Hermes in person, at the head of an army, having traversed the Caucasus by what is called the Caspian route, went to Europe the way of the Huns or Magars of more modern times; and meantime, as he proceeded on his direct line of march, he threw off detachments, here to the left, and there to the right, at particular points required. It is on record that he captured a still celebrated fortress, called the Castle of Shannak, and having traversed the Caucasus by the route specified, his attention was not diverted to northern Asia, as the affairs of those regions were all settled from the other side of the Caspian.

Khan and *khacan* were both Egyptian military titles, assumed by Hermes, and probably they were instituted by him. The former simply means ‘leader, or commander,’ and the latter ‘conqueror.’ Amidst

* *Pudan-nuhuran* of the Egyptians.

the multitude of titles and epithets, of various kinds, appropriate to Hermes, and which he assumed, these now noticed were almost the only two of a purely military bearing. Hermes continued at the head of mankind, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, for more than thirty-nine years; but how much more than that period remains to be ascertained. He departed this life in Egypt, near the eastern branch of the Nile, at a place named from the event "the cemetery of Horus," and subsequently corruptly called Avaris, Ta-arabie, and Pacusa.

And now it must be said, that this Hermes, the son of an Arab shepherd, is the only Hermes of whom Egypt and the world at large ever had any personal knowledge. *Roah*,* the Egyptian name of the Supreme Deity, is an Arabic word, denoting 'soul, spirit, breath.' Hermes, as the son of the Supreme Deity, born of the flesh, of male and female life, appearing on earth to instruct mankind, involves notions intimately blended with those of the Supreme Deity, considered under the name Ph-roah. The hieroglyphic alphabet is the Arabic alphabet of the epoch of Hermes. He was the originator of the whole scheme of hieroglyphic writing, such as we now see it on the monuments, and of which the Arabic alphabet is a component and conspicuous part; and the forty-two books of Hermes, written in the sacred or hieroglyphic language, and containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians,† were compilations either completed under his auspices, or he gave the initiative regarding them, and their completion took place under the Hermesite princes, his successors. He was *Her-mes shoment nua*, 'Hermes Trismegistus;' and certainly he did cause the wisdom of the Egyptians to become a proverb, and their superiority in arts and arms to be acknowledged and felt throughout the world. He was the only true "son of the sun," and the only true "Phroah," or type of his father on earth. With him originated the royal *toghra*, or legend enclosed in a ring, as the distinctive appellations of Egyptian sovereigns; and those regulations which he instituted, for the due and useful display of styles and titles, were strictly attended to only in the regard of himself and his race. His name *Karoun* or *Haron* is still given to great works which Egyptian historians attribute to Menes; and this name *Karoun* or *Haron*, in company with the royal legend, is also upon the remains of his palace in the immediate neighbourhood of those works, as well as upon the obelisk of his own temple of *On*, in the vicinity of his own city of Misor, or Babylon. Osiris is merely another name of the Supreme Deity, Phroah, in his capacity of eternal judge in the nether world of the souls of men after death; and the goddess Isis is the earth. Then he, Hermes, as a god, was the son of Osiris and Isis; as a god in a human form, he was an *Abram*, or 'spirit man,' and the son of an Arab shepherd and his wife.

* *Roah* is now spelt with *huri-hod* as final letter; but in the days of the hierogrammatæ, the final letter was *ha-è sha*. The pronunciation remains still the same.

† I by no means vouch for the contents of those books that fell into the hands of Clemens Alexandrinus. After the fall of the Hermesian patriarchate, the Egyptians became idolaters and of course adapted the Hermetic books accordingly.

The Apostle himself included, the Hermesian or Shepherd Patriarchs were in full power for about one hundred and sixty years; at the expiration of this period, the affairs of the family fell into a declining state, until, at the end of another hundred years, the family were extinct. During the period the family were in full power, all the world was of the apostolic faith of Hermes, and the learned language of all the priesthood of the world was the Egyptian language.

When the family became extinct, then the Egyptian language ceased to be the only sacerdotal language in use; and to these two events we must attribute all the paganism that afterwards appeared in the world. The origin of pagan idolatry is of course a different subject; but all the idolatry now to be found in the literature of ancient nations certainly took its rise from the fall of the Hermesian patriarchs, and the *confusion of tongues* brought to bear on religious matters. Subsequent to these events, the whole world, for instance, after the lapse of about six or seven centuries, was to be seen still under the influence of the Egyptian deities, for the most part still bearing their Egyptian names, but with legends or notions regarding them, as discordant one with another, as they were with the tenets of Hermes, and as numerous as were the nations of, or the languages spoken in, the world. And, too, almost every nation on the face of the earth had their own Hermes, born of allegorical parents, somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood of their own localities. Most nations, too, not satisfied with a single Hermes, had several deities made out of so many others of the Apostle's Egyptian names. And then, lastly, it must be said, that several nations, in addition to a Hermes of one or more kinds, actually had either some sort of demon, or some sort of god, or a set of demons, or a set of gods, made out of the royal patronymic, which the Apostle was pleased to assume, when the better to execute his heavenly father's commands, he took upon himself to be king of kings of this world, and which patronymic his family after him continued to bear.

Forms of faith alone considered, the very best Hermesian idolaters were the Egyptians, and the inhabitants of the East Indies; whilst it is lamentable to perceive that, amongst the very worst, certainly, were our classic nations.

At the period when the Egyptian historian Manetho wrote, the religious notion in Egypt was, that man, at the close of his diurnal career, returns to earth. Horus, the god of day, once for a time a man, does the same. They appear before the spiritual father in the nether world; and then man, not by his own merits, but by the merits of Horus whilst on earth, obtains the favour at the throne of grace, to rise on the morrow with Horus, to enter the fields of bliss; the great meadow, as Diodorus calls it—the expanse of the heavens.

At the same period, or thereabouts, the Greeks and the Romans had all the Egyptian deities, and under their Egyptian names; with Hermes, “the incarnate Horus,” the messenger of the gods, and much-beloved by man for the Arab propensities of his early life; and Charon or Haron, “the living Horus,” the ferryman over the river Styx.

This, of course, is not all that might be said of Hermes and Charon, considered as classic deities ; neither are they the only deities of that pantheon identical with Horus ; nor is the epoch of Manetho by any means the earliest epoch at which we know the Hermesian world had become heathenized. I limit myself, however, to the two named deities, and what I have said in their regard ; and I fix upon the epoch specified, in the first place to shew, at a glance, with what facility almost all errors incident to the universal *p-ap-a-ry* of ancient nations can now be set forth ; and then to remark that, at the epoch when Manetho wrote, which is the date of the earliest notice we have of the shepherd-kings, the Egyptians, in point of strict truth, were quite as much idolaters as the Greeks or the Romans, or any other nations of the heathenized Hermesian world. At that time, they knew no more of Horus, considered as the author and concluder of their faith, than did, for instance, their classic contemporaries, who erroneously believed that the messenger of the gods, and the ferryman over the river Styx, were two distinct personages. Of the shepherd-kings they had then lost all historical knowledge, and their saviour deity, Horus, who really was, in a carnate state, the first monarch of the just named race, and the author of their faith, they only knew as the son of Osiris and Isis ; born in the flesh, forsooth, of such parents, at On in Egypt, some twenty-four thousand years before that temple *Bi-bal-onh* was actually built by himself. Clearly, as I have shewn, they did adore him in a form sufficiently orthodox ; and so, too, they knew him under all his names, as well of a terrestrial, as celestial reference ; but of him as a god in a human form, of his transcendent merits in this world as a Nimrod, or a Serug, or an Abram, or a Hermes, or a Haron, they at that time knew nothing.

The fact was that, at a period long previous, the Egyptians designedly set aside the true apostolic or shepherd incarnation of the deity Horus, for an incarnation of the same personage purely ideal. They not only did this, but they furthermore fell into the practice of attaching not mere secondary, but primary importance to the worship of *turturs*, or grades of spirit. So, in short, at the historian Manetho's epoch, the more modern inhabitants of Egypt really had no correct knowledge of the earthly career of their deity Horus ; and so, too, at the same period, they were quite as much idolaters as any other nation of the heathenized Hermesian world. Albeit, considered as idolaters, they were then, as they always were, pre-eminent among nations : this arose from the circumstance of the creed of Hermes being composed in the language which was their own.

Now the date when the historian Manetho wrote was so late as during the reign of the second Ptolemy, which began B.C. 284 ; and the shepherd Hermes commenced his work of conversion to the true faith so early as B.C. 2234. But, however, B.C. 1624, the nineteenth family of sovereigns succeeded to the throne of Egypt (they were not Arabians), and, after a duration of two hundred years, became extinct B.C. 1424.

Then the Exodus took place B.C. 1500,* or about the middle of this period; and about the beginning of it, if I mistake not, a decree went forth to the effect that, the incarnation of the deity Horus having been placed amongst the mysteries of Isis, thenceforth, in Egypt, every thing pertaining to the son of the shepherd was to be held in abomination, and the remembrance of him and his race, gradually, systematically, and ignominiously set aside. The son of the shepherd and his race were styled *Hermesians*, or "the Solar race;" they were genuine Arabs, and the seventeenth dynasty of the Egyptians. The eighteenth dynasty were Ethiop Arabs, and *Tothmesians*, or "the Lunar race;" the epithet applied, in both cases, being a religious, as well as a royal family designation. During the declining state of the Hermesian or Solar race, no doubt, throughout the world very improper notions sprung up touching the faith of Hermes, of which they were the patriarchs; but when, B.C. 1974, they became extinct, and the Tothmesian or Lunar race succeeded to their power in Egypt, then the result there certainly was vitally to affect the true faith, or that faith which the regent of the solar orb, the supreme deity, the spirit of the universe, revealed to all mankind, through the medium of his son, the solar orb incarnate, the Shepherd-Huri, or Hermes. The Lunar family never did deny the divinity of the son of the shepherd, neither did they impugn the leading religious doctrines he inculcated; but upon sectarian principles they superadded the worship of *Toth*, or the Moon, as a duty of primary importance, and lent themselves to a variety of other extreme and huge ideas, regarding *turturs*, or grades of spirit, which, after the lapse of three hundred and fifty years, and the accession of the nineteenth dynasty of sovereigns, who were not Arabians, led to the issue of a decree of the kind specified, at some early period, between B.C. 1624, and B.C. 1500—the certainly long period of somewhere about thirteen hundred and forty years prior to the historian Manetho's era.

Turn we to the next best Hermesians, the inhabitants of the East Indies. These nations, after the failure of the Hermesian or Shepherd-patriarchate, continued steadfast in the faith of the son of the shepherd, and in a perfect knowledge of the Egyptian language, for several centuries; at length, however, they degenerated into idolaters, having the son of the shepherd and his spiritual father at the head of their idolatrous system. Of course, then, when such was the case, they became, as

* The setting aside of the shepherd Abram may be considered the initial cause of the Exodus. The final cause was the oppressions experienced by the *Yehudis*, on account of non-conformity. *Yehudi*, "Patriarchite," or Jew, appears to have been a local name given by the Egyptians to those Arabians that dwelt in Egypt after the extinction of the shepherd patriarchate, and who, when they were forced into the invidious position of religious non-conformists, were chiefly to be found congregated in and about *Ga-Shen-Hor*. At the period of the Exodus, *Ga-Shen-Hor* appears to have included the district now called *Buhsirah*; at the period of the Rosetta Stone, it was one of the names of all Egypt; to a very late period, all northern Egypt was so called; and originally it was given to Arakotieh, or Rakotieh, and the neighbourhood. It is impossible to overrate the injury done to the world by setting aside the shepherd Abram. B.C. 1500 is in round numbers, and not the exact date of the Exodus; and B.C. 2234 is the city of Babylon's date, and not that of Nimrod or Hermes; in fact, without relative chronology being affected, all these dates require throwing back some years.

pagan Hermesians, infinitely superior to most other nations, and the next in rank to, though by no means on a par with, the Egyptians.

At the present day, in India, Hermesian paganism vastly predominates; and it is now nearly a century more than four thousand years since the apostle Huri incarnate, or Hermes, paid the country an apostolic visit; and about three thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven years since the inhabitants turned him into a pagan god, and betook themselves to a pagan Hermesian form of worship. Then, at some early part of this latter period, Hermesian paganism became for a time extinct; and upon its revival, it may be presumed, it took the name, and assumed the form, under which it now appears. Brahma is now the mystic sun, or supreme God; and he is defined to be the spirit of the universe, the soul or spirit, free, uncontrolled, permeating all things. Brahma, however, is a word having no meaning in the Sanscrit language; I do not hesitate, therefore, to change the name to *Brimha*,* which, in Egyptian, is significant, in the sense of the definition of the deity given in both languages. Huri, the god of day, is still, as a spiritual son, the son of Brimha; but as Huri incarnate, or Hermes, and the conqueror of the world, he is now said to have been the son of a shepherd and his wife, of Bindrabund, a village near the city of Muttra, on the river Jumna. Krishun, or Krishna, is nothing more than the *h* of Huri hardened,† with the Egyptian epithet *shun* or *shna* added as a compound to the name; and, in brief and in fine, in ancient Egyptian inscriptions, “the formidable or mighty Huri,” of the modern inhabitants of the East-Indies, very commonly appears in the plain unadorned form of Huri-shun, or Khuri-shna.



When, in ancient times, the formidable or mighty Huri or Hermes, by force of arms, established his creed amongst the nations of the East Indies, recorded in the Egyptian sacred language, temporal authority, or the imperial command over those nations, he gave up to one of his kinsfolk of the tribe *Ibn-Malech*;‡ but, as was elsewhere universally his practice, entire control in spiritual matters he reserved to himself, and future *Ra-kot-hods*, or patriarchs. So for two hundred and sixty years, strange to say, the *Malechshas*, and *Rakshas*, with infinite spirit and

* Merely to suit the definition. *B-rah-ma* I believe to be quite in accordance with other portions of the present mythological vocabulary of the Hindoos.

† All over Egypt, the name now occurs spelt with *h* soft, and *kh* or *h* hard. The latter sound coming to us through the medium of the Coptic and Arabic alphabets, and European travellers of all nations, we have it as *c* hard, *ch*, *k*, *kh*, *g* hard, and sometimes *g*. I may add, the deity gave his name with the epithet *shun*, or *shna*, annexed to a legume or pulse, which the Copts call *Arshan* and the Hebrews and Arabs *Kurshuna*. I find it mentioned in the monuments. It is either *Ervum lens*, or *Cicer arietinum* of botanical writers.

‡ This name is now spelt with *kshd*, and of course is *Ibn-mallik*; in ancient times they spelt it with *gangia*, and consequently it was *Ibn-malec*, or *Ibn-malech*. So, too, the word for “shepherd” it is now spelt with *gangia*, and is *Ra-cot*; it was formerly spelt with *ksha*, and therefore was *Ru-kot*.

success, ruled over all Hodu-stan,* from Cape Comorin to the influx of the Ganges, and from Dacca, near the mouth of the Brahma-putra, to Attoc on the Indus ; whilst, at the same time, all the priesthood of Hodu-stan, through the medium of the Egyptian language, were in regular official correspondence with the *Raksha-hods*, or patriarchs, either by the route of Afghanistan and Ariana, or by the Persian Gulf, or Arabia, or Ethiopia. Afterwards, when the extensive empire, or central home government, of the patriarchs, was dismembered, and themselves were extinct, for three hundred and fifty years, the Malechshas and Rakshas of Hodu-stan, now the *Huri-vansa*, and “solar-race” of Hindo-stan,† successfully opposed themselves to the powerful sovereigns of the 18th dynasty of the Egyptians, the Tothmesian, or Lunar-race of Ethiop-Arabs, who were constantly invading their dominions, both the northern and southern parts. To these two periods if, as I have done in a previous paragraph, we add the two hundred years of the 19th dynasty of the Egyptians, as a period when Hermesian or solar affairs in India were either stationary, or in a transition state not materially for the worse, we have eight hundred and ten years, as the long space of time, during which the whole of the inhabitants of India were of the apostolic faith of Hermes, and all the priest-castes, and educated classes, with the Egyptian language and literature familiar.

From this short outline-sketch of ancient India, and from what I have said in the two preceding paragraphs, the general reader, as well as the Indian linguist, will be prepared to expect, that which it is proper I should now state, namely, that Indian languages, the Sanscrit and kindred dialects, with what are called the indigenous tongues inclusive, all still retain strong traces of the apostolic visit of Hermes. These traces consist of numerous Egyptian words, of all sorts and kinds. In the Sanscrit, Egyptian words are to be found more numerous ; first, because it is, generally, the language of science ; and, secondly, because, special to the point in question, it is the language in which the whole scheme of modern Hermesian paganism is set forth.

The literature of India, history alone considered, bears no record whatever of any period antecedent to Hermes ; and the only evidence it possesses of the Hermesite epoch is limited to the two names already given ; names which have hitherto been considered irrecoverably fabulous, and which never could have been readjusted to historic truth without the aid of contemporaneous Egyptian documents. Then, the Subæan religion and the Sanscrit language were introduced into India from Persia six hundred years prior to the Hermesite epoch ; but of this period, as just hinted, Indian literature knows nothing. The

* *Padan-ni-hodu*, ‘the country of the patriarchs.’ *Hodu* requires to be spelt with *huri-hod*. *Ma-tho-ru* (Muttra) was the name of the capital of all India at this period, a name which is precisely the same as that other name of Babylon of Egypt, which is now made into *Muturich*, with an idle story annexed.

† *Hindo-stan* is, in fact, tautology, as *do* and *stan* bear the same meaning. This name *Hindo*, ‘India’ was intended to assist in setting aside the memory of the *Shepherd-hods* ; and was given, not, of course by the *Huri-vansa*, but by idolatrous Egyptians of some period long afterwards.

Malechshas and Rakshas refer to the Hermesite period; and these two names have long been understood in the sense of 'devils incarnate.' "The military progress of Ra-ma," commonly called Rama, and the *Ramayana*, the "military festival of Ra-oun"* commonly called Raoun, and the Raonu-leela, the *Mahabharata*, or "great war of the offspring of the moon," together with two or three other similar fabulous stories founded on facts, bear Tothmesite names and reference to what, for the sake of distinctiveness, we had better term the Tothmesite epoch, although, during the whole of the epoch, an Hermesite family were upon the throne of India, successfully maintaining the integrity of their imperial position. The marked difference in the amount of Indian fable incident to the Hermesite and Tothmesite eras, two consecutive eras, is consequent upon the setting aside of the son of the shepherd and his race by the Egyptians. In after ages, the effect of this measure shewed itself to the extent, that authentic history amongst the Egyptians commenced with their Tothmesite or 18th dynasty of sovereigns; and neither they, though Egyptians, nor any other nation, had any knowledge of the previous dynasty, that of Hermes and the Hermesites, except in the form of a meagre little something or other, always of a monstrous and a disparaging nature, and very frequently of a satanic bearing.

When, with the Sabæan religion, the Sanscrit language was introduced into India from Persia, it was in a state much less artificial than that in which it now appears. This we perceive by specimens of the ancient Persian still to be met with in Egyptian records of the Hermesite and Tothmesite eras. But, indeed, even were such documents as these, of a proximate epoch, not in existence, the present most abounding number of the Sanscrit tenses, all formed by formative words having no meaning whatever when taken alone, is a thing quite at variance with the patriarchal and Bedoucen tastes of those who introduced the language and its religion south of the Himalaya; and is also a sure and certain sign of a reconstruction of the language at a period comparatively modern.†

*The story of Ra-oun is an incidental narrative of the *Ramayana*. The word *Ra-oun* signifies 'the living *Ra*.' The word *Ra* is what, in this part of the world, we term *Ré*, an abbreviation of the word *Roah*, properly pronounced as our word *Rue*, an herb, or the French word *Rue*, 'street,' the final *h* being always mute. *Ra-oun* might be a mere name of any one, but as a title or epithet, as well as name, it was applicable to Egyptian kings from the Tothmesite period and afterwards. *R* is the specific letter of which *P*, *Ph*, *F* are varieties; so *B-rah-ma*, *Ra-ma*, *Bah-ra-ma*, &c., instead of meaning 'adored,' signify, I should suppose, an 'adorer' of *B-rah*, or *Ra*, or, as we pronounce it, *Ph-roah* or *Ré*. Brahmanism, or modern Hermesian Paganism, I would suggest, was introduced into India during the Greek period, that is, during any time after Alexander, and before the era of our Saviour; whilst the legends of *Huri*, and *Rama*, and *Raoun*, were in India, either in the form of truths or fables, during all time from the occurrence of the events alluded to in the legends. Since the Christian era, long since, particularly so late as between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, modern Hermesian paganism has had several reformers; and at the hands of these latter parties it was that the Greek name became connected with personages, whose epochs range from thirteen hundred to two thousand years prior to the second Zûlcurnein or Alexander. Finally, I would offer it as an opinion, that modern Hermesian Paganism was a *complete revival*; and that, as something remarkably curious attaches itself to the Egyptian names of most of the deities, the revival did not immediately come from the banks of the Nile.

†The Hindi, Pali, and Sanscrit are dialects of the Persian language, and I think it might be easily shewn, by means of certain Egyptian words, that they had already become dialects when

The alphabet of the Sanscrit language has already formed the subject at the opening of my sketch ; but here, at its close, I may introduce some few remarks which could not well have been there made.

The alphabet of the Sanscrit, as I have shewn, is now deficient in three of the consonants of the hieroglyphic alphabet ; yet at the epoch of Hermes, and prior to it, undoubtedly it did possess them. The hieroglyphic alphabet is the Arabic alphabet of the epoch of Hermes, and consequently the three species of consonants required for the Sanscrit are *humzè*, *ha*, *kha*, and *ain, ghain*, named by the Egyptians *ha* or *aha-ahom-zè*, *huri-hod*, and *ai, ghai*. Then the ancient Egyptian, at the end of Persian names of places,* very frequently puts his *ha-ahom-zè* ; but, in such cases, he could not employ such a letter as that, unless it was strictly proper for him so to do. Consequently, at the epoch of Hermes, and prior to it, the ancient Persian or Sanscrit alphabet possessed *ha-ahom-zè*, “ *h* called *ahom* ;” or, which is the same thing, had a letter *ha*, *aha*, considered as, and being, an aspirated or consonant *ahom*, or *alif*, or *aka*, or *a*.

Ksha, the name of the last letter both of the Sanscrit and the hieroglyphic alphabet, has no meaning except in the Egyptian language, where it signifies “ *k* belonging to *sha* ;” and such being the case, as in the hieroglyphic, so in the Sanscrit alphabet, the only proper pronunciation of the last letter, by its very name, is that of a pure English *k*. But then, in the same alphabet, there would not be two letters of precisely the same power ; and so is proved, that, whilst at the epoch of Hermes, and prior to it,† the last letter of the present Sanscrit alphabet was a pure English *k*, and nothing else ; so at the same periods, *ka*, *kha*, the now two first letters of it, and considered the pure English *k*, and the same a little varied, were species *huri-hod*, or *ha*, *kha*, preceded by the aspirated consonant *a* just spoken of.

Thirdly and lastly, the ancient Egyptian spells the Persian name Gomer,‡ or Zimer, with his *ai, ghai* ; but where the necessity of his doing so, when he has his *gangia*, which gives him *g* hard, and *z*, and several other kindred varieties of letters ? The answer is, that by some parties, the name has been improperly written with *z* ; and that the Egyptian is perfectly correct in the species of letter he uses. The more modern Hebrew, although he had *ai, ghai* in his alphabet, was very much in the habit, when spelling Canaanite names, of substituting for it his *gemel* or *g* hard ; the ancient Egyptian, on the contrary, never, on any occasion, lent himself to such inaccuracies ; and hence it follows, that,

Hermes entered India. To make this remark at the same time that I noticed the primitive parties that introduced into India the ancient Persian language, formed the only reason for what I have said in the text. The present excellences or defects of the Sanscrit, either positive or comparative, are clearly matters of no consequence here.

* He also uses it for the *ta-tanees* of the Arabs. If it is a matter of no consequence which way it be pronounced ; he puts simply the *ahom* or “ eagle ;” if he wishes to restrict the pronunciation, he makes the “ eagle” to stand upon a *t*, or puts the letter near the bird. We thus learn for the first time, through the medium of the Egyptians, that *ta-tanees* of the Arabs is really *humzè* ; likewise see the propriety of its being pronounced *h*, or *to*, *ta*, *ti*.

† Prior to the spread of the Hermesian religion, it was known under its Arab name of *ka-le-sha*.

‡ Gomer and Askanaz.

at the epoch of Hermes, and prior to it, the ancient Persian or Sanscrit alphabet had a consonant *i*, *ai*, *ghai*, *ain*, *ghain*, *i-ata*, *ghi-ata*, &c.; the specific power of which is now latent among the vowels, the same as in the Coptic language, and *ga*, *gha*, that is, hard *g*, more usually occurs for the variation.

To the Sanscrit alphabet, as I have shewn, the hieroglyphic form of arrangement yet remains; and substantially, too, there are still strong traces of hieroglyphic relationship. Uniting these facts to the special circumstance of the long prevalence in India of the purer tenets of Hermes with the Egyptian as the sacerdotal learned language, we are almost necessitated to suppose, that, at the epoch of Hermes, and afterwards, the Sanscrit and the hieroglyphic alphabets were one and the same, both in substance and form; or, what involves very nearly the same idea, that, at the epoch of Hermes, and even long afterwards, when the Sanscrit became again the sacerdotal learned language, it had only those species of letters, and those varieties of sounds, which the hieroglyphic alphabet recognizes, and not those aspirated and other varieties of letters which it at the present day possesses, and which, indeed, were common to the alphabet of Persia Proper from the epoch of Cyrus and Cambyses, and afterwards.

The last letter of the Sanscrit, and the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, still distinctly bear Egyptian names; and in the regard of genera and species of letters, much of the more recondite matter which Arabic grammar contains is taken from Egyptian grammarians, occasionally, even, with the very Egyptian technical terms they employed. Add to which, all alphabets, whether comparatively of an ancient or of a modern date, shew much that is Egyptian, and much that is Arabic, with the Egyptian portion usually the most vivid. Nevertheless, the Arabico-Egyptian epoch of Hermes, or the impression he made on languages and their elements, was preceded by the Arabico-Persian impression made on the same by those Arabians who gave universality to the Persian language and the Sabæan form of worship. Meantime, then, that we leave undisturbed the special grounds upon which rest the identity of the Sanscrit and hieroglyphic alphabets, and whilst, too, we freely admit the all-surpassing merits of the son of Osiris as a man of letters, we ought still to bear in mind that, prior to his apostleship, the Arabic alphabet must have been commonly known to the learned of all nations; and that if he, Hermes, did, as may be supposed he did,* introduce it into his own pictorial style of writing, without any alteration as to number, species, or order of arrangement of its letters, then credit is due to the Arabians, the people amongst whom he was pleased to become incarnate, that he should have found them already in possession of elements of speech, not only requiring no divine improvement on his part, with reference to his own sacerdotal language, but forming, moreover, a universal alphabet; the best, probably, ever thought of.

To Hermes and his race I will now give due fixation amongst Egyp-

* Because even now, in its modernized state, many letters of the Arabic alphabet are naturally not limited to one sound; they are species of letters possessing varied powers.

tian dynasties, so that we may just see the relative position they occupied, alike as sovereigns of Egypt and patriarchs of the world.

Fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties, Egyptian sovereigns. *Arabs*. "The Servant-race." Twenty in number, according to the table of Abydus ; and if we take an Arabic, an Egyptian, or a Persian word for 'servant,' we may call them *Cadmites*, *Canaanites*, or *Peshdadites*. The first sovereign of the 15th dynasty was, no doubt, the celebrated *al-Khadimio*, or Cadmus, to whom we must attribute the "letters of Cadmus," or those twelve Arabic specific consonant letters which we now have in the hieroglyphic or pictorial style of writing. Traditional stories, either of Babylonia or China, do not go beyond the era of Nimrod or Hermes, and we know nothing of the aborigines of America, except as followers of the Hermesian or solar form of worship. Cadmus, however, was a conqueror on a scale quite as extended as that of Hermes ; everywhere establishing the Sabæan religion, and the Persian language as its sacerdotal learned language ; the latter very much improved, both in reality and appearance, by a large admixture of Arabic words, and the use of Cadmian letters. Universal proselytism being accomplished, and sovereignty at many of the great markings of the world, in the hands of his Arab kinsfolk, Cadmus confined his further attentions to the office of first of the patriarchs, and to that great empire, or central home government, which afterwards came into the possession of Hermes. Iran, or Persia, however, being where he first rose to notice from the rank of a *khadim*, or subordinate servant* of the state, that country, and not Egypt, was made by him the patriarchal and imperial seat of government ; and it ever afterwards remained the chief place of residence of all the Cadmites, Canaanites, or Peshdadites,† his successors. Upon an average of three to a century, to twenty Cadmites six hundred and sixty-seven years ought to be apportioned ; but the twenty sovereigns of the next two dynasties actually reigned only six hundred and ten years ; therefore, to be quite within bounds, we had better say, for the present, that the epoch of the first, or celebrated Cadmus, was six hundred years prior to that of Hermes, or that it was B.C. 2834. The first, or celebrated Cadmus, considered under his equivalent Egyptian name Canaan, was, no doubt, the father of *Sidon* of Phœnicia, and also the father of *Zoan* of Egypt,‡ and through the medium of these two sons he more usually conveyed to his Egyptian subjects his patriarchal, imperial, and Persian commands. The few last occupants of the patri-

* He himself must have been a servant, or his father was such, unless, indeed, he had been in the habits of studying something like Matthew xx. 26, 27, and selected the royal patronymic accordingly. I am inclined to think either of the two former the better supposition, because of the special patronymic which Hermes was pleased to assume.

† The Persians called the family *Pesh-dadi-an*, that is, 'chief servants,' and along the upper line of the table of Abydus, each of them is styled *Nofri Co-en-an*, which means, 'beneficent servant ;' but the correct Arabian patronymic was, as the Greeks have it, *al-Khadimio*, Cadmus. Under the Persian name "tribe of the *Dadi* or *Dadar*," sundry of the posterity of Cadmus formed one of the four great Babylonian tribes ; and the Egyptian scribe, when mentioning this tribe in the monuments, shews clearly that he knew very well the force of the term.

‡ Zoan is mentioned several times in the inscriptions of Beni-hasan ; I therefore, in my previous sketch, put it down to Nimrod, or Hermes ; but, by its very name, it owed its origin to Cadmus, or Canaan.

archal throne of Cadmus governed Egypt in the same loose, inefficient manner as the Persian family of Achæmenes at a more modern period : hence the opening for the next patriarchal family.

Seventeenth dynasty, Egyptian sovereigns. *Arabs*. "The Shepherd-race." Seven sovereigns, at the head of whom was Hermes, B.C. 2234. The Egyptians, at the historian Manetho's epoch, knew nothing whatever of the family of Cadmus, or Canaan, their 15th and 16th dynasties; and nothing in truth of this their 17th dynasty, or family of Rakot, or Reu, except some few names, and an Egyptian royal designation, *ni-hyk-sos*, 'the shepherd-kings.' No doubt; prior to Cadmus, or Canaan, numerous were the sovereigns that ruled over Egypt; but all those names of prior sovereigns, now borne on the historian Manetho's list, are certainly spurious; not merely because of the long historic blank of not less than eight hundred and sixty years, incident to Cadmus and the other twenty-six sovereigns of the three Arabian dynasties here specified; but likewise, and especially, because the names on the historian's list bear reference to religious notions which had no existence anterior to the epoch of Hermes. Hieroglyphic writing owed its origin entirely to Hermes; and consequently, in Egypt, antecedent to the Hermesite epoch, no hieroglyphic inscriptions can possibly be found. Of the Hermesite epoch there are still existing numerous monuments; but at the historian Manetho's epoch, owing to superstitious causes, all such monuments had been upwards of thirteen centuries in disuse; and in truth, as before noticed, the Egyptians, at that period, knew no more of their *Hyk-sos* than they did of their Canaanite monarch; no more of "the Solar-race" than they did of the *Seb-rat*.* On earth no god could possibly appear except as a rational being, and then he was an *abram*, or demi-god, or spirit-man. This being the case, the 17th dynasty of the Egyptians, the Shepherd-Hermes, and his race, the Hermesites, or Huri, and the Horites, all in their own days styled *Abrams*, are "Horus and the demi-gods" of the pagan Egyptian and other historians of after-ages, and the Mizraim, Ludim, and Ananim of the 10th chapter of Genesis. All the widely-extended temporalities of the Hermesian, or Shepherd-patriarchate, were parcelled out into divers independent governments much about the same period; and the kingdom of Egypt, with Africa and the peninsula of Arabia, came into the possession of the dynasty that follows.

Eighteenth dynasty, Egyptian sovereigns. *Ethiop-Arabs*. No Arabian patronymic mentioned. Were of the "Tribe of Ahmar," *Beni-ahmar*, Ahmarites, Homerites, *Ni-rem-en-petrosh*, *Pat-rusim*, 'Red ones.' The tribe of Ahmar went into Ethiopia from Arabia either during the Cadmite or the Rakotite periods; probably the former, if we

* *Seb-rat*, 'generation of Seb,' is merely a religious distinction, importing professors of Sabæism. *Seb*, a name originally belonging to the Persian language, is spelt with *va*, and therefore correctly is *Seva*, or *Sewa*, and the religious system *Seva-ism* or *Sewa-ism*. Hermes considered the deity *Seva*, or *Saturn*, as his spiritual father, and consequently he is no other than the supreme deity Phroah, under another and more ancient appellation. Phallic rites ought never to have been connected with *Seva*.

may judge from the Ethiopian features of these sovereigns and the blackness of their complexions. Thirteen sovereigns, at the head of whom was T-oh-mes, or Toth-mes, B. C. 1974 ; commonly known as Tothmesites, or the Lunar-race ; and the peninsula of Arabia being a dependency of their government, very successful invaders and plunderers of all nations.* Became extinct B.C. 1624.

These four dynasties, namely the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were the ancient *Tobas*, of whom modern Arabians have no knowledge, except that they were in all respects the superiors, even, of their Caliphs. *Toba* and *Khadim* being used in Arabic as terms synonymous, the 15th and 16th dynasties only, with any propriety, were to be called *Tobas* ; but the Peninsula Arabs, so it would seem, continued the term to the other two. The three first dynasties, namely the 15th, 16th and 17th, were the patriarchs of old, personages about whom, under such titles, we have hitherto known as much as the Arabs have known of them under the designation *Tobas*. Manetho makes the entire duration of the *shepherd* supremacy over Egypt to have been five hundred and eleven years ; but the fact was, as the 15th, 16th, and 17th dynasties prove to us, that for not less than eight hundred and sixty years, not shepherds, but Bedoucen Arabs, were the masters of Egypt ; and likewise, during the same period, in more senses than one, the masters of the world.

Then, by Cadmus, the first master of the world of the patriarchal Arab race, all mankind believed that the souls of men after death sprung aloft, and on being accepted of *Sewa*, or Father Time, became stars of the heavens for evermore. Image-worship was freely indulged in during the prevalence of this belief ; but as the more conspicuous and influential members of the heavenly host were the deities the image represented, and none of them had ever appeared in a human, or any other earthly form, mankind had only to look up to the heavens to behold their gods, and image-worship was deprived of much of its very objectionable power.

Hermes appeared, the spiritual son of Father Time, and the only deity ever born of the womb. He made it evident that mere man's imperfections were such, that, without the merits of an Abram, or God-man, superadded, mere man's hopes of being amongst the stars of the heavens were utterly vain. Call him Father Time, Sewa, Amun-Phroah, or Osiris, there was only one supreme spirit, the lord and creator of all things, and he, Hermes, was his son, intrusted with his commands to man. Egyptian names, and styles, and titles were to be given by him to all the gods and goddesses of the polytheistical creed of the very respectable Cadmus ; but, with one exception, he was to declare the whole of them *turturs*, or grades of spirit. Between the godhead and mankind, grades of spirit, or spiritual beings of various ranks or degrees of im-

* I am disposed to think, that one *Aetos*, an Indian, paid Egypt the compliment of a return visit during this period. We know some other party compelled the great Memnon, the eighth Tothmesite prince, to take to his Ethiop heels, and remain an exile from Egypt for thirteen years. The Tothmesite kings appear to have worked upon the very worst spirit of the Arabs, and the imperial *p-apa-s* upon the very best.

portance, the theogony of Cadmus inclusive, were extremely numerous; and he, Hermes, was to say that, certainly, they ever exercised some sort of very marked superiority over mankind and the material world. In the forms of graven images, it was perfectly proper to propitiate all or any such good and evil personages, and they were to be termed *nauts*; first, because of the superiority they exercised over mankind and the material world; and, secondly, because *naut* was a term of general use, implying lord, master, or superior, as well as god and goddess. As to the rest, grades of spirit, minor spirits, although to be addressed as *nauts*, and although of course not composed of matter, and not subject to decay or death, were quite as much emanations or creations of the *naut* and creator of all things, and quite as much obedient to his laws, as, for instance, mankind, or any thing else connected with a material world: and the point to be attended to was, that there was no sort of equality between them and *the father* and *the son*,* the regent of the solar orb, the spirit of the universe, and creator of all things, and himself Huri or Hermes, the solar orb, vivifier or regenerator of every thing, and then, in a human form, on a special mission to man.

When there was no longer a descendant of the god of day at the head of the true faith, and the Egyptian language ceased to be the only sacerdotal learned language in use, time rolled on, and errors accumulated, until, at length, the whole Hermesian world became heathenized with a heathenism infinitely more absurd and fantastic than ever could have existed previously; because principally founded on the pictorial characters of Hermes, variously perverted to the most nonsensical theological purposes; and Egyptian words, and Hermesian names, and notions of spirits of the air, almost everywhere, either wholly or in part, misunderstood or misapplied. The Egyptians, the very best Hermesian heathens, certainly did not misunderstand their own language; neither did they ever attribute to the whole of the spiritual host of Hermes numerous occasional incarnations in the forms of all kinds of irrational beings; but to their respective dying days they believed, that their well or ill to do in this world had mainly depended on the supervisorship of a great variety of male and female deities; and that they were about to descend with the god of day to the spiritual father Osiris, in the nether world; thence to be allowed to rise again, on the morrow, and become stars of the heavens, as a favour to their companion the god of day; who, being mysteriously born in the flesh, at Babylon in Egypt, of the spiritual father, and the goddess Isis, had proved himself, for a time, a most meritorious Egyptian; and who was, too, the first king of the country.

So, although not the very best, yet, unquestionably, the very worst, polytheistic creeds, and the notions, of an only god and a prophet, alike proceed from the same source; and Cadmus, some may think, upon the whole, a better servant than Hermes.

* The names of the relations of common life, I rather think, were only used by Hermes for want of better; in other words, Hermes had no idea of a duad or triad as connected with Omnipotence. He considered himself a teacher of pure monotheism. In the regard of worlds of spirits, a true believer of the present day, he who believes in an only god and his prophet Mahomet, entertains precisely the same opinions as Hermes.

But then Hermes, "on resolution's wings," spread the light of science and the doctrine of an only god to all quarters of the habitable world; and now, after the lapse of several thousand years, much of the science of sounder divinity still everywhere rests upon that leading doctrine he proclaimed; whilst others of the several sciences which he either originated, or rather placed upon a more approved basis, still, in one way or another, minister to the wants of the whole human race, and will, probably, continue to do so to the end of time. So, whatever applause we may be disposed to bestow upon the very respectable Cadmus, or however much we may deplore the confusion of tongues brought to bear on religious matters, and the singularly oblique ideas to which universal sacerdotal picture-writing was perverted, there cannot be a doubt that no son of man that held the office of patriarch of the world ever rendered more important, beneficial, and lasting services to all mankind than the immortal Hermes, the twenty-first of the patriarchal Arab race, and head of the line of Rakot, or Reu.*

It remains for me merely to add: classic history contains some faint idea of a universal sacerdotal language, and Rabbinical legends speak largely of the extent to which the god of Abraham was once adored; the languages, the literature, and the religious systems of all ancient nations bear testimony to the mission of Hermes; and Egyptian monuments maintain that he was at the head of all mankind, both in spiritual and temporal affairs; and that his family after him successively occupied the same position. Under these circumstances, and with a view to conciseness, I have thought it proper, throughout the foregoing outline sketch of Hermes, to keep up an hyperbole to the highest point. I believe that, following beaten, well-known paths of those days, Hermes successfully carried on a war of religion and territorial conquest in all the four quarters of the globe; and moreover, that finally, his religious system spread itself, far and wide, into localities never visited by himself in person at the head of his armies, or by his deputies. Where the Hermesian religion was established, there the Egyptian language became not only the learned language of divinity, considered as a science, but the learned language of all the other sciences: and such a state of things could not continue for any length of time, without languages of common use exhibiting results in correspondence. Hence that the impression of Hermes is so prevalent; whilst the greater vividness which the impression possesses is, perhaps, not so much to be attributed to the posteriority of Hermes, in comparison with Cadmus, as to

* As the course of this sketch will have shewn, for six centuries prior to Hermes, the Persian was the sacerdotal learned language of Egypt, and the philosophy Cadmian. To Hermes and his six descendants, and the 360 years of their duration, the Egyptians were entirely indebted for all the name and fame they obtained, as the most learned and scientific nation of the world. With the fall of the Hermesite patriarchate, the decline of the Egyptians recommenced. Of Hermes, or Serug, we have not, so far as I am aware, any portrait; but in the British Museum there are a couple of common temple slabs, each bearing a portrait of his grandson Apachnas, or Terah. The portrait on that slab which records the death of Terah makes him look more like a jackal than any thing else; and for it, we can easily imagine, his majesty did not sit. The other, which is of date the thirteenth year of his reign, and when he was then an elderly man, is a very excellent portrait, and probably good likeness: it gives him all the comfortable roundness of jaw-bone and chin of our own royal family, particularly of George III. in his best days.

the universal favour with which the son of the shepherd, and his reformed Egyptianized *Sewa-ism* were received, and the vast superiority of the general learning and science which his Egyptian sacerdotal language contained. Some there are who believe that Hermes will again appear on earth, to assemble together a certain portion of his flock.* Others, again, maintain that he is not dead, but only somewhere in concealment.† In the honest belief of the first parties noticed, I do not think we can very well coincide, for more reasons than one. That Hermes is not dead is very evident; because, every morning, he is *Hor-apollo*, "the wayward boy," as Ireland's bard would term it, fresh and young, to all appearances totally unconcerned about the length of journey he has before him. That, in a certain sense, he has been some time concealed, all must admit; but that he is so no longer, I myself am quite confident, and I hope the reader will feel so too.

* He is the prophet who the modern Jews expect will gather them together about the lake Tiberias.

† He is the prophet *Khizur* of the modern Arabians. This Arabic word *Khizur* is a mere translation of the ancient Persian word *Huri*, which means fresh, young, juicy, verdant. *Huri*, as an epithet or name of the sun, alike alludes to the ever apparent freshness and youth of that luminary, and to its powers of quickening the dormant properties of matter, particularly vegetable matter. I may add, the Shepherd-Huri frequently styles the race of mortals under his charge "his offspring of Adam." So, then, *Adam* is an Egyptian compound word of the epoch of the Shepherd-Huri, signifying "father and mother." Only with the Shepherd-Huri commenced the Egyptian custom of recording events on rocks and stones; yet I apprehend there is no truth of a prior date belonging to history, as we know it, either sacred or profane, which we shall not find accounted for in the monuments of the Horite epoch, or thereabouts subsequently: even now, with the comparatively small number of documents we possess, a couple of goodly quartos might be easily occupied in putting together, in an explanatory historical form, a great deal of matter hitherto felt to require explanation, *commencing with Adam*.

FROM KĀMAL UDDĪN ISMA'ĪL.

درد ست اجل که نیست درمان اورا
 بر شاه و وزیر هست فرمان اورا
 شاهي که بحکم دوش کرمان میخورد
 امروز همی خورند کرمان اورا

BIOGRAPHY OF LIVING CHARACTERS.

NO. V.—LORD GLENELG.

TILL within the last year, there were living six noblemen and gentlemen who had filled the office of President of the Board of Control. Biographical sketches of five of that number have already appeared in this Journal; and we now propose to complete the series in the noble person whose family is familiar to every one connected with the affairs of India.

Lord Glenelg has for some time past withdrawn himself from any active share in public life; and society, judging from appearances, have concluded that he has abandoned all intention of re-entering the political arena. Not that length of years can be said to have disqualified him for the deliberations of the legislature or the toils of government—not that any signal failure, much less any grave offence, had removed him from the councils of the sovereign, weakened his influence with Parliament, or injured his character with the country. There was no sudden rupture with his political friends; no extraordinary change in *their* principles, nor any unlooked-for alteration in *his* views on any subject whatever, religious, political, economical, or colonial. His parliamentary career every one must allow to have been conspicuous—nay, distinguished—we had almost said brilliant; the years of his official life had extended over nearly a quarter of a century; his attendances in Downing-street went on as usual, and his speeches in Parliament appeared to be pretty nearly the same as ever; but it did so happen that he one day found himself out of office, and the first intimation which he received respecting the close of his official career was an announcement that his successor had actually been appointed. It is quite true that the period was one of great emergency; that the nation, and especially the colonies, had a right to the services of the ablest men whom the minister of that day could summon to his assistance. It is likewise very generally understood that, for some time previous to the summary ejection of Lord Glenelg from Downing-street, his health had materially declined; whether it be regarded as a result of his natural constitution, or a consequence of the lives which all ministers and members of Parliament lead, certain it is that some serious change had taken place in the state of his health. It was rumoured that an unconquerable tendency to somnolence left him but a small modicum of that vigour and energy—indispensable at all times to the head of the Colonial Office, but peculiarly required at the moment to which we are now refer-

ring. It may have been that this change was more imaginary than real ; or that its effects were exaggerated ; or that the Premier found it easier to break with Lord Glenelg than to make no provision or find no place for Lord Normanby. Whichever of these hypotheses may be adopted, there can be no doubt of the fact, that nothing could be more unceremonious than the manner in which the official functions of the noble baron were brought to an abrupt termination. It must be acknowledged that the event excited no great sensation, and he has now survived the occurrence sufficiently long to have learnt by personal experience that a very considerable reputation may die out in a very brief space of time ; that it is much easier to attain great eminence, and even extensive celebrity, than to secure three or four years of enduring reputation. His wise, temperate, and elaborate despatches, may, perhaps, be occasionally referred to, and no doubt will be often useful to any one who desires to study our colonial policy, or to make himself acquainted with the affairs of Ireland or of India ; still his prudence in council, his efficiency in office, and his eloquence in Parliament, are now matters of history. But though the whirl of subsequent events, and the dissipation of the popular mind, may have swept them into a temporary oblivion, yet there is much to be found in the life and character of Charles, Lord Glenelg, which makes it a pleasing office to endeavour to secure for him a respectful remembrance.

The subject of this memoir has just completed the sixtieth year of his age ; many men, greatly his seniors, are now in the full career of active life. More than thirty years have elapsed since he first obtained a seat in the House of Commons ; but upwards of forty have passed away since that distinction was acquired by some who were recently his colleagues or his rivals, and who still continue to act a conspicuous part in the great political drama. The Right Honourable Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, was the son of the late Mr. Charles Grant, an influential member of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, and was born in the year 1783. At an early age he went to Cambridge, where he remained the usual time ; and very soon after taking his degree, came into Parliament for the Fortrose district of burghs. Like many men who have attained much distinction in public life, he acquired fame at the University, for he not only graduated with honour, but was fourth wrangler and senior in the classical tripos in 1801, and obtained the members' prize for Latin prose composition in 1802. He also obtained a prize for a poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East. Even in his later years, the muse did not altogether desert

him, though his speeches and his prose compositions will always be regarded as the basis on which his reputation has been founded. Notwithstanding that he was deficient in animal spirits and mere physical energy, and though never remarkable for any great degree of industry, yet his qualifications as a public speaker displayed themselves at an early age. He was one of the most eloquent of the young men in the House at the close of the war, very much outshining the present Premier, as well as others of his contemporaries who have since risen to great eminence in the State. So high a position did he attain, even at that early period of his parliamentary course, that the minister of the day selected him to move votes of thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the armies under his grace's command. On these occasions, the results fully justified the choice; for the exploits of those gallant soldiers, who carried the British standard in triumph from the Tagus to the Garonne, formed a theme peculiarly suited to the elevated tone of his oratory and the poetical cast of his mind. Those who at that time differed from him in politics, would, of course, condemn his speeches as inflated schoolboy declamations; but it is not too much to say that, so far from being open to such censures, they merited the highest praise as specimens of a refined and chastened eloquence.

In the House of Commons he did not long continue to represent the Fortrose district; for his father, who more than once had been returned by the electors of Inverness-shire, withdrew in 1818 from parliamentary life, and took that opportunity to introduce his son to the favour of a constituency, which for a considerable time had been in the habit of electing himself. During a period of nearly twenty years, the subject of this memoir continued to sit in Parliament for Inverness-shire, nor did his connection with that county close until he was raised to the Upper House.

The earliest official appointment which he received was that of a Commissioner for the Liquidation of the Nabob of Arcot's debts. This was followed by a seat at the Treasury Board; but he was not long in possession of the latter appointment, when he was chosen to undergo the disagreeable test to which the abilities of promising young statesmen are usually subjected,—he was sent to govern Ireland in the capacity of chief secretary to the lord lieutenant. The practice has often been condemned, which is followed by every ministry, of appointing its tyros to that department of public affairs in which experience, shrewdness, discretion, patience, calmness, and all the qualities that usually belong to an advanced period of life, are peculiarly required. Mr. Grant, like other and greater men,

went through this ordeal ; and it is, perhaps, no great deduction from his well-earned reputation to say that, during his sojourn in Ireland, he acquired neither much praise from the judicious few, nor any applause from the undiscerning multitude. Earl Talbot was the lord lieutenant in those days ; and though that noble earl was and is as free from any tendency towards liberal principles as can easily be imagined, yet Mr. Grant even then had evinced a disposition to make concessions to the Roman Catholics ; and it may be said that “ the conciliation plan,” as it is called in Ireland, had its origin with that Government of which Mr. Grant formed a portion. It will readily be supposed that the functionary, whose office it was to introduce a system previously unknown to one party, and calculated to alarm the prejudices of the other, must have had many difficulties to surmount, and no small quantity of odium to repel, or at all events to endure. Pelted with obloquy by the Orangemen, and not very stoutly backed by the liberal and Roman Catholic section of the Irish, he returned to this country at the commencement of Lord Wellesley’s first viceroyalty, without having won golden opinions from any order of men. But Lord Liverpool knew that Mr. Grant was made of sound and sterling stuff ; and although he remained for some years out of office, he ultimately received the appointment of Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

In this branch of the public service, it can hardly be said that Mr. Grant much distinguished himself, though, whenever he addressed the House on topics connected with the affairs of the department to which he belonged, his information was full and accurate, while his views were generally considered to be sound and statesmanlike. It was not, however, for these services that he was most esteemed. Though he spoke but rarely, it was as a showy and expert debater that he was chiefly valuable to his political friends. He had, up to that time at least, never been tried in opposition ; yet the hostility of so able a debater would naturally be feared, and every prudent minister would be slow to disregard the alliance and support of one who could so ably vindicate a good cause, or so plausibly defend a doubtful measure.

A long official life, and a premiership of fifteen years, at length broke down the faculties of Lord Liverpool, and his administration was succeeded by that of Mr. Canning. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Eldon, and the more Tory portion of the old cabinet, threw up their offices ; Mr. Grant, however, was among the number of those who adhered to Mr. Canning ; and, as Bubb Doddington would say, he was immediately “ gratified ” with the office

of President of the Board of Trade, and a seat in the new cabinet. When the Duke of Wellington succeeded to the premiership on the death of Mr. Canning, Mr. Grant was found to be too much imbued with liberal notions—too warm an advocate for unrestricted commerce—to suit the views of the Duke; at least, this was the reason alleged, and his connection with the ministry for that time necessarily ceased: the real cause of this change, no doubt, being that Mr. Grant had joined the Canning party, and had thereby for ever separated himself from the small body of seceders who, on the breaking up of the Liverpool government, withdrew themselves from the service of the crown. Mr. Grant, therefore, who began life as a Tory, with some leaning towards liberal principles, was now thrown irrevocably into the ranks of the Whigs, of which party he soon became, if not a very active, at least a distinguished, member.

While in opposition, some of his speeches, especially those on the necessity of reform, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and the state of Portugal, told with considerable effect; and naturally rendered Lord Grey desirous to obtain his co-operation, the moment the Whigs came into power. We find him, therefore, on that event, at the head of the Board of Control, and continuing there till the abrupt and ineffectual dismissal of the Whigs, which took place in the year 1834. On their restoration to office, in April following, Sir John Hobhouse became President of the Board of Control, and Mr. Grant accepted the seals of the Colonial Office. In the following year, he was called to the Upper House by the title of Baron Glenelg, and continued to be secretary of state for the colonies till January, 1839, when he was succeeded by the Marquess of Normanby, in the manner and under the circumstances already detailed. The account which the noble lord himself gave of the transaction in Parliament was, that he tendered his resignation in consequence of a cabinet council having been held for which he had never received a summons; that statement, however, is not inconsistent with the account which his friend Lord Brougham gave of the same occurrence, namely, that the first direct intimation which Lord Glenelg received on the subject was the news that his successor had been appointed.

The elevation of Lord Glenelg to the peerage was a well-deserved manifestation of the favour of the crown; it was a just reward of his long, and for many years effective, public services. Yet, a man without wife or child—for Lord Glenelg is unmarried—is usually indifferent to mere titular distinctions; and nothing is more probable than that he might to this hour have remained member for Inver-

ness-shire, if his political friends had not stood in grievous need of his assistance as a debater, and what was more important, of his vote, in the hereditary branch of the legislature. At the same time, so far as mere family descent was concerned, he possessed as good a claim as most of the new creations enjoy to those honours which liberal governments have so liberally dispensed. The family, of which Lord Glenelg is now the most distinguished member, springs from the Grants of Grant; and so far back as the year 1380, we find "Dominus Laurentius Grant" sheriff of Inverness. Genealogists then trace the line of this ancient and dignified family through many generations, till they reach the father of the noble lord. That estimable person was a native of Cromarty, and, like many adventurous Scotchmen, went to India and acquired a fortune there, not, perhaps, a very great or splendid fortune, but one which, even in India, would be esteemed a successful result of industry and speculation. Early in the present century, Mr. Grant, with his wife and family, returned to Europe, when his perfect knowledge of Oriental interests recommended him to the favour and confidence of the East-India Company. In the year 1807 he became one of the directors of that corporation, and was chosen successively deputy chairman and chairman. He represented Inverness-shire from 1806 till 1818; and so great was his influence in that county, that Mr. Oldfield, in his *Parliamentary History*, describes him as patron of Inverness-shire. The late Mr. Grant was of a very religious turn of mind, living on terms of close intimacy and friendship with Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Teignmouth, and other eminent men of similar sentiments. Amongst the number of these was Dr. Wilson, then minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford-row, afterwards vicar of Islington; and one of the first appointments made by Lord Glenelg, as President of the Board of Control, was that which conferred upon his father's friend the bishopric of Calcutta.

To examine critically all the great transactions in which Lord Glenelg has been engaged would be beyond the scope of a biographical sketch. His administration of the affairs of India will be memorable, inasmuch as, during its continuance, the great change took place in the constitution of the East-India Company, which robbed them of commercial privileges enjoyed by the Company for 200 years, and of territorial rights purchased or acquired; transferred all substantial political power in India to the Board of Control, or rather to its President; and saddled the proprietors of East-India Stock, with their own consent, as annuitants, upon the precarious revenues of India. The letter of Lord Glenelg (then Mr.

Grant) to the chairman of the East-India Company, dated 12th February, 1833, which developed the views of Lord Grey's government, and combated the objections of the Directors, is an admirable specimen of elegant official composition, and plausible but very inconclusive reasoning. It was, however, a most effective document, and by its dextrous appeal to the fears as well as the hopes of the Company, in the end, silenced an opposition which would have thrown many obstacles in the way of that bold and daring measure.

Lord Glenelg, it is understood, coveted the post of Governor-General of India, but did not succeed in his wishes, because it was objected that it was contrary to principle that a President of the Board should have that office—an argument that did not prevail on a late occasion.

While Lord Glenelg was at the Colonial Office many important changes took place, but not many which throw any great light upon the personal character of the functionary who presided over that department. The general impression, towards the close of his official life, was, that the crisis which, about that period, took place in Canada, had been aggravated, either by want of judgment or want of energy on his part; and that the task of dealing with the altered state of things in that province required a force of character which he had never possessed, or which—if it ever entered into the constitution of his mind—had of late years wholly deserted him. It is only a bare measure of justice, however, to state that his immediate successor proved no better qualified for the arduous and delicate task of ruling our colonial possessions; and that it eventually became necessary to intrust the reins of their government to hands no less strong and experienced than those of Lord John Russell.

That Lord Glenelg is a man of high honour, of very amiable character, of considerable literary attainments, of acknowledged eloquence, and of great general ability, will not be denied; but there is reason to believe that one or other of the impressions now prevalent in society with regard to him is not altogether without foundation, namely, that for some years his health had been impaired, or what amounts to the same thing, that he had become prematurely old; or that indifference to political distinction made him disregard the means by which that end is secured; or else that he really never had been qualified at any period of life to extricate a ministry out of a position so embarrassing as that in which the Government of Lord Melbourne found itself placed towards the colonies at the close of 1838 and the beginning of 1839. Still, whatever may be thought of his qualifications as a statesman, there can be no second opinion

respecting his talents as a debater, or his private worth as a man. The testimony of Sir Robert Peel, in the month of April, 1839, may not inappropriately close this memoir: "A man more amiable in private life, more desirous of efficiently performing his public duty,—a man who showed greater ability in debate, or conciliated a greater degree of good will, even in opponents, never existed than Lord Glenelg."

MANNERS OF THE CHINESE ARISTOCRACY.

IN a letter from Sir Henry Pottinger to the Earl of Aberdeen, the following particulars are related of the manners and behaviour of Keying, the Imperial High Commissioner, and his assistants, on the occasion of their visit to Sir Henry, after the preliminaries of peace between England and China had been agreed to:—

In the evening (says Sir Henry Pottinger), the Imperial High Commissioner Keying came, according to his engagement, to dine with me, and after he and his two companions had made themselves comfortable, by laying aside their mandarin caps and upper dresses, which is the custom at such parties in China, we sat for a few minutes in the drawing-room whilst dinner was being served. During this short period, Keying's attention was attracted to the miniatures of my family, which happened to be on the table, and he desired Mr. Morrison to explain to me that he had no son himself, and therefore wished to adopt my eldest boy, and to know if I would allow him to come to China. To this I replied, that the lad's education must first be attended to, but that stranger things had happened than his seeing Keying hereafter; on which his excellency rejoined, "Very well, he is my adopted son from this day. His name (which he had previously ascertained) shall henceforward be 'Frederick Keying Pottinger,' and until you send him to me, after he is educated, you must allow me to keep his likeness." To this proposal I could make no objection, and I accordingly gave him the picture. Immediately after, his excellency expressed a strong wish to have Lady Pottinger's miniature also; but about giving it I made some little demur, and before the matter was either way settled, dinner was announced, and we went to table. I supposed the thing would be forgotten; but when dinner was partly over, Keying again introduced his request, said that he would send me his wife's likeness in return, and that he wanted my whole family to take back with him when he went to Nankin, and eventually to shew to his friends at Peking. I felt it was impossible to refuse this flattering request, and I had the miniature brought, and put it into his hands. He immediately rose, and placed it on his head—which, I am told, is the highest token of respect and friendship—filled a glass of wine, held the picture in front of his face, muttered some words in a low voice, drank the wine, again placed the picture on his head, and then sat down. The whole of this extraordinary action was performed without apparent reference to any one being present, and formed quite a scene. He then delivered the miniature to his principal attendant, who was standing behind him, and directed

him to send it home in his state chair, in which his excellency had come to dinner, with all his official suite. Afterwards, he expressed his deep obligation to me for the gift I had bestowed on him, and inquired, through Mr. Morrison, what present he could send to Lady Pottinger that would be acceptable. I wished to evade giving an answer to this inquiry, and said I should think of it, and let him know next morning; on which he asked, "What! am I the Governor-general of the Two Kiang, and cannot get my order obeyed?" At last, to satisfy him, I told him some piece of embroidery would be, as his gift, highly prized; and he had a memorandum made of it.

Soon after, he proposed to sing a Tartar song, which, I am told, is customary at their convivial friendly parties; and on my saying that I should be delighted to hear it, he began with a very animated and loud voice. The couplets he sung, I have since been informed, were allusive to the peace that had been concluded between the two countries, and likewise to his great personal friendship for me; and at the close of it, he took a rich golden bracelet, made in the form of a puzzle, with two clasped hands, off his own arm, and put it on mine. He then explained to me that this bracelet, and its fellow, had belonged to his father, who gave them to him when he was eleven years of age; that he had worn this one for upwards of forty years, and had left the other with his wife at Peking; and that it contained his name in the palm of one of the hands in mystic characters; and that he had some friends in every part of China, who would, on my producing it, receive me as his brother.

When the dinner was over, I proposed a bumper toast, with all honours, to "the healths of the Queen of England and Emperor of China, and that the peace which had that day been ratified between their Majesties might be eternal;" in drinking which, the Chinese officers most warmly joined. I discovered, in the course of the evening, that Keying was a great proficient, or at least an amateur, in music, and whenever the band played any particular tune, he fashioned it to some of his own native airs, and sung to it in a low voice. This led to a proposal to his excellency to favour the company with a song, which he did with great good humour; and as Kwang and Heënlung (assistants to the Imperial Commissioner) followed their chief's example, and they all three called on different officers to sing in return, the evening passed away most jovially and agreeably, and we did not separate till a late hour. Just before we did so, the Commissioner and two Chinese officers gratified the company by playing one of their favourite games at convivial parties, by one party rapidly throwing out his fingers, whilst the other guesses at the numbers they are supposed to represent; and whoever loses, drinks a glass of wine, a forfeit which they most scrupulously enforced. On one occasion, when Keying was playing with Heënlung, and the latter lost the game, he was about to have a glass, already half-full, replenished; on which Keying taunted him with evading his proper forfeit, and called on him to fill a bumper.

OFFICIAL LIFE IN INDIA.—No. VIII.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

SUCH conversations beguiled the time, which had begun to hang heavy on my hands ; for the survey of the small feudal tenure of Ferozepoor had been completed, and those fiscal arrangements which were necessary, owing to the lapse of leases, had all been made. I found the system of management originally pursued by Ahmud Buksh, the father of Shumsodeen, very fair and commendable ; the lands of each village were separately leased, at a fair rent, for a short period of years—from three to five,—and the collections appeared, from the forthcoming account, to have been made with judgment and justice ; but, in the time of his successor, fresh imposts and percentages had been laid on, one after another, so that latterly the additions amounted to near thirty per cent. on the original agreement. Thus a village, with a deed of lease of £50, would have to pay £65 : one per cent. would be added for the allowance to the Nawaub's mother, one per cent. for the treasurer, one per cent. for the head of the police, one per cent. for the native collector, one per cent. for the Nawaub's birth-day, &c. &c. : so that, in later years, this incumbrance had become excessive, and was so severely felt, as to have ruined several of the more heavily assessed villages. In part though very inadequate set-off against these exactions, whenever the Nawaub travelled through his own territories, the women of the villages by which he passed used to mob him, until they obtained a considerable present ; a custom which, by the bye, I found particularly inconvenient when I first commenced my peregrinations. With me, however, it was luckily put a stop to by an awkward accident. One morning, as I was proceeding in great haste to visit a distant village, the scene of a boundary dispute, a crowd of women rushed out, at a sudden turn in the road, and one of them, seizing the horse's bridle, caused the animal, a spirited young Arab, to rear and throw me. The females screamed, and ran away in a fright, and had I not been followed by a horseman close behind me, who caught my horse for me, I should have been in a very disagreeable predicament.

Meanwhile, Mr. T——, who had been officiating as magistrate and collector at Goorgaun, was removed to the permanent charge of Dehlie, and I was placed in temporary management of the district of Goorgaun, retaining at the same time the political charge of the nabobship of Ferozepoor. In due time, however, orders were received from Government, conveying the expected sentence, the condemnation of Shumsodeen, as passed by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Allahabad, and confirmed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then officiating as Governor-General of India. It was, indeed, a most fortunate thing, not only for the civilians at Dehlie, but for all those Europeans who lived in the remoter provinces, and whose duty was constantly liable to bring them more or less into collision with these half-independent chiefs, that Sir Charles Metcalfe was at that time at the head of affairs in India ; for

there were not wanting men, high in the service amongst them—one of the most influential has since lost his life through the mismanagement of affairs in Cabool—who strongly advised the release of the Nawaub, and designated the proceedings as irregular, informal, and deficient in certain legal technicalities, which they maintained were sufficient to vitiate the trial. Sir Charles had, however, others on whose judgment he had greater reliance; and, with a thorough knowledge of every bearing of the subject himself, overruled the objections, and ordered Shumsooddeen for execution. Mogul Baig, the father-in-law, was released, as were such other prisoners as had been kept under surveillance pending the final decision of Government.

The Nawaub Shumsooddeen, who had been hitherto treated as became his rank, surrounded with such few servants as he had placed most confidence in, and guarded in the house usually occupied by the officer in charge of the city-gate guards, was transferred to a place of confinement where he would have less chance of escape, and he was duly apprized of the orders received respecting him, and the day on which the execution would take place.

Mogul Baig had a narrow escape of his life, for the special judge, Mr. Colvin, though he deemed the evidence not quite conclusive, was thoroughly impressed with his guilt, and none of the judges in the Central Court of Judicature would have acquitted him had they not had Mr. Colvin's recorded opinion of the insufficiency of the evidence against him. His residence in Dehlie was, however, rendered far from pleasant. The Hindoo inhabitants of the town did not scruple to testify their abhorrence of him; and the first time he ventured to appear in the public streets of Dehlie, he was instantly surrounded and followed by a troop of boys, who hooted him and assailed him with the epithets of "assassin" and "murderer," till he was fain to make a precipitate retreat to his own house, and he did not dare to make his appearance in public for many months afterwards.

It had been expected by many of the natives, and even by some Europeans, that Shumsooddeen would make a partial confession before the day of the execution. But the morning came, and he exhibited no tendency that way, nor any weakness unbecoming the station he formerly held. A confession could, indeed, have done him no good; he could not possibly have expected his life to have been spared; while, on the other hand, any disclosure which hope or fear might have induced him to make must have involved numerous dependants, who had proved themselves most faithful to him, and who were for the present apparently safe from molestation, not having been implicated by the evidence which had been collected during this investigation.

It was deemed most expedient that the execution of Shumsooddeen should take place immediately outside the walls of the city, on the glacis, where an open spot was chosen, whence the house which Mr. William Fraser had occupied was distinctly visible; and, in order to exclude all possibility of rescue in the extreme hour, two regiments of native infantry were marched out from the neighbouring cantonments

of Rajpooarah, to serve as well for protection against attempted violence as to mark the importance of the measure resolved on. Part of the arillery was in position, likewise, and every precaution was taken by the civil authorities, by the disposal of the police force, to prevent any disturbance on the part of the Mussulman population of the city. These persons were much interested in the fate of the chief, whose retainers and servants were either themselves inhabitants of the city, or closely connected with them by ties of relationship. It was, however, intended by Government that the execution should be most public, as proving to the population at large the steady, unswerving operation of justice, even to the public death, by the hands of the executioner, of a man of the highest rank amongst them. But, unfortunately, in consequence of a message delivered by one of the magistrate's attendants, all the city gates were kept closed in the morning, so that few of the inhabitants of the town witnessed the solemn and awful proceeding.

Shumsoodeen mounted the scaffold with firmness, and, after a few short prayers, turned himself round, as if to take a last view of the persons and objects about him. A slight shudder was observable as he faced the house in which his late victim had resided. He made some objection when he found that the executioner was a man belonging to the lowest caste of natives, whose touch is considered polluting, as well by Mahomedans as Hindoos; but, this being overruled, he submitted at once. The execution was then completed, and his body was delivered to his relations for interment.

Shumsoodeen had only attained the age of twenty-six; he was a handsome man, addicted to sensual pleasures, and had been lavish of his money among certain classes in the city of Dehlie. They, of course, regretted his loss, and as he had expiated his crime with his life, they saw little harm in shewing their grief by resorting to his grave and ornamenting it with garlands. But this being represented to the civil authorities as unequivocal proof of the disaffection of the Mussulman population, it was discountenanced by the police, and in a short time discontinued.

Thus sunk into oblivion the head of the house of Ferozepoor. The widow of Shumsoodeen was provided for by the sale of the personal effects; elephants, horses, furniture, and trappings of every kind were made over to her, and, being sold by public outcry, realized a very large sum, which, with the money that the Nawaub had already paid her, in liquidation of the settlements made at the time of his marriage, enabled her, within a decent time after the death of her first husband, to marry again.

The family of Ahmud Buksh, by his second wife, claimed the reversion of the estate from Government. Ameenooden, half-brother of Shumsoodeen, had expected that, on the conviction and execution of his brother, he would be allowed quietly to succeed to the titles and property of his father. But in this he was disappointed. The fief of Loharoo, which Ahmud Buksh had acquired from the Alwur Rajah,

and was not the gift of the British Government, was made over to Ameenooddeen, his mother, and sisters. This was a most ample provision, much more, indeed, than they had received under orders of Government from Shumsoodeen. Regarding the jaghire of Ferozepoor, which had been given by the British Government to Ahmud Buksh Khan, as a reward for the good services rendered by him, I was immediately instructed that Government had determined on annexing it to the district of Goorgaun, and desired to carry their orders into effect. This was done by issuing the usual proclamations.

It was with regret that, on divesting myself of all political functions, I was obliged to take leave of Peer Khan. He returned with the escort of irregular horse to the Hansie cantonment, where the principal part of Skinner's horse was quartered; nor was I destined ever to see him again. The good old man, who had weathered all the inconveniences and exposure attending on the sudden occupation of the country, during the hottest part of the year and the rains, had hardly settled down to the quiet and ease of a cantonment life, before he was attacked with repeated accesses of fever and ague, under which he at length sunk. It was with great sorrow and regret that I heard of the decease of my old companion, of whom I had seen so much, and whom I had learnt to esteem on a close acquaintance. I had often talked to him of the unhealthiness of Hansie, and advised him to remain a while at his native town, which was not far distant, instead of at once returning to his duties; but Peer Khan had two wives, both living at Hansie, and these he said he could not well manage to remove from their present abode at a short notice; and, being naturally anxious to revisit them after so long an absence (for at the time of his leaving Hansie he had not anticipated being away beyond a few weeks), he disregarded all prudent suggestions. Peer Khan died most deservedly regretted by his officers and by his comrades.

My other friend, Rung Rao, did not return again to Goorgaun while I remained there. He had gained great favour in the eyes of all the European authorities, was much petted by them, and was in great danger of being spoilt. When it had been determined what native officers had entitled themselves to reward by their conduct during the trial from Government, Rung Rao found himself included in the number, and received public testimonials of approval from Mr. Colvin, Mr. Metcalfe, and the magistrate of Dehlie, and was shortly afterwards appointed temporarily to one of the most important police trusts which are filled by natives within the districts attached to the Dehlie commissionership. He continued to rise in the estimation of his superiors, and about a year after the events of which I have just concluded the narrative, and shortly after my being transferred to another neighbouring district, he filled the most important and best-paid local collectorship, or tehseeldaree, which was in the gift of the authorities at Dehlie. He was not, however, destined long to enjoy the fruits of his exertions, for, after conducting, with great credit to himself and his new patron, the duties of this high situation for two years, he was suddenly seized with

cholera, brought on by an over-indulgence in melons, and died so suddenly as to induce a suspicion that he had been poisoned. As the intrepid manner in which he had behaved on several trying occasions had procured him many enemies, his body was properly examined, to remove all doubts on this point. No signs of symptoms of poison were, however, discovered.

The only other character which I have to mention is Unia, the chief witness in the trial of Shumsoodeen. He had been selected by the Nawaub's unscrupulous agent, Kereem Khan, as being the most suited to assist him in his dangerous enterprise. The reputation he enjoyed, not only in his own village, but throughout the district, had been gained by a succession of hardy exploits in cattle-reiving, and other lawless nocturnal occupations. The fright he had undergone in evading the pursuit of our emissaries, and his wanderings to escape their search, during so many months, proved sufficient to keep him at home for a long time after his return; and as he possessed considerable portions of land in his native village, to the improvement and tillage of which he now devoted himself, it was thought that he had become a reformed character, and had abandoned his former evil ways. The succeeding year, however, was destined to put him to a severer test than he was able to resist.

The year 1837 brought with it one of the most dreadful famines that have ever afflicted the upper provinces of India. In many parts, the soil, unmoistened by the usual rain, continued parched and baked so hard as to preclude all possibility of using the plough; in others, a scanty supply of moisture enabled the husbandman to waste his energies and his resources in preparing the soil and sowing the seed, but in no instance did the return reimburse the cultivators, and the autumnal supply of coarse grains, which are the usual food of the lower classes in Upper India, entirely failed. The price of corn rose to an incredible amount as soon as the failure of the crops appeared inevitable; and long before the usual harvest time, the people, unable to procure a sufficiency of food, were subsisting chiefly on a kind of grass seed, which was produced that year much more abundantly than was ever before known within the memory of man. So abundant was this grass, that many families were enabled to collect and prepare more of the seed than sufficed for their own nourishment, and it was sold in the bazaar among other articles of food. The supply was, however, temporary, and very soon exhausted; every half-rotten, hoarded store-pit of grain which could be discovered was successively opened and eagerly purchased by the poorer classes, who could not afford to consume grain of a better description. Thousands left their villages in search of work and food, and few of them ever returned. Government opened its resources most freely at every civil station in providing food for those who chose to work for their subsistence, and much was done by private subscriptions; but all this was very insufficient where millions were dying of hunger. To add to the scenes of horror, the cholera broke out among the

enfeebled survivors, and swept away many of those whom good fortune or good management had enabled to surmount the first calamity.

In this state of things, it was not to be supposed that a man so expert in helping himself to other men's property as Unia was known to be, would remain content at home. His name was connected on several occasions with well-planned and well-executed robberies; but for some months, if really engaged in these illegal doings, he managed to escape the vigilance of the police. His turn, however, came at last. The house of a wealthy merchant was broken into by digging through the wall one night, and its contents plundered; but the robbery being discovered sooner than had been expected, and an alarm being raised, the thieves were successfully traced to Unia's village, and part of the stolen property was either found in his house or traced to his hands. Unia was brought to trial, and convicted; and when I left India, he was still in gaol, completing his term of laborious imprisonment.

I have now finished the detail of the rise and fall of the house of Ahmud Buksh; and the events which have been rapidly sketched suggest serious doubts respecting the soundness of the policy which has created half-independent chieftains of this character in different parts of India. There can be no objection to rewarding personally the services of tried men who have done Government good and trusty service; whose talents have raised them to an eminence among their fellows, and who have in their youth gained experience of the world in adversity. Such men know the value of the reward they receive, and are worthy of it; but in the next generation, at whose command shall we find those resources placed, which can as readily be turned against us as used in our favour? In most instances, the son or nephew of the old soldier has been nursed in the lap of luxury, surrounded by sycophants and flatterers, who have done their best to persuade him that he can do no wrong. Uneducated, except in as far as scrawling, in indifferent penmanship, a very ungrammatical letter; ignorant of all European knowledge, he finds himself, on the death of his parent or uncle, in possession of almost unlimited authority, and thwarted only when he comes in contact with the British functionaries attached to the districts surrounding his own domain. He naturally acquires a great dislike to the English personally; while he is induced to suppose, by the language of his dependants and followers, that with the power and means at his command, he could easily acquire complete independence, and greater extent of territory, were he only free from the trammels in which the British Government holds him. These notions are so seductive and pleasing, that they are generally readily entertained, more especially among the Mussulman chiefs, and in those parts of the country where the people are quiet, for where the turbulence of their subjects makes them feel their own weakness, reflection must follow; and being unfitted by their education and habits for any long continuance of activity, they are ready to fall back upon assistance which is always offered to relieve them, lest local and partial disturbances should extend, and become too

serious to be easily put down. Instead, then, of these jaghiredars affording any additional strength to our Government in time of need or reverse, I am of opinion that they would prove a source of weakness. Against an external enemy, the ill-disciplined contingents of horse which they could supply would be of little avail, and they would on this account be chiefly employed to aid the local police of our own provinces. Again; were the apprehended danger that of internal discontent and general rising of the inhabitants, experience has taught us that the imperfect control which native rulers hold over the influential men in their own domains, has always caused disturbances to arise first in their territories, from whence they gradually spread into our own. Such has been the case in Rohilkund, in the Cole country, and latterly in Bundelund, which, by the last accounts from India, appears hardly yet effectually restored to tranquillity.

GHAZEL OF HAFIZ.

ما رختيم و تو داني و دل غر خور ما &c.

WE are parted, my loved one! severe was the blow:
No portion is left me save anguish and woe.
Each day brings fresh sorrow; whatever I see
Reminds me of happier moments with thee!
Oh whilst I am praying, at close of the day,
Do thou the same moment forget not to pray,
That still may our bosoms in unison beat,
And our prayers meet above at the Deity's feet!
Though the world should assail us with slanderous tongue,
The Almighty will guard us from insult and wrong.
Though the nations should join from the East to the West,
Thy image shall never be torn from my breast.
Little thought I, whilst hours so delightfully pass'd,
How soon a dark cloud would the sky overcast;
How soon destiny, giving a loose to her wrath,
Would snatch the short bliss she had thrown in my path!
How slowly and sadly the moments now move,
While thus I am severed from her I most love,
With tears in my eyes, with a flame in my brain,
And a torrent of fire that consumes every vein!
Oh! when will the light of that morning appear
That shall bring thy loved accents once more to my ear;
That morning, the brightest the sky ever bred,
When the lovers shall meet, and their griefs shall have fled?
Come, HAFIZ, and sing, for though sorrow oppress,
Thy soul-stealing verses still charm us no less,
And the leaves of the rose, as thou tellest thy flame,
At the leaves of thy volume are covered with shame!

GAYANGOS' MOHAMMEDAN HISTORY OF SPAIN.*

In the last Series of this *Journal* (vol. xxxiv. p. 18), we noticed the first volume of this work, which is now brought to a close. It would be most unjust to mete out to Señor de Gayangos praise with a sparing hand for having merely accomplished so laborious an undertaking. He has, however, not only performed the task, but he has done it with singular ability. The style of the translation is pure and perspicuous, and remarkably free from the orientalisms which infect almost all versions from the Arabic. This is, perhaps, a subordinate consideration, but it is not immaterial when viewed as a means of recommending the work to general readers,—a work, as we before remarked, intrinsically calculated to awaken curiosity, being a history of Mohammedan Spain, written by a Mohammedan and translated by a Spaniard.

The work consists of judicious selections from the great history of Makkari, elucidated by a vast body of Notes and Illustrations, many of which are derived from sources opened to the translator since the publication of his first volume; amongst others, a history of 'Abdullah, seventh Sultan of Cordova, of the dynasty of Ummeyyah, by the celebrated Ibnu Hayyán, to which precious work he had access in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and whence he has been able to supply a deficiency in Makkari, whose account of the reign of 'Abdullah is comprised in a few lines. Various other original works have been examined and made to yield important contributions towards completing the deficiencies of that writer.

Great interest attaches to the history of the Spanish Mohammedans, from its connection with European as well as Arabian history. The romantic character of that era, and the heroic traits which distinguish many of the Moorish princes, spread an attractive hue over the annals of that people which does not belong to Eastern history in general. We trust that Señor Gayangos will not find the British nation slow to appreciate the valuable gift which, by the aid of the Oriental Translation Fund, he has conferred upon our literature.

The work is extremely well printed, and will make a very handsome library book.

* The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min Ghoem-i-Andalusi-r-Ratib wa Tārīkh Liadnu-d-din Ibn-i-L-Khattib*, by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, a native of Telemeán. Translated from the copies in the library of the British Museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Spain. By PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS, late Professor of Arabic in the Athenæum of Madrid. Two Vols. Vol. II. Printed for the Oriental Translation Committee. Wm. H. Allen & Co.

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD HAND.

BY CAPTAIN BELLEW.

CHAPTER VII.

IN my last chapter, I left Colonel Bobbery and his gallant officers overwhelmed with satisfaction at the handsome eulogiums passed upon them by General Sabretache, and hinted at the colonel's determination to treat the general and staff to what, in India and elsewhere, is vulgarly denominated a "blow-out."

A "Station Party," at the time to which I am referring, was an important affair, particularly if it took place in connection with an inspection or review. Ladies were invited, and a general and pleasing excitement was occasioned by the coming event, except amongst the sheep, the Chittagong fowls, and the turkeys, with whom it was *guerro a cuchello*. If given in honour of any particular "big wig's" arrival, the ordinary Indian feeling of hospitality was further quickened by a natural desire on the part of the giver to astonish the great man, and give him a favourable impression of the station and its inhabitants. Colonel Bobbery's preparations to do honour to the general were on the grand scale. He took much pride in his style of living; and, though half a native in his habits himself, he was still a well-read man, and, when he chose, a witty and agreeable companion.

At the hour appointed, gigs, palaukens, flambeaux, and equestrians, poured into the colonel's compound. The verandah was filled with servants and orderlies, and many a sparkling hookah was there laid out in readiness for the moment when its owner would require its soothing fumes. At some distance from the house, the *Buwarcha Kanch*, or cook-room, displayed signs of its being the scene of unwonted operations; a formidable posse of servants, appertaining to the guests, loitered about the door, some passing the friendly kalioun, others tendering their aid to dish up the dinner. Fires blazed in many a choolah, and a lurid light within gave glimpses of reeking musaulchies or scullions, invested with the solitary rag, straining the soup, decorating the ham (which no man was ambitious to carry) with ruffles and cloves, or marshalling the ginger-bread, kismisses, and other dainties of the dessert. Were it as seemly to record the histories of the slain at a feast as in a fight, I might here, in the Homeric strain, recount the history of many who bled on this occasion:—First, sing, oh muse! I should begin, of a sheep that died, the fattest ever bred in Muttra; on the raviny banks of the silvery Jumna, with "daisies pied, he drew his early breath."—Ramtonoo was the swain who daily led him forth to crop the scanty herbage—Ramtonoo, gentlest of Bheereewalahs,* whose sire, the aged Buxoo, there pastured his flocks before him. At length Fyzoolah saw him, kansamah to the mighty Bobbery, and straightway on gram his slender carcase fattened. Eight months he munched the pleasant grain; the ninth he died, to grace the festive board! Four noble specimens of

* Shepherds.

the common *Gallus** yielded up their breath—huge was their size, ample their breasts, and bare their callow necks. Where ocean laves the coasts of Chittagong, for oysters famed, and e'en for nodding palms, they burst the tender shell, and hither, far imported, came to grace the colonel's feast! A fattened steer poured out its generous blood, a Gynee† hight. On vast Himala's craggy sides, midst sounding torrents and eternal snows, he cropped the tender herbage, till, at length, driven by the sordid herdsman from his wilds, and to the stranger sold, his severed members smoked on Bobbery's board. An obscure host of ducks, and teal, and quail, and tender pigeons for the savoury pie, swelled the huge carnage, to complete the feast, and furnish forth the gastronomic pomp—but truce to the epic or poetic strain.

By six o'clock the colonel's reception room was crowded with all the beauty and fashion of the station. There was Colonel Hobblewell and Mrs. Hobblewell, and the Misses Hobblewell, the belles of the station, just arrived, and whose fresh English complexions and elegant *tournure* had caused many a youthful heart to flutter; for in India beauty really bears a premium; though it was given out, on undoubted authority, that nothing under a brigade-major need be at the trouble of touching the "tips of their honourable little fingers." Then there was Miss Lucretia Evergreen, a maiden of two score and ten, the "light of other days," somewhat ungainly in form and feature, but with a heart "open as day to melting charity." A black velvet ribbon and small buckle encircled her bony throat, and mittens half-concealed hands the anatomical structure of which would otherwise have been painfully apparent. Miss Evergreen was always extremely civil to Lieutenant Flannagan, smiled blandly at his eccentricities, and addressed to him many a pleasant speech; but I blush for the honour of the sod, whilst I record that Pat was always short and suspicious with her, and never reciprocated her civilities; for we had all rallied him into a belief that the maiden had a design upon him, though certainly nothing could have been more remote from the good lady's intentions. I need not further particularize the guests than to observe that we had infantry, cavalry, and artillery officers, in abundance, fine gentlemanly fellows for the most part, with many of their wives, and a fair sprinkling of spinsters. The male guests all came, of course, in "full fig," out of compliment to the general (a tribute most reluctantly paid in the hot climate of India), and great was the clank of sabres, and sabretaches, until the general, in the most condescending manner imaginable, begged they would divest themselves of these incumbrances, and exchange their cloth coats for the less becoming though more comfortable casing of white jackets. A speedy move and metamorphosis was the result of the permission; for, though somewhat late in the season, the weather was oppressively hot, and each gentleman had brought his lighter habiliments, in full anticipation of the courtesy granted.

At length, the "Roast Beef of Old England" thundered forth from

* Chittagong fowls, remarkable for their great size and their flavour.

† Gynee, a diminutive hill bullock, in great request, the beef very excellent.

the band of the Tullubmajoods. The gentlemen presented their arms to the ladies ; the general led the way with Mrs. Hobbleswell, and, after a little confusion in selecting their places, all were soon seated, and the clash of dinner began. The hall rang with the din of trumpet and trombone ; the claret corks popped, the kidmutgars hustled to and fro, and the foaming ale, India's nectar, mantled in the glasses ; the young hands drank to each other with the glee and rapidity of those who know "there's nothing to pay," and the dinner sped merrily.

A *Burra Khanah* has been so often described, and really great dinners are essentially so much alike all the world over, that I shall inflict on the reader no more details of this, than to observe, that the general sat on the right of the colonel, and ate, and drank, and talked, with a cheerfulness and *bonhomie* that were "quite refreshing ;" praised the colonel's mutton, eulogized the sepoy, extolled the country, told some interesting stories of the Peninsular war, and drank wine with almost every officer within his reach. Toasts, songs, and speeches, as usual, followed the removal of the cloth ; and some choice spirits, after the ladies had retired, kept it up till morning. The last sounds heard about sunrise, in the vicinity of the colonel's bungalow, were the stertorous breathings of Lieutenant Flaunagan, as his heavy load of flesh was borne homewards, in his palankeen, by his bearers—but it is time I should turn to other subjects.

The readers of the *Memoirs of a Griffin* will probably remember my friend and schoolfellow Tom Rattleton, with whom I parted in the early days of my Indian career, and shortly before his marriage. In those pages I endeavoured to give a slight idea of my friend, than whom a more gentlemanly, light-hearted, and generous fellow never existed : he possessed, indeed, every quality of mind and person calculated to win admiration and esteem, saving one—he lacked prudence ; and that was the rock on which he split. The warmth of his temperament led him into an early and ill-considered marriage ; and though the object of his choice reflected credit upon it, still marriage brought with it cares, troubles, and expenses, against which neither his circumstances nor his previous experience of life enabled him to contend. Tom was by nature generous, and by principle disposed to be just and honourable ; but his kindly impulses carried him away, and it was not possible for him to be both at the same time. A friend never passed Tom's station but he pounced on him with hospitable avidity, made him stay a week, or indeed as long as he could detain him, always gave him the best to be had in cantonments, and sent him off with stores replenished, in high good-humour with his treatment, and a full determination to recommend Tom to any friends who might be coming up—thus insuring him a succession of "benefits." Tom's purse, though scantily supplied, was always open to a friend in need, and his generosity was sometimes taken advantage of. The result of all this can be easily imagined—debts rapidly accumulated—he was harassed to pay them ; his temper became somewhat soured and cynical, though gleams of his noble nature would

frequently burst through the clouds that obscured it, shewing what he might have been if the guiding and restraining hand of older caution had led him through the earlier and dangerous passages of youth, and had he possessed that one enviable quality, prudence.

I had not heard a word of Rattleton for a long time, nor had I written to him, when one morning the dawd brought me a letter, in which I soon recognized his well-known hand. The letter was, as usual, characteristic of the man, whose naturally mirthful spirit no trials could wholly subdue; but still it was easy to discover through its tone of facetiousness the bitterness of spirit which preyed upon his peace. I here give the letter: it will appear that, from my long silence, Tom had thought proper to assume that I had descended on a visit to Pluto's gloomy realms of night.

Gurramabad, Sept. 18—.

Most friendly Ghost,

In thus addressing you, I humbly crave your indulgence, for, being ignorant of the etiquette observed in the shades below, I know not whether there may not be some impropriety in an undecomposed being like myself corresponding with a spirit of the nether world. Should I err in writing to the manes of a departed friend, I have no doubt but that I shall meet with as much forbearance from the inhabitants of the infernal regions as from those of the world in which I dwell. It is a laudable thirst for information which induces me to take up my pen; and as we are totally ignorant of the state of civilization in his Plutonic Majesty's dominions, I trust, oh Ghost! you will *at length* reply in language that an earthly being can comprehend to all my inquiries. I must have a journal from the very hour in which cold death closed your eyes down to the time when you were presented to the court of Pluto. How did you feel in dying? Did *Pallida Mors* inflict much suffering on you, or merely place his icy fingers on your eyelids? But what puzzles me amazingly, oh! most benign Ghost, is how a dead man finds out the high road to Tartarus; because I think I remember, in some books we use to read together at Thwackum's, written by certain crabbed old Greeks and Romans, that Pluto opened a new road to his dominions when he eloped with her present Majesty, Proserpina. She, previous to that notable abduction, was, as you are aware, reaping in a field in Sicily, with her mother Ceres, when he became enamoured of her, and immediately carried her off in his coach-and-four. To prevent the friends of Miss Ceres tracing her, he stamped on the ground near Lake Cyane (the new terminus), when a passage, or to speak in the language of earthly artists, a tunnel, opened, which led down to his seat of government. Now, what I want to know is, how you travelled from this country to Lake Cyane in Sicily, because I am convinced no mortal captain of a free trader would ever, my dear Ghost, have taken you as a passenger to Europe, when he knew the errand you were on, or as a cadaverous bale of goods consigned to Pluto and Company. Do tell me, is the climate with you as bad as we find it here in the "hot winds?" and are tattles in vogue? if so, I presume they are something in the "*kus kus*" way. What kind of person is Queen Proserpina? does she act pretty much on her own judgment, or is she led by the nose by the ministers of Pluto? I imagine her to be something like Mrs. ———, whom we both once knew. By the bye, you must have had great trouble in crossing the Styx (which my imagination paints as a good deal resembling Tolly's Nullah at Calcutta), as

Charon is not permitted to take any but those duly qualified in his boat; but, perhaps, you took the riches you amassed in India with you, and were able to bribe him. You must have found him a cautious old chap, for he was once imprisoned twelve months, you recollect, for allowing Hercules to cross the Stygian Lake without presenting the regular passport of a golden branch. You probably found a few twigs of the rupee tree answer your purpose as well. Is Pluto a good king? or does he govern his territories in the infamous manner in which the Vuzeer of Oude, our neighbour here, governs his, or as the English conduct affairs in some of the countries subject to their rule? Are monopolies permitted, and do as much peace and good-will reign amongst submundane sects, as amongst those we have here above-ground? Have you Generals in the Tartarean forces, who don't understand a word of the language of their men, and regiments without officers? Do folks go to law with you and pay £10 in order to recover £5? Are the claims of old and faithful public servants treated with contempt? Are the promises of princes as much to be relied on with you as with us? and does interest instead of merit gain the loaves and fishes? In regard to professions, are you put into situations in the same line as those you pursued in this world? Are there any Half-Batta stations? How many "infallibles" have you, each differing from the other, and does a knowledge of politics and the government of empires come intuitively, as amongst us? Moreover, are the conductors of the Tartarean daily press as affectionate, incorruptible, and all-knowing as here? Have you any Hindoos and Mussulmauns, and are they the same sort of brutes you found them in Hindoostan? But, above all, do not omit to inform me whether you are obliged to marry. I suspect there must be some such state below; and the Hindoos, knowing this, make their widows burn, that they may be united as ghosts; for however bad and troublesome they found them on earth, yet, having ascertained the way to manage them, conceive it safer probably to keep their old *Jooros*, i.e. *Hindu wives*, than to form new alliances with ladies of low caste disembodied. I shall trouble you, poor Ghost, with but one query more: Is there any such misery in Tartarus as debt? on earth it is so great a calamity as to render existence a pest, a torment. Oh, my dear Ghost, what would I not give to be free from it! I am a slave in every sense of the word, and I really think if I had not others dependent upon me for support, I should be tempted to quit it. Marriage with money may be all very well, but without, it is a burthen. As Burns, that truthful and vigorous bard, sings,

" Oh that I had ne'er been married,
I would never had nae care;
Now I've gotten wife and bairn
They cry Crowdie! ever mair."

When I last wrote to you, you were on this earth, and rapidly acquiring a knowledge of that exquisite Malthusian art, one of the ends of which is to reduce a redundant population; and now you form one of Pluto's shadowy guards. Adieu, friendly Ghost; if you visit once more the "glimpses of the moon" let me be present at the "unfolding of your tale."

Your affectionate friend and schoolfellow,

TOM RATTLETON.

In a P.S., Tom condescended to stoop from the heroics, and inform me that he was then at a station near Cawnpore, and had some expectation of joining the army at Agra; in which case, we should have a chance of

meeting. Tom's anticipations were not realized, and it was long ere the "friendly ghost" had an opportunity of shaking him by the hand. Poor Tom! I often think of him now, and when I reflect on his many excellencies, his generous heart and superior talents, and then on his untimely fate—for such his was—I am "puzzled," to say the least of it. I have seen the hypocrite, the dull, the obtuse, the common-place, the impudent, the unfeeling, the base, the worldly-minded, and the un-intellectual, all thriving like "green bay-trees," and I have wondered why such men as Tom died broken-hearted and neglected; and at last I've thought that the world was too bad for them, and that they were as "good seed" that fell amongst "thorns."

At length appeared the order for the assembling of the grand army under Lord Hastings, as also that of several others destined to co-operate in the great "*battu*" against the Pindarries, who were to be enclosed by a simultaneous movement of troops from all quarters towards the centre of India. The plan was worthy of the noble mind that conceived it, and was eminently successful. We, the Tullubmajoods, were directed to proceed to Agra, and join the force under General (afterwards Sir Rufane) Donkin. A soldier's trade is "fighting," and the prospect of promotion and prize-money constitutes his highest encouragement. In India, as doubtless everywhere else where large standing armies are kept on foot, the chance of a war is hailed with delight, and the justice or expediency of the quarrel is, I fear, seldom much considered. It has often struck me, as a subject of regret, that no attempt has been made on a great scale to blend some civil occupation with the military profession, which, while it tended to diminish the appetite for war, and to unite more completely the aims of the soldier and the citizen, would still not impair the efficiency of the former when called upon, as a *dernier resort*, to decide questions, which every other means had failed to settle. Such a union, if it could be effected, would doubtless hasten the approach of that happy time which the philanthropist anticipates, when the clang of contention shall be heard no more; when the beautiful scenes of earth, the flowery dale and the cultured field, shall be vocal with the songs of love and peace; and science, and the useful and refining arts of life, shall shed in full measure their benign influence over mankind. Suppose a regiment to some extent to be made a sort of self-supporting community, the men to be employed principally in the cultivation of waste land (in which the cantonment, where possible, should be placed), as in other necessary trades, &c., the officers in instructing and superintending them on the most approved principles of science, as a portion of their duty, whilst they themselves should, by daily attendance on lectures, &c., to be given in a school of science, attached to each cantonment, add continually to their various stores of information. In this way, military stations would become so many centres, from whence knowledge would radiate around to instruct and improve the inhabitants of the country; thus converting at best a necessary evil into a positive blessing. All this need not preclude the devotion of a sufficient portion

of time to military duties, so as still to enable the civilized man to retain all his superiority over barbarous courage and mere brute force—a superiority which, for the interests of humanity, civilization must preserve till barbarism ceases to exist. But as the art of destruction improved, civilization would grow strong beneath its protection, and the necessity for its employment would constantly diminish ; for there can be no doubt that large bodies of men, whose occupation is purely war, or the preparation for it, will be ever endeavouring to create work for themselves. The appetite for military glory is contagious ; the highest minds are not proof against it ; hence it spreads from armies to those who control their movements, and works through the whole body politic, producing periodical paroxysms, from which flow spoliation, massacres, debts, taxes, national hatreds, &c. &c., and the undue value ascribed to animal courage, which leads to its prostitution, and prevents the development of the gentler and kindlier feelings ; such things being poorly compensated by tattered flags, the “bubble reputation,” and details of successful battles and sieges. Our sepoys are, I believe, 80 out of 100, agriculturists, and would find in husbandry a pleasing and congenial occupation ; but, were it otherwise, as they take wine, &c., as a medicine, which otherwise they would rather die than touch, so with management they may be brought to perform almost any duty required of them in the capacity of British soldiers. This plan, both for Europeans and natives, might be largely developed, and the objections which I know would be urged against it refuted ; but this is not the place. I feel satisfied in my own mind that there is nothing visionary or utopian in it, and it would take a good deal of side-shaking to laugh me out of my conviction. By its adoption, as I have before observed, without endangering our security, it would advance civilization, and hasten the approach of the reign of peace.

Muttra is three or four marches from the renowned city of Agra, the route lying parallel to the Jumna. The latter is approached through a wide expanse of ruins from Secundra. Here, on the road-side, stands the tomb of the great and enlightened Akbar, the Alfred of his time, which on this occasion I visited, and minutely examined. It is often extremely difficult to analyze the sources of our pleasures ; and I am at a loss to know whether the gratification I experienced, in contemplating the mausolea and religious buildings of the Mahomedans, originated most in the beauty of their forms, the associations which attach to them, or the picturesque spots in which they are so often to be found. I always, however, felt an indescribable delight as I gazed on the swelling dome, the filagree lattices, the horse-shoe arches, and the Persian and Arabic inscriptions of those Saracenic buildings. In India, and throughout the East, the larger and more lasting mausoleum of the prince or saint is frequently found amongst the ruins of the earlier and humbler monuments of the Kubberistan ; and a delicious tranquillity often reigns around them, broken only by the coo of the ring-doves, the flap of the “ruin-haunting” blue pigeon’s wing, as she

awakes the slumbering echoes of the dome, or the querulous cry of the kite, as, perched on the gilded *cullus*, he seems to chide the noontide rays. Near, perhaps, the aged fakeer, "the lonely war-der of the gate of death," with his peacock fan and tattered garments, sits beneath the tamarind's shade, and heightens the picturesque effect of those last silent homes of the great, the pious, or the beautiful. There is sometimes a touching simplicity in the inscriptions on Mahomedan tombs and religious edifices, at variance with the hyperbolical language which characterizes their writings and conversation. Grief and piety, when intense, are silent or brief, and brevity may be as much their "soul," as it is said to be that of wit. The simple word "Allah," the majestic name of God, inscribed in a circle or medallion, alone, and disdaining all the feeble accessories of language, strikes the mind with a force and awe well befitting the house of prayer, where it is often so placed as continually to meet the eye. To furnish an example of another kind: I forget the spot, but it is somewhere, I believe, in Scindiah's territories; there is a mausoleum erected over the remains of a sultana of surpassing goodness and beauty, the idol of her husband, one of the sovereigns of India, and the ornament of her time, who died young and prematurely. The tomb bears the simple inscription in Persian:—"Alas! Alas! Goonah, Begum!" Could a volume express more or so much?

The tomb of Akbar has been so often described, that I shall state merely that I was greatly impressed by its chaste elegance and beauty. It stands in a vast area, surrounded by lofty walls, entered by a magnificent gateway, adorned with scrolls from the *Koran*, shewing at the angles four white minarets, of a conical or sugar-loaf form, which have been broken off at different heights by, I believe, the shock of an earthquake. The tomb is of two or three stories, contains a noble sarcophagus, and exhibits exquisite specimens of lackered and open screen-work—the last, cut or perforated marble, resembles lace at a distance, and is exceedingly ornamental. I am surprised that this species of architectural decoration is not more employed in our buildings in England. It might be adopted in the Gothic and Elizabethan styles with great effect, and without impairing their general character, and that harmony with climate, outward objects, and associations, which should never be lost sight of: for I confess I am no friend to incongruous admixtures—Parthenons in manufacturing towns, domes amongst gable-ends, and Indian pagodas on the banks of frozen ponds, &c. &c. Some years after, when I visited the tomb of Akbar, it was undergoing a thorough repair by order of the Indian Government,—a measure highly to their honour, and which shews that, whilst constructing monuments more durable than those of brick and stone, in the shape of good laws and improved institutions, they are not unmindful of the preservation of those fine relics which have been bequeathed to them by their predecessors.

THE COURT AND COURTIERS OF LAHORE.

The following sketches of the principal Sikh sirdars, and personages who have rendered themselves conspicuous in the recent transactions at Lahore, by a writer who knew them personally, have appeared in the *Calcutta Star* :—

The general opinion which some intercourse induced me to form respecting the Sikh court was unfavourable. The sirdars were almost to a man grossly ignorant. They were with few exceptions given to gross sensuality, and their style and manners were not what would in the East be considered gentleman-like or in good taste. Lena Sing, recently put to death at Lahore, and Ajeet Sing, the arch-murderer, who has experienced a similar deserved fate, were the only two chiefs who professed any education. The former had a turn for mechanics and astronomy (on the Ptolomeian principle), and had some knowledge of the principles of gunnery. He was Runjeet's master of the ordnance, and had shewn considerable ingenuity in casting shells, adapting a carriage to howitzers, which fitted them for vertical fire, &c. &c. He was fond of talking on abstract subjects: he would, for instance, strenuously resist the doctrine of the earth's motion, and bring instances to support his argument, saying, "If the earth moves, and you are moving on its surface in a ship, the stick you throw into the water should move parallel with you, but it remains behind, therefore, &c." Ajeet Sing had, I believe, read some of the *Goolistan*, and on occasions when the *Spruch Sprecher*, "the sayer of fine sayings," of the court, Fuqueer Azeez-ood-deen, had talked himself hoarse or dry, this chief used in a clumsy way to "make the rose of friendship bloom in the garden of esteem, and connect the hearts of inclination with the chain of fidelity." War, women, hunting, money, power, drink and horses were the objects in life of nearly all these men; they talked and thought of nothing else: they knew nothing else, they cared for nothing else—except perhaps dress, in the art of which I must do them the justice to say they were profoundly versed, and highly accomplished. They always struck me, with some very few exceptions, as a set of savages with fine clothes on, and I often thought I could make as good a durbar out of an equal number of the Jaut villagers of the plains about them, after a very small amount of training. Their manners generally bespoke that freedom which is the result, not of frankness and confidence, but of coarseness and unculture. The soldier-like bearing and physical advantages of these men prepossessed at first sight, but I think no one who set steadily to a close observation of them could arrive at any conclusion essentially different from the one above sketched. On the question of national bravery, at one time attributed to the Sikhs, their admirers have been of late years undeceived; the Sikhs, like all men of all nations, are, on occasion, personally brave; but I can conceive no nation, compelled as the Sikhs are, to maintain a set of desperadoes (the Akalees) to head them in war, to be nationally brave. The insolence, violence, and extortion of the Akalees are unbounded, and the people who can submit to it in peace for the sake of their service in war-time must have strong reasons for admitting the necessity of the sufferance of these desperate men. Runjeet, on disciplining his troops, contrived to break up the larger masses of the Akalees, and to distribute them among the Ghorchurra levies of his army.

The Sikhs, as they have been, were coerced into order and union by the influence of one extraordinary man. His death has dissolved the sole bond that connected them; for, on the loss of his personal influence as a governing

power, the nation had nothing in the shape of law or established order upon which to fall back. The old confederacy of independent chiefs, the *Gooroomata*, or council of the nation, had all been swept away in the absolutism of Runjeet, and he was succeeded by Khuruk Sing, an idiot, and Shere Sing, a vulgar-minded sensualist.

This last-named person has been called by Captain Osborne "a fine, manly-looking fellow." He dressed well, rode well, and looked well on horseback; these, I think, were his only merits. His features bespoke the man. They were not unpleasing when he smiled, and many thought them handsome; but the eye expressed nothing but violence and imperiousness, and the form of the lower part of the face was expressive of the vilest sensuality. His manners affected ease, but were often marked by unbecoming freedom. He seemed little loved or cared for. His attendants and retainers were all of low grade, Hindostanees, or the yeomanry who filled the ranks of his Ghorchurras. His confidential servant and humble friend was a low Mussulman from Cawnpore, with the manners and style that these people pick up in a cantonment with European troops. This man termed himself, I think, "Adjutant," by way of distinctive title, and was fond of appearing in a cast-off full-dress lieutenant's uniform. Shere Sing never could have ruled but by sufferance, nor save as long as he consented to remain subject to the influence of Raja Dhyana Sing.

This remarkable man, whom I observe some writers call "effeminate," was the ablest by far of the Sikh Sirdars. He was the second brother of the three Chiefs of Jumboo, and served Runjeet Sing in the capacity of first minister. He was devotedly attached to his master, whom he treated with a degree of respect that was singular, and even affecting. While his son, Heera Sing, occupied a silver chair near the Maharaja, Dhyana Sing either stood, or sat on the ground, somewhat behind Runjeet, with his shield on his back, and his sword across his knee, like a soldier as he was. I never saw him without them. The shield was an ordinary one, of rhinoceros hide; the sword a plain close-handled tulwar. His dress was plain and manly, consisting of a green silk slightly quilted chupkun, except on state occasions, when he dressed very splendidly in armour. His features were highly intellectual and expressive, of a thoughtful cast, but bearing a look of strong determination; he seldom smiled, and when he did it was sadly; he spoke little, but always well and to the purpose. As may be supposed, he was shy and reserved with Europeans; but no one could be long with him without perceiving his superiority to those about him. He was about the middle height, well made, save in the singular deformity of a double thumb on both hands, from above the second joint. In his habits of business, he was indefatigable. Orders were given to wake him at all hours of the night in the event of important despatches arriving. I need hardly add that he was a happy exception at the Sikh Court as respects excess, nor that he was notorious for personal intrepidity. He was the sole man capable of ruling the Sikhs, had they been content to be ruled by any one. He must have been about forty-five or more when he was killed; Capt. Osborne makes him much too young.

His elder brother, Goolab Sing, is a heavy, sinister-looking man, who is said to have all his brother's determination with little of his talent. He betrayed the Sikh weakness for finery, by decking himself with a tasteless profusion of jewels. He was sulky and reserved to an excess with Europeans, whom he seemed to look upon with jealousy and dislike. He is notorious for the savage cruelty of his administration of the territories under him. As an instance, I may note that a British officer, travelling through part of them in 1839, arrived at a

village where one hundred of the inhabitants had recently been flayed alive for non-payment of all demands of revenue. Such is Sikh government in its simplicity. This man must exercise considerable weight in determining the future destinies of the Punjab.

The third brother, Soocheyt Sing, was, when I knew him, the D'Orsay of the Sikh durbar; he was an excessive fop, but certainly he dressed with infinite taste and splendour. This dressing seemed to be the business of his life. He is exceedingly handsome, but his features bespeak no intellect. What he was in intelligence could not be learned from any speech of his, for at the time I saw him he was suffering from some affection of the tongue, which rendered him almost dumb. He looked though as if he would have been garrulous, had the power been given him.

Ajeet Sing was the nephew of Uttur Sing, an old and influential chieftain; the old man was still alive when I was at the durbar. He was a violent anti-English partizan, and expressed his sentiments on the subject with bluntness and energy even in public durbar. Ajeet Sing professed, as has been noted, some literary accomplishments, and being a favourite with the Maharaja, and of his own blood, with prepossessing exterior and tolerable address, he was on several occasions put at the head of political missions, wherein the real agent was Fuqueer Azeez-ood-deen. He always struck me as having an infinite opinion of himself. The little useless knowledge he had, made him of some consequence among his ignorant countrymen, and he certainly conceived that he possessed talents for the conduct of public business, and in particular for diplomatic negotiation. His residence in Calcutta, after the death of Runjeet, as agent for the Ranee Chand Koonwur, will not have been forgotten; his diplomatic talents on that occasion being employed to no purpose, he re-ingratiated himself at the durbar, and his meddling conceited turn of mind made him doubtless an easy tool in the hands of those who sought to compass the downfall of Shere Sing. How he turned upon them we all know, and how he got his reward therefore.

Bhy Goormukh Sing, who is said to have instigated Ajeet Sing to the murder of Dhyan Sing, was with Bhy Ram Sing supposed, when I knew the durbar, to have a good deal of influence with Runjeet, as respects the internal management of the country. He was a great intriguer about the court, but rarely appeared in foreign affairs. He was always supposed to be jealous of the influence of the minister with his master. The instigation to the murder is thus easily accounted for.

Lena Sing was the Vauban of the Punjaub. He was in person and manners one of the most gentlemanlike Sikhs I have known. He was dignified and quiet in his demeanour; he expressed himself clearly and concisely, and was undoubtedly highest among the sirdars in the estimation of Runjeet, after the minister. He was not, however, I think, much employed out of his own departments, save in complimentary missions. There was a jealousy between the minister and him, which accounts for his siding with Ajeet Sing.

One of the ablest men in the Punjaub, and one of the most discreet of those whom I met with, always excepting the minister,—was Misser Belee Ram, the treasurer of the state. He is now, I believe, governor of Govindgurh, or stationed there in charge of the treasury. His name I observe does not appear in the accounts of the recent troubles. On each previous change of government, he has contrived to hold his own with all parties ultimately, although for a time disgraced and in danger. He is much respected by all persons, and was a confidential officer of Runjeet's.

There are many names of men who at the time when I knew the *darbar* were influential about it, which do not appear in connection with recent events; General Tej Sing, titular commander-in-chief of the disciplined troops— an able and expert tactician, is now governor of Peshawur; he never possessed much political influence. General Futteh Sing Man, Urjun Sing, son of Hurree Sing, who was killed at Jumrood, the last but two of Runjeet's old companions in arms, Mungul Sing, Bhoop Sing, Sham Sing, Labha Sing, Baba Maha Sing, and a host more. I have no description to give of them personally.

Heera Sing is not ill described among the distinguished Sikhs noted in Captain Osborne's book. He was though in appearance more like a Delhi *bunkur* (beau) than a Sikh. He looked as unlike as well could be his father's son in manners, dress, and style; but there was a strong family likeness of feature between them. He was undoubtedly of superior intelligence. Under the cloak of petulance and frivolity he concealed much shrewdness, and his confident manners and license of tongue enabled him to say much that had serious meaning in a tone of careless indifference. His father no doubt depended much upon him, and he was early schooled under the most able masters of the East in such science as with them passed for the science of government. He has been thrown, at the age of barely three and twenty, into a position of singular difficulty; whether he can prove equal to its exigencies remains for time to shew.

Fuqeer Uzceez ood-deen, noted by Capt. Osborne among the Sikh "chiefs," is a native of a small town, I think he told me, in the territory of the Raja of Patiala. He took service at a very early period with Runjeet Sing, as his *hukeem* or physician, and as his private secretary. He was in truth little more than a barber-surgeon, and report says that he was originally solely professor of the humbler of these two professions. As early as 1809, he was employed confidentially in carrying on negotiations with Sir Charles Metcalfe. This, of course, vitiates Capt. Osborne's estimate of his age. He must be now upwards of sixty years old. The sketch given of him in Capt. O.'s book is not unlike; though the eye is a little too large, and has too placid an expression. However obscure may be his origin, this remarkable man has played a distinguished part in the affairs of the Punjab for the last thirty years, adding astrology to his knowledge of quack salving. He is possessed of considerable literary accomplishments, is well read in Persian history and poetry, is a good Arabic scholar, and fond of collecting manuscripts, in which he is said to drive a private trade. The expression of his countenance is remarkably, though not unpleasantly, astucious; his features still handsome; in stature he is short; in figure undignified. He is one of the most agreeable men I ever met with, when not talking for a *direct* object (his talk is never objectless); he is full of anecdote, and of quaint and pithy sayings, such as the apologues of eastern wisdom abound with; they are, he says, "distiches" and "couplets," but as I rarely heard him quote an authority, I suspect these are frequently like the "old poem" of our great novelist, invented by himself. To give an idea of them, I will cite the following favourite saying with him, when upon the eternal subject of man's foresight, as opposed to the predestination of events—

"Council is like the dice; Fate like the mark
Upon the board; it is within your hands;
Yet for all that 'tis not within your hand."

He was a very able negotiator; insidious beyond measure, and a complete master of the science of humbug. He was the mouthpiece of the stupid Sikh sirdars, and as he almost always formed the head nominally of the missions they were occasionally sent on, he had their free leave to talk, while they sat

by and listened in silence and admiration to the voluble flow of his ceaseless harangues. Nightingales of esteem warbled in meadows of attachment, and rivers of devotion rushed into oceans of affection, &c. &c. His other most important duty was interpreting the Maharaja's words. Few besides the Fuzer, Dhyau Sing, Heera Sing, and a few attendants, could readily understand him, so severe had the paralysis of his tongue become latterly. A few inarticulate growlings of the old lion were quite enough to vivify the Fuzer's imagination and so lengthy often was his paraphrase of the Maharaja's verbal text, that one became inclined to wonder with Mons. Jourdain, "whether one word in Turkish could mean so much?" But the Fuzer knew business; he knew as well what words meant as any man that ever took up the profession of a diplomatist. Sometimes, towards the end of an entertainment, the Fuzer's task of interpretation became very difficult: the Maharaja, adding the paralysis of strong drink to his natural inclination to indistinctness, used to become very inarticulate. The Fuzer would then "make shots" at the meaning, and got rebuked sometimes. I fancy he was often ashamed to say what he understood well enough, when he would content himself with saying, "*Eysh, eysh*" (ecstasy); sometimes I have seen him driven to total incomprehension; he would then say, in his softest diplomatic tones (in Arabic for the greater secrecy), "*Mafuhimtoo*"—i. e. "I did not understand;" he would then be taken seriously ill, and disappear for the evening. He was an extraordinary anomaly, this man; a titular Mussulman Fuzer serving the extirpators of his race and the persecutors of his religion, and that faithfully; assisting at their carousals, writing in the name of the Supreme Being as worshipped by them, and yet a bigoted Mussulman for all that. His brother, Noor-ood-deen, was an ingenious person, a good deal trusted and employed by Runjeet about the arsenal, and commissariat matters, and even, if I remember right, made governor of Govindgurh. His sons were also in the service of the state, but none promised to be like the Fuzer. He is indeed the last of the indigenous diplomatists of Hindostan, of those men whose skill in the art has been so much and so long belauded. The day for them has gone by; they have done their work and are gathered to their fathers.

With the Fuzer, a well-known character was usually associated, Raeo Jovind Jus, the Maharaja's Vakeel with the Agent for the protected states. He was more like a Marwarree merchant than aught else; fat, paunchy, and always in studied good-humour. He was a shrewd, intelligent man, but never held higher rank than that of a mere secondary agent.

To these sketches may be appended the following remarks, from another Calcutta paper (the *Bengal Harkara*), upon the European officers:

It is not very evident that any of the European officers serving in the Punjab were, even during Runjeet's time, ever admitted to a share in the management of the empire, or that they have had much opportunity of acquiring the affections of the people, who are naturally jealous of all foreigners. Allard had personal influence; and had he lived, it would doubtless have much increased from the accredited position in which he latterly stood. Avitabile, with an iron hand, ruled over his own body of troops; but we know of him only as a military man, and hear nothing of him in the council-chamber of the state. Ventura merely stood next as a leader of note, without pretensions to the least control beyond the limits of his lines.

THE MOGHULANEE; A TALE OF THE PHANSIGARS.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

IN one of those large and elevated apartments peculiar to the harems of the East, the richly-carved windows, of heavy fret-work, looked forth upon a landscape lying so far below the eye, that grove, and hut, and river, the wandering herds, and the labouring cultivators, appeared rather like the varied features introduced by some skilful artist on a mimic ground, than the real and active portions of natural life, while the interior of the hall, with its grand and lofty dimensions, but total lack of adornment, presented an idea of solitary gloom that was in good keeping with the cold and haughty character of the Moslem noble to whose palace it belonged. Rare, indeed, was either the sound of music, the voice of childhood, or the merry laugh of a mirthful slave-girl, heard in the harem of Amecan Khan, while throughout Hindostan his name was a source of terror to the weak, of apprehension to the timid, and of oppression to the helpless and the poor.

Still, at the time of which I write, although there was neither mirth nor music, neither the chattering of female newsmongers, the quarrelling of favourite slave-girls, the screaming of petted birds, nor evidence of any other of the thousand means of trivial entertainment that usually tend to break the monotony of woman's seclusion in the East, the harem of the prince was not wholly desolate. Retired, as if to avoid the rays that gleamed through the high lattice, and cast the shadows of its carved work upon the marble flooring, on a low cushion of dark blue velvet, embroidered with Persian sentences from the *Koran*, reclined the drooping form of a young Moslem lady, the sister of the khan; and at her feet crouched an aged slave, the nurse of her infancy, the sole companion of her maturer years. The lady's eyes rested on the grotesque forms thus pictured upon her prison floor, but with that fixed gaze which proved she saw them not; and when the grey-haired slave whispered a word of tenderness in her ear, a heavy sigh heaved her fair bosom, and a tear stole upon her cheek, but she seemed as if too sad for words.

Soon, however, a lengthened shadow threw its dark hues almost to her feet, and the lady, with a startled movement, raised her eyes, not animated, however, with the quick joyful glance of happy expectation, but heavy with the grief of hopeless certainty. The prince, who now entered, was unhappily little likely to be touched by such an expression, even in the eyes of his fair sister, and as he advanced towards her, noting her carelessly arranged tresses, her cheek bearing evident marks of tears, and the air of deep and inconsolable sorrow that appeared both in her face and form, the brow of Amecan Khan grew more heavy with the reflected bitterness of his feelings, and a sterner determination flashed from his dark eyes.

"How now! Shereen," he exclaimed, "still thus? Is it not enough that my will has been spoken? Have I not given you the time you

sought for preparation, and yet, on the very eve of your nuptials, I find you marring your beauty with vain tears?"

For a moment, the lady's eyes were again cast upon the ground, and a shudder passed over her form, as if in the struggle to find those words that were lost in the deep misery of the moment; but she then rose, and advanced quickly, as if to cast herself upon her brother's breast.

"Oh, Ameean," she whispered, as he turned coldly from her, "call not these tears *rain*. Say that you relent at last; that you will have mercy. We are but two, brother and sister, alone in the wide world; then cast me not from you into the arms of this debauched and hated Ashraf Khan, who, as you know, is as hoary with age as his heart is seared with crime." "Girl!" exclaimed the prince, "what words are these? by the Beard of the Prophet, you do well to talk of your love, as my only sister, when you thus strive to defeat and disgrace me, with a perjured oath and a blackened name." "Nay, my brother, hear me," cried Shereen; "if, as a Moslem noble, your word is pledged that I should wed this prince, hold pure your honour, give me the kasoomba draught, and I will drain it, blessing you in death; but, Ameean, though I am a Moslem girl, give me not over to a fate far worse than that of either the cup or steel."

She paused—then, winding her fair arms around the khan, raised her streaming eyes to his. But, alas! she read no mercy there; he sternly disengaged himself from her embrace, and with the accents of anger rapidly replied: "Cease, unhappy one, to trifle longer with my will. I have sworn that, ere this moon has waned, you shall be the bride of Ashraf Khan, the seal of our alliance. Girl, beware of a worse fate; think not, that in this aversion to the khan, this obstinate disobedience to my will, I cannot trace a degrading passion for him you once saw, when my fond indulgence suffered you to gaze from behind the purdah's screen upon my councils? Beware! I would save your honour and my own."

Shereen started from her position of fond entreaty, and, stepping back, stood gazing, but with eyes no longer tearful, upon her brother's face; but the expression of her own was scarcely less marked by proud defiance.

"Ameean," she cried, "forbear! I also inherit the spirit of my father, who never bent to insult. Prince, I am a Moslem woman, holding as high as any of her race the honour and purity of her ancient family; even though I deny your right to make my peace and happiness the price of your gratified ambition, I offer my life to save your honour; but I cast back the foul aspersion you have dared to throw upon a sister's fame."

The khan gazed upon the speaker, whose dilated eye and flushing cheek seemed to agitate him more than all her previous tenderness. "Do you think," he said, "that I speak of the honour of a noble Moslem house as I should of that among the lowest of the people? that had Ameean Khan but *dreamed* that his sister had been seen by the stranger, or that he had heard her voice, his sword had not long since washed out the

stain? but to have once thought of one not destined to be thy husband, is degradation to a Moslem girl, and do I not know, that since that fatal hour when your eye fell upon the brahmin Cheidancee in my council chamber, you have pined in the harem's solitude, and now, perchance, for love of this Pagan stranger, dare to weep at thy appointed fate?"

As the khan spoke, successive expressions chased each other over the brow of Shereen; but when he paused, she raised the fringed curtains of her soft dark eyes to his, whence beamed a light of pure tenderness. "Ameen," she replied, gently, "it may be as you say; but is it strange, that a girl nurtured as I have been, solitary but for the care of the faithful Heera, should feel that pure affection which is born with nature in our hearts? And is it strange, if the noble bearing of the young brahmin seized on my imagination, doomed as I am to lone musings? Surely there is no crime in this, my brother, nor should I have shrunk from this hated union less had I never looked from the purdah's screen. Has not nature given to the human heart affection, tenderness, and joy, and can we be insensible to their influences? Oh, my brother! the law of our hearts is stronger than those of men, and cannot be disobeyed."

"What words are these?" exclaimed the khan, with a sarcastic laugh, at feelings his harshly-toned mind could little understand. "By the Prophet, you have turned Moollah, and deal in wise sayings! but it is time that follies such as these were ended—Heera! prepare your mistress for her nuptials; braid her hair; deck it bravely with the choicest blossoms, and spare not the rosy henna nor the jetlike soornai, to remove these tear-stains from her eye-lids, for to-morrow Ashraf Khan comes hither to demand his bride." So saying, with a cold smile, Ameen Khan left the harem, while Shereen, overwhelmed with grief and terror, fell, half-fainting, into the arms of her faithful slave.

Heera gently laid her mistress upon her cushions, and retired to a distant window, where she sat with head bowed upon her knees, in deepest thought; but as the dark shades of twilight fell upon grove, and temple, and fountain, she arose, and approaching the couch of poor Shereen, crouched beside her, gently whispering, "My child, weep not thus; but let us fly. Thy dear mother's bounty bestowed upon me a village, where I have both home and friends; a spot so secluded, that even the fierce khan, thy cruel brother, will fail to trace thee there. Fear not, my child, but haste to fly; thy bearers are all faithful, and old Yusuf shall be our guard. Alas! alas! it is all that is left thee between misery and death."

The lady's tears flowed fast, but yet she listened. Cruelty and oppression had awakened in her heart feelings, which, but for the lately denied sympathy, the sarcastic words of her haughty brother might have laid for ever dormant there; but ill-requited affection, the consciousness of a nature fitted for a better fate, the horror of her impending destiny, and gratitude to the faithful creature who was scarcely less heart-stricken than her young mistress—all tended to rouse the spirit of

her race ; and thus it was, that the fair Shereen, urged by the utter hopelessness of mercy at the hands of her obdurate brother, fled, ere the morning's light stole over the distant mountain's brow, from that harem's refuge, and wended onwards, by paths little known, towards the distant home which, humble as it might be, yet promised temporary security.

About a mile from the retired village of Murnae, enveloped by dense wood, and distant a little from the high road, was a spacious dhurru-salah, or resting-place for travellers, consisting, as usual with such edifices, of a square open court, surrounded by a rude sort of colonnade, supported by rough timbers, the whole enclosed by a high mud wall, ingress being gained by a small wooden door, hung uneasily on its hinges, which sometimes admitted travellers, and quite as often, perhaps, the lazy and petted cattle of the village. There was not much to remark in this dhurru-salah : a sacred peepul spread its wide branches over the centre of the court, and against the wall were a few ovens of common masonry, blackened by the fires that travellers had kindled for baking their flat cakes of unleavened bread, and in one corner might be seen a wooden charpoi, or bedstead, strung with old cords, a water vessel, and parts of a broken hubble-bubble ; but otherwise it gave no sign of occupation.

Idle people of all countries love to frequent the halting-places of travellers ; and it is for this reason, perhaps, as well as in the hope of receiving alms, that the most idle people of the East, fakirs, Gosaens, and Byragees, are always lounging about dhurru-salahs ; consequently, the traveller, whose experience had taught him this, would not have felt surprise at the appearance of the being who soon strolled into the common hostel of Murnae, his body smeared with wood-ashes, turmeric, and cinnabar, as his chief attire, while heavy plaits of coarse black hair served as a turban to protect his head from the excessive heat. Yet the fakir of whom I speak seemed to have some more weighty reasons than either curiosity or the love of gain in seeking the dhurru-salah, for, having glanced carefully around him, he took from his waistbelt a small coco-nut kaliun, filled it with tobacco from a little bag that hung about his neck, and then, seating himself beneath the peepul's shade, appeared to await the advent of some person or event, turning frequently with listening attention towards the little door, and then again, with a gesture of disappointment, puffing fresh clouds from the mouth-piece of his kaliun.

"They are late," said the fakir at length, rising from the ground ; and, as he shook out the ashes from his kaliun and replaced it in his belt, he strolled to the little gate, and looked forth upon the landscape. It was very beautiful, for India has scenery that is not rivalled in any other of the many lovely portions of this fair earth, and even here—although there were no magnificent mountains, their base circled with trackless forests and their towering brows lost in the hues and tints peculiar to the heated atmosphere of a tropical clime ; although there

were no temples hewn in the living rock by hands believed by the ignorant to have been those of the gods, so do they mock the sculptor's art of modern days ; although no mighty river swept its course along, decked as a fair bride with lotus-blossoms, and rich in the graceful legends that, like bright flowers, enamel the banks of the Ganges or Jumna ; yet the scenery had charms peculiarly its own. It was clothed with dense foliage, and intersected with blooming gardens and glowing poppy-fields, with a ripening harvest, and groves studded with the smaller fanes of India's worship, each gay with its little flag of crimson cloth, while a group of maidens were laughing gaily at the neighbouring well, and wandering cattle were moving on to slake their thirst at a glittering stream that threaded the plain like a band of silver. The fakir, however, noted little of all this, for his keen glance was rivetted on a turn in the distant road, where a rising knoll on either side appeared to close it in ; and when at length a party of travellers were seen advancing from this spot, driving before them two small ponies, laden apparently with bags, a strange smile illumined the harsh features of the watcher, and, turning back, the fakir stretched himself in a remote corner of the verandah, and, drawing a chudder over his head, appeared to sleep.

Soon the usual sounds were heard that precede the arrival of travellers in the East : the mingled hum of voices in quick and animated converse, some appearing more distant than the rest, as the most weary stopped behind, to enjoy a draught from the refreshing well, combined with the shuffling kind of noise caused by the loose heelless slippers which, usually carried in the hand during a journey, are put on as the place of rest appears in view. The travellers, about six in number, appeared from their bearing to be merchants. They were generally of middle age, active, and well dressed, but travel-stained, as if their journey had been long. Their first object was to unload the ponies, and, for weary men, they did so with unusual care, placing the bags beneath the peepul tree, where all might note their safety. Each then seated himself under the colonnade ; kaliuns were drawn forth, fires kindled, and water brought to knead and bake cakes for the mid-day meal ; these eaten, each traveller unpacked a small carpet from the bags, and lounged thereon, ready for either sleep or chat, as nature or inclination might decide. They were now joined by the fakir, who, until this moment, had seemed unconscious of their presence.

The party thus seated were, if one might judge from marks of caste and the triple cord across their shoulders, all Hindoos ; and the only point that seemed remarkable in their appearance was, that each wore a little purse, of curious needlework, suspended from his waist, a custom uncommon, and therefore causing attention ; but all were unarmed, and apparently peaceful and defenceless. There was one, however, among the group well calculated to rivet the regard of any one who looked upon him, for to a graceful and commanding figure, such as the Hindoos give to their favourite sun-god Heri, was added a countenance of uncommon beauty, and a demeanour of princely bearing. His soft

glossy hair curled closely around his carefully-folded turban of scarlet muslin, and his well-turned mustache shaded a lip such as a sculptor might have vainly sought for his Apollo. The marked respect observed towards him by the party proved that he had influence, and the junooe across his shoulder shewed him to be a brahmin, and of superior rank.

The fakir, having lighted his chillum, cast himself by the stranger's side, and the conversation fell into its usual channel. "You were late to-day," observed the fakir, gazing round upon the group; "was there business on the way?" "You are ever zealous, Minuk," replied the stranger; "ever foremost in the career of duty. But no; our last affair was with Bearee Lall, with which you, like the rest, I fancy, are well content; to-day, we were detained by an omen which we travellers dare not brave; on leaving Tigore, a hare sprung from the brushwood, and bounded shrieking across our path, upon which we turned, and came round by Kotah, which is five miles farther." "Ha!" exclaimed the fakir, "this is the second time; but I have warned you of this, as well as of your folly in allowing the Mohamedans to join you; when do they arrive?" "To-morrow, certainly," returned the stranger, "for, granting all you urge, numbers are wanting now, and we must take the aid of those nearest to our hand. To-morrow they will arrive, and there can be no mistake, for Nasir here left the *pola* (sign) at the last cross-road we passed, to guide them. He has a heavy heel, good Nasir, and left a grotto in the dust it would take a week's hot winds to fill. Moreover, as your messenger recommended speed, we strewed leaves for at least half a mile upon our way, so there can be no mistake; and now, where do you propose to meet the prince's retinue? it must be in no bye-path, but on the wide highway, as honest merchants." "All is arranged," said Minuk; "but you must press on, the more so for the omen of to-day. You did wrong to separate your followers, for Ashraf Khan has a large party in his train, and though the bearers of the marriage-gifts travel in advance, yet, even if our friends join us in time, we are but few, and last night, a young Mohamedan lady, with an old female slave, an armed follower, and six bearers, halted here in the woods, and must be looked to; we want no spies upon our path." "A Mohamedan lady, unattended, in the woods of Murnae!" exclaimed a dark, harsh-featured man, who had seemed hitherto to take little heed of aught but his kaliun; "you must have taken a double portion of bhang, good Minuk, and have mistaken a natch-woman for a princess." "I tell thee, Nutha," retorted the fakir, angrily, "the woman is one of rank, and as it is probable that she has escaped from some harem, she will be followed by her family. Are you mad, thus to rush on your own destruction? Did not Jhoulce Khan, the black, lie sleepless upon the ground until the morning watch, but two nights since, from the cries of crickets, and has not the hare crossed your path to-day? Will nothing save you?" "You say well, Minuk," replied the stranger; "Nutha listens too much to the Moslem heresies; but we will press on, swifter than the rest can follow. Ere

we start, however," he added, rising from his carpet, "I will see this Moslem lady, for 'tis long since I have looked on a fair face."

The brahmin crossed the court, and disappeared by the little wicket ; after which the travellers drew closer in their circle, speaking together in low whispers, and as they did so, words escaped from time to time which an ear well trained in the languages of India might yet have failed to recognize.

By the side of a glittering rivulet, which, in its murmuring course, afforded nourishing refreshment to beautiful groups of young plantain-trees, whose long, smooth, and tenderly-coloured leaves, waving with the slightest breeze, cast their undulating shadows upon a ground richly tinted by the rays of the coming sunset, stood the fair Shereen, her veil fallen from her brow, and her cheek tinged with the new-born hopes of peace. In her brother's harem, lone and persecuted, she had seemed a victim whom grief had made her own ; but in this bright garden, surrounded by flowers and sunshine, by the sweet voices of the tiny songsters piping forth their evening hymn, and by the soft free air laden with the odours borne on the sunset breeze, Shereen appeared, as nature intended she should be, a crowning grace to her most lovely works, and a personification of all that is most sweet and fair.

And now, with that dreamlike, yet most delicious feeling, which is produced by the tranquillizing influences of nature, even when we are, perhaps, least conscious of their presence, the lady lingered by the rivulet, and from time to time, an expression of pure complacency stole, like a sunbeam, over her face, an expression too gentle to be called a smile, too thoughtful, perhaps, for a sign of joy ; for there are certainly as many tints of varied tone in happiness, as there are differing shades in grief ; and now, it was but a few days since Shereen had fled her childhood's home, nor had she yet gained the refuge she sought. Still, nature and freedom had brought to her young heart emotions until now unknown, and as happy thoughts love to group themselves together, there were mingling with the rest, perhaps, some gentle memory of that graceful stranger, who had, in spite of herself, led captive her girlish fancy.

At length, warned by the increasing shadows that stole around her, Shereen, raising her eyes, with a soft sigh, turned to regain the tent where Heera and her followers remained ; but, as she did so, a faint exclamation of mingled surprise and fear burst from her lips, for there, even as she had seen him in her brother's palace, stood the Subahdar Cheidamee, the being so lately enshrined in her tenderest thoughts. Instinctively, Shereen sought her veil, but the delicate fabric was too hopelessly entangled with her drapery to be replaced by a hand trembling with mingled and new emotions, and while she uselessly essayed the task, the subahdar approached, entreating her, with a mien full of respectful courtesy, to forbear.

"Lady," he said, raising his hand in graceful salutation, "forgive me for thus intruding on your solitude, and punish me not, I beseech thee,

by shading the loveliest cheek my eye has ever looked on." Drawing to her side, Cheidamee, encouraged by her now smiling lip and down-cast eye, gently disengaged the veil from her trembling hand, and with many courteous and soothing words, drew at length from the maiden the history of her flight, her hopes, her fears—of all, indeed, except her love for him; a love scarcely yet confessed even to her own pure heart. Their converse was long, and new-found sympathy to the young and unsuspecting, even from those who have no interest in their affections, touches a thousand chords to which the heart responds; and thus it was that, as a fleeting blush played on the cheek of Shereen, whilst she told him, with a voice whose tones grew every instant softer, of her dread of the marriage with the hated khan, and when he asked her why? smiled, sighed, yet found no answer, that Cheidamee, remembering the gentle sigh that had been wafted to his ear from the purdah's screen, as he stood in the council chamber of Amecan Khan—a sigh that had long since, in far different scenes, haunted his imagination—felt that the fair being beside whom he stood surely loved him.

It was a strange and sudden thought, and one which might be supposed to afford him both joy and triumph, for Cheidamee was young and handsome, and Shereen the fairest and most noble of her land; but still, from that moment, the subahdar grew silent and full of thought, and changes passed across his brow that were full of strange meaning. Now remorse would agitate every muscle of his countenance, and then the fire of enthusiasm and devotion lighted his eyes with a fitful fever, while this again gradually faded away into soft and tender admiration for the sweet girl who stood gazing upon his face, utterly, however, unconscious of all but the joy of looking again upon him she loved.

At length Cheidamee spoke; but his words were cold, and fell like a knell upon the ear of his listener. "Lady," he said, "there is danger here; lose no time, but travel on; yet on your life, go not to Ateer, for thither lies my path, the one I bid thee shun; but as you value the safety of yourself and followers, set out at dawn, and take the road of the Kaul Nissar." "Danger!" exclaimed Shereen; "danger in these peaceful woods! Oh! it cannot be; but if there is, and you travel to Ateer, my future home, suffer your escort to join my own, and what can there be to dread?" "Lady," returned Cheidamee, "I speak but truly. I do beseech you to be warned, and seek not to proceed by the jungle road. I dare not explain all that I know of that which threatens thee; yet, trust me, I speak but truly, and though I see thee for the last time, let me not urge my prayer in vain; but even now, summon thy attendants, and take no rest until the minar of Kaul Nissar breaks upon thy view. Lady, I must leave thee; but the influence of the hour passed in sweet converse by thy side will follow me in many distant scenes, and the wood of Murnae be to my memory, midst other thoughts, like a bright fountain upon the desert sands." So saying, Cheidamee pressed the hand of Shereen to his lips, and hurried through the brushwood, when the poor maiden, springing with the speed of a young fawn towards the tent, cast her arms around her faithful nurse,

exclaiming, as the tears gushed over her fair cheeks, "Heera! dearest Heera! I have seen him, he is here! Make ready to proceed onwards to Ateer by to-morrow's dawn. There does he live; and day by day, dear Heera, I may see his noble form, and hear the music of his voice. Ah! what do I not owe to thee, my counsellor, my friend!"

Alas! alas! for woman's love; the charm was now complete. Nurtured in a solitary harem, her young heart denied all sympathy with her kind, Shereen had grown from infancy to womanhood surrounded by severity and gloom. The hour on which her eye had fallen on the handsome brahmin had taught her that all men were not like her haughty, dark-browed brother, and, as she thought of that noble countenance and graceful form, came fancies also of the free and happy things that were denied to her; and thus, noting nothing of the difference of their faith (for what are crabbed tenets to young and trusting hearts?), Shereen, all unconscious that it was so, loved the stranger, and clothing him with imagined perfections, gave to them the worship of her young affections; and thus it was, that when she had again seen him, had listened to a voice not harsh and deep as the dreaded khan's, but softening into music as it breathed gentle and persuasive words to her beguiled ear, the natural independence of Shereen evinced itself in accordance with her will, and, scorning danger on the path of him she loved, the maiden resolved to go forwards to Ateer, and the aged Heera, who would have freely given her life to secure the happiness of the child of her affections, so far from opposing her inclination, rejoiced that the love of the young subahdar might, in the far solitude of her native village, afford to her young mistress some compensation for the cold pomp of a prince's harem; and perhaps even some comfort, protection, and support, when death should lay her own grey hairs beneath the spreading boughs of the sita phul.

The scene was changed, for the travellers had journeyed on, and the Hindoos, who had first arrived at Murnac, were now joined by their Moslem friends to the number of some twenty. It was late, and the party sate together in the lower room of one of the most secluded houses in the bazar of Charsoo, a town nine coss nearer to Ateer. The room was large and gloomy, the floor formed of beaten earth, and the huge wooden rafters much eaten by white ants, and blackened by the smoke of torches. It was bare and totally unfurnished, but here and there were niches in the wall, that held little cups of red earthenware filled with oil, and serving as temporary lamps; while, to judge from the appearances around, some offering or sacrifice had lately been made by the assembled group, for in the centre of the floor was a square, marked with turmeric and lime; there was also a sheet of white linen with grains of rice upon it, and a freshly gathered coco-nut, and by its side three flat stones were placed, like a rude altar, and on it lay a small image, a pickaxe, and a cord, with a goat without spot or blemish lately slaughtered. Nearest the altar, as its ministering priest, stood the young Subahdar Cheidamee, who, looking round upon the dark and

excited countenances of the group, lifted the pickaxe from the altar and advanced to the centre of the apartment.

"My friends," he said, "I see the dawn approach ; shall I strike?"—and all cried "Strike!" Raising then the pickaxe in his hand, the young brahmin struck the coco-nut, dashing it into a thousand pieces, exclaiming, as he did so, "Then hail the mighty Kalee Davee ! and may she accept the sacrifice to the prosperity of her slaves, the Thugs of Hindostan ! Dig a pit here, my friends, with the sacred axe, and bury all from the eyes of the uninitiated, even as you bury the bodies of your victims, for this is the type of Kalee's command ; and you, Nasir, bear henceforth the axe and *kassee* (image of Kalee), for you are proved, and worthy among the brethren of the cord." "Cheidamee," replied Nasir, "you say right, and we are well proud of such a leader ; ours is not such a band as that of the Nerbudda, who kill women and children, with even the classes forbidden by the goddess. I dread to join them for a day, so sure am I that Davee will bring them to destruction. Ask any of the Moslems here, Kureem Khan, Kuleean, Rumzanee, or any who have worked with them, if it be not true that they disregard omens, and dare not drop their consecrated axe into the well, sure that it will again come to the hand of him that uses it, as our father's did, because of their offences, and because the goddess already frowns on them." "Aye," returned Minuk, "but be you also warned ; and say, what mean you now to do, on the eve of an enterprise which will give to each of us a thousand or two rupees, besides gold and jewels, with this Moslem girl who still follows on our track ? How say you, Cheidamee, can you not shake her off ? 'Tis said," he added, with a scornful laugh, "that she follows us from love of the handsome merchant ; take care she knows him not as a leader of the Thugs."

Cheidamee started, turning quickly from the speaker ; but as he did so, they who had studied well the various workings of the human countenance, as the heart and head do sometimes combat one another, might have noted strange things on that of the subahdar. The pity and the love born of nature, the ferocious purpose, the unmerciful decision, arising from habit and powerful superstition, warring each against each, all asserting for a time a sovereign power on the handsome countenance they so violently agitated ; but the Moslem approver Ruzamee soon spoke, and dark indeed were his counsels.

"What," he asked, "has Cheidamee to do with all this ? Leave him to greater enterprises than these. This girl follows our camp, and even now lodges in the Serai without the town. Are our plans to be marred by a silly woman, and an aged slave ? The Hindoos say that Kalee forbids the murder of women, but are we to spare the cord to rush on our own destruction ? I tell you, friends, this girl must meet her fate. Cannot all see that the goddess has thrown her into our hands ?—therefore is she *neeamut* (doomed). Kalee Davee has twisted the *roomal* (handkerchief), and who will refuse to use it ? Let Nutha go forwards and choose the spot, for the Moghulanee must die."

"Hold !" exclaimed Cheidamee ; "remember that the murder of woman never yet did aught but bring misery upon our bands. Remem-

her the Dhoosee Beebee, proceeding with her offspring to the shrine of Nizam-oodeen-Ouleea ; did not three of the band hang on the tree, and were not two sent to the black waters ere the year ended? Hear me. I will warn this girl ; I will prevent her following our steps farther.—Is not this enough? What could you get by taking a woman who has eloped from a harem, accompanied by a slave, a follower, and six bearers? A rupee apiece, perhaps, and the knowledge that the frown of the mighty Kalce would be ever on you.” “He says well,” cried the fakir ; “let her go.” “Aye, let her go,” repeated Ruzamee, in a tone of contempt. “Whither, pray? Does she not know that Cheidamee journeys to her village ; and should her family track her, ere our business is done with the treasure-bearers of Ashraf Khan, who so ready to seek and identify the handsome brahmin and his merchant friends as this Moslem girl?”

“No doubt, no doubt,” observed Nasir ; “but let Cheidamee use his influence to warn her from the consecrated cord, and, if he fail, we shall all see that the goddess demands her victim, and waits to receive her into the celestial courts, although Minuk here will have it that we do a deed contrary to her laws.” “And he says it truly,” replied the fakir, angrily : “what know your friends the Moslems of Kalee’s will, compared to us Thugs of the Deccan and Hindostan? When the goddess strangled the giants, was it not to us Hindoos that she revealed her work, and gave the sacred cord, commanding us to follow her example, and to live by the plunder so acquired? And was it not to us that she gave the pickaxe wherewith to bury our victims? and yet these Moslems pretend to know better than we do, her laws and omens!” “Enough, enough!” interrupted Cheidamee ; “make ready to travel on ere dawn of day. Fear not; I will take means that the girl remains behind.”

The Thugs all rose, but as the brahmin left the room, Ruzamee the Moslem, with an earnest gesture, drew Minuk on one side. “He will fail,” was his remark ; “the girl loves him, and would follow us to his village. Her servant told me so but yesterday, as I met him purposely at the well. Cheidamee cannot now take another road, because he has told her of his going to Ateer, and he well knows that, as a brahmin found in company with a Moslem woman, his caste, and all most dear to him, is at stake. I tell thee she must die, but it shall be by a Moslem hand, since you Hindoos are so scrupulous about your laws ; let Sotha ride beside her palankeen—he will readily persuade her to all we want, and we will but use our means when those of the subahdar have failed.”

The fakir made no reply, and Ruzamee left him ; but a moment scarce elapsed after he had done so, before Minuk quitted the room, and threading the narrow ways of the now dark and silent bazar, he reached a lowly shed, when mounting a strong and active horse that stood ready saddled there, the fakir struck across, into a by and unfrequented path that led out among the gardens of the suburbs.

It was a dense wood, with here and there a pathway among the trees, which commonly led to a rude stone image, smeared with red pigment,

or simply sculptured with some hideous idol, before whom the wandering pilgrim knelt, inspired with the firm belief of finding sure protection against the beasts of prey to be feared in such wild tracts. It was, indeed, seldom that any but a devotee, braving all dangers in the height of his fanaticism, and unprotected by aught but a small bell suspended from his waist, which served, it is true, to scare the lions from his path, ventured into this wood ; but now, by the side of a rude image of Ganesa, leant the fair form of Shereen, and beside her bent the Subahdar Cheidamee, in earnest and eager conversation.

The lovers, as they now appeared to be, were in fact alone, for Heera, who had dismounted from her pony, was murmuring forth her morning prayers, while the bearers, well disposed to rest, were crouched beneath the distant trees, eating betel-nut together, and handing round the hubble-bubble. It would have appeared that the speaker urged in vain, and then the first words that seemed to break the silence were those of the young Moslem lady, full of pathos and entreaty.

"Why urge me thus, Cheidamee? why urge me to turn back from the path on which you travel?" "Because there is danger, fair one," was the reply; "danger, dark and terrible." "Nay, nay, 'tis useless," cried the fair Shereen; "if you love me, you can care little for the difference of our creeds, and if there is really danger, am I not safer here with you and your friends the merchants, than travelling alone with old Heera, and a single follower?"

"Sweet Shereen," replied the brahmin, "you know not what you say. You love me, and these few days, passed in gentle converse by thy side, have taught me feelings I never dreamed could steal into a heart devoted until now solely to the great goddess and her laws. But hear now the truth, Shereen, for vainly have I sought to warn thee. Turn and fly, thou and thy people, while there is yet time, and swear to me to breathe not a word to any of those whom thou hast made thus far companions of thy way, lest, even now, I should vainly seek to avert thy fate; for know, hapless one, that these are no merchants that you follow, but brethren of the cord and axe, and he who now urges thee from the death prepared for thee, is their leader!"

Shriek after shriek now burst from the lips of the terrified girl, and her servants starting to their feet, ran hurriedly towards their mistress; but in a moment more, the trampling of a horse was heard, and the fakir Minuk dashed into the centre of the group.

"The curse of Kalee is on them," he cried; "but it may be averted yet. Lift the girl to the saddle, Cheidamee, and ere to-morrow's dawn she shall be in her brother's harem; be quick, I say."

But Shereen clung to the skirt of the young brahmin, entreating him to save her; and while he vainly sought without violence to disengage her grasp, Sotha and Ruzamee, with the Hindoo Nasir, sprang from the shelter of the idol, and flung their arms around their victim,—while the fakir, laying his powerful grasp upon Cheidamee, placed him behind him on the saddle, and galloped from the spot; but far, far, through the echoing woods, even to the ears of those who fled, rang the death-shrieks of that hapless maiden and of her faithful followers.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE EAST.*

THE great convenience and the many benefits resulting from a monthly steam-communication with the East have operated to stimulate the efforts of individuals to perfect and accelerate that communication ; and as a sufficient momentum of public opinion has been now brought to bear upon the subject, we have no doubt the object will speedily be effected. The only question, therefore, is as to the preferable plan.

The grandest scheme of all is that of opening a ship-canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and thus uniting the Mediterranean and Red Seas. This subject is treated by Mr. Anderson with all the advantages of experience in the details of steam-communication with the East, local knowledge, and the acquisition of much valuable information from M. Linant of Cairo, French civil engineer in the service of the Pasha of Egypt, who has carefully surveyed the isthmus with reference to the project, and whose report is embodied in Mr. Anderson's pamphlet.

The conclusion at which Mr. Anderson has arrived is, that the enterprise is not only physically practicable, but that the nature of the soil and a chain of lakes present great facilities for excavating a canal through that part of the isthmus pointed out for its track, namely, from Suez to Pelusium, about 100 miles. The Red Sea being 32 feet higher than the Mediterranean, the current from the former, at the rate of 4 miles an hour, would keep the canal clear, and gradually deepen it.

Assuming these facts, the next question is, what preliminary political arrangements are necessary. Mr. Anderson considers it doubtful whether Mehemet Ali will be induced to enter into such a speculation, except through the intervention of some of the European powers ; and, as all these powers have an interest in promoting it, he concludes that, if requested by one or more of the first-rate powers, the Pasha would either undertake the work himself, or permit it to be undertaken by private capitalists, under an arrangement which would guarantee to him and his descendants a toll and a permanent right to the canal.

The advantages of this undertaking, which Mr. Anderson discusses at length, it is superfluous to enter upon, as they are obvious. The cost of making the canal, and of a pier or breakwater at its embouchure in the Mediterranean, M. Linant estimates at £175,000, which Mr. Anderson, considers much too low ; but he calculates the revenue which the canal would yield, at the most moderate computation, £200,000 a year.

The saving of time will arise mainly from the continuity of the voyage ; but the transit through Egypt, which now occupies *three* days,

• The Acceleration of Mails (once a fortnight) between England and the East Indies, and *Vice Versa*. By LIEUT. WAGHORN, R.N. London. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Observations on the Practicability and Utility of Opening a Communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, by a Ship-canal through the Isthmus of Suez, &c. By ARTHUR ANDERSON. London. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The Suez Navigable Canal, for accelerated Communication with India. By EDWARD CLARKSON, Esq. London. Hookham.

Suggestions for Accelerating the Communication between Great Britain and China. By HENRY WISE, Esq.

Proposed Plan for the Acceleration of the Indian Mails. By ANDREW HENDERSON, Esq.

could be performed by the canal in *one* day from the Mediterranean, and in *half* a day from the Gulf.

Mr. Waghorn's pamphlet advocates a bi-monthly communication. He suggests that on the Calcutta line homewards, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company should continue their arrangement, and the Court of Directors of the East-India Company run two steamers between Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, Aden, and Suez, in those months when the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company's do not, till this Company get a third steamer; that, on the Bombay line, steamers of the East-India Company leave Bombay every fortnight for Aden, to be divided between Bombay and Aden; those at Aden to be in readiness to go between Aden and Suez, to prevent coal-stoppages at Aden; that through Egypt the mails be sent in the quickest way to Alexandria, without reference to passengers, and Her Majesty's steamers at Alexandria start at once with the despatches and mails for Marseilles on their way to London. On the Mediterranean line, he urges that Her Majesty's steamers should always be in waiting at Alexandria for the despatches and mail *viâ* Marseilles to London. The outward mails should be despatched from London to India *viâ* Marseilles on the 4th of every month, direct to Alexandria, without stopping at Malta; the next mail to leave London on the 19th of each month for Alexandria direct.

The suggestions of Mr. Wise, for accelerating the communication with China, lay down the following route:—from Hong-kong to Pulo Labuan, Singapore, Malacca, Penang, to Ceylon, in all twenty-four days, stoppages included; at Ceylon, the outward mail from England to be carried by the steamer back to China, and the China mails to be brought on to Aden, and thence by the P. and O. Company's route, *viâ* Marseilles to London, in all thirty-five days: total from Hong-kong, and *vice versâ*, fifty-nine days, whereas the average interval of China correspondence, *viâ* Calcutta and Bombay, in the last twenty mails, has been eighty-nine days. Mr. Wise's calculations are confirmed by the voyage of H. C. S. *Akbar*, which arrived at Suez from Hong-kong in forty-six days, against the S.W. monsoon, without arrangements for coaling, &c.; Mr. Wise having allowed for this voyage forty-three days.

The scheme of Mr. Henderson contemplates the giving six days for replying by return post with the present government establishment, and forming a separate half-monthly communication with the contract steamers. By separating the two lines, now existing for the conveyance of one mail, into two distinct semi-monthly mails, and adopting the suggestions in his statements and tables, the letters by the Bombay and Marseilles route will arrive in London from four to seven days before the departure of the mail, and in Calcutta from three to six days.

Correspondence.

EAST-INDIA MEDICAL SERVICE.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—No regulation affecting the medical department of India has been promulgated for many years which has given rise to more universal discontent than that, under instructions from the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 1st of July, 1842, No. 169.

The pensions therein laid down have been so often demonstrated to be unjust, that it is not now necessary to do more than allude to the fact; my chief object being to consider that part of the order which directs that the situation of superintending surgeon shall henceforth be a staff appointment, and future vacancies be filled up, without reference to seniority, by selecting the most zealous and efficient. This is the system ostensibly pursued in her Majesty's service, promotion in which does not go by seniority, but by selection; interest with the director-general is necessary to every step; merit is, of course, supposed to be the foundation of that interest. It would be a waste of time and space to inquire into the working of this system; we have become familiarized to the sight of old regimental surgeons, without a hope of promotion. But supersession in H.M.'s service has been so long looked to as an event which neither zeal, talent, nor length of service can avert, that it has not so distressing an effect upon those passed over as might be expected, for the surgeon suffers only in common with his military brethren; he as well as they entered the service with their eyes open to what they had to expect, and they bear their disappointments accordingly.

The medical officers of H.M.'s service have, however, an important advantage over us: a fixed scale of advancement through regular grades up to the highest, in each of which, as they are raised to it, they attain a clearly recognized and permanent rank, of which nothing but a court-martial can deprive them. We have not this advantage, and we feel the want of it to be a great grievance; it takes from the respectability of our department, fetters us in the independent performance of our duties, and deprives us of that amount of influence which we ought to have, and which nothing but clearly defined rank and station can give in most countries, but most particularly in India. We have, therefore, the evil of H.M.'s service without its good.

For many years by regulation, and previously by almost invariable usage, the medical officers of the East-India Company's Service looked forward to rising by seniority to the rank of superintending surgeon as their fair and just right, and they enjoyed this right of progressive elevation in common with their military brethren, who still retain it inviolate. They looked forward to promotion as the reward of all their toils. In dangers in the field and in hospitals of pestilence, their zeal was kept up and their spirits were sustained by the confidence that, if they lived, they were secure of their reward. This security has failed us. The rank of superintending surgeon has been reduced to a staff appointment, and a removal from it at the pleasure of the powers that be, "for the good of the service," is held over our heads, like the birch over naughty school-boys, *to stimulate our zeal*.

Whoever knows India well, knows well the principle upon which staff appointments are in general given away. Interest is all in all, and poor indeed

is the chance which merit possesses when opposed to it. No orders of the Court of Directors, no rectitude of purpose on the part of the Governor, can ever prevent the jobbing which will be the consequence of this new arrangement, if acted upon. Who are to be the judges of our merit, or what is the merit to consist in? A zealous and an efficient discharge of our duty has, under the security of the now old system, become universal; we have a body of practical medical officers, which may challenge the whole world as army surgeons; yet many of our best have never written a line for publication; whilst, on the other hand, some of our most voluminous book-makers were not considered by those who knew them well as amongst our first-rate practical men, nor particularly fitted for exercising the duties of control.

Amongst the most experienced officers in the service—civil, military, or medical—I believe there exists scarcely a difference of opinion upon this point, that in no way can such justice be done to individuals, to the state, and to the profession, as by taking for promotion the seniors as they come. Such is the system in the military branch, and it gives universal satisfaction; there is not an argument against it which does not apply with equal or greater force to the army than to the medical department. The civil service is so much superior to either in the rapid and certain attainment of high rank, and in its numerous most lucrative appointments, that it would be absurd to institute any comparison with it.

It is very true that, under the seniority system, an objectionable person will sometimes appear at the top of the list in the medical department, as well as in any other; when he does so, let him be dealt with accordingly. Try him by a court-martial, or invalid him, as the case may require; but do not keep him in the performance of the executive duties, disgracing the department, and doing ten times the mischief he could perpetrate in the higher ranks: in the one station he may commit positive murder; in the other, he can but be very useless.

What has been the effect of this supersession order amongst us? A deep feeling of melancholy mistrust. So far from stimulating zeal, it has thrown a damp over and shaken the high spirit of the department. We feel ourselves degraded without a cause, and it is not difficult to foresee the result.

In some numbers of the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, which have only lately reached me, notice is taken of the exertions of Messrs. Martin and Annesley, and their plan for the reform of the medical department. These gentlemen advocate the supersession system and the abolishing of the medical boards. I can tell the editor of the *Review*, who appears to have been strangely misled by Mr. Martin on several points, that, with very rare exceptions, the members of our boards have been men of undoubted talent, zeal, and energy; that they have had the almost universal respect and confidence of the service, and that the state of our hospitals and the whole of our establishments connected with the profession is most efficient. The editor takes credit to Mr. Martin for having obtained pensions for surgeons rising from £191. 12s. 6d. to £700 a year, according to their length of service, whereas formerly they could get no more than £191. 12s. 6d. after any period; but he forgets to mention that, formerly, when succeeding in rotation to the higher ranks, they became entitled to the same pensions in a considerably shorter average time; and that such is the case at this moment both at Madras and Bombay.

The great drawback on the exertions of the boards for the good of the profession is the want of power to promote the interests of those serving under

them; the means of stimulating and rewarding zeal, as it ought to be stimulated and rewarded, they do not possess. To effect this object, I believe that the following plan would be found more effectual, more in accordance with the wishes and hopes of the service, and more for the respectability of the profession than that of Messrs. Martin and Annesley:

1. The fixed grades of the medical department to be as follows:—

Assistant-surgeon, with rank of lieutenant.		
Surgeon	ditto	captain.
Staff surgeon	ditto	major.
Deputy inspector of hospitals ...	} ditto	lieut-colonel.
Inspector, surgeon and physician generals		
	} ditto	brigadier-general.

The promotion to the above ranks throughout to be strictly by seniority.

2. The whole patronage of the department to be vested in the medical board.

3. The scale of retiring pensions for length of service to be made equal to that of the military, without prejudice to retirement on the pensions of the different grades as attained, and taking into account the difference of age at entering the service.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Madras, 1st August, 1843.

A MADRAS SURGEON.

Critical Notices.

Italy, Classical, Historical, and Picturesque, Illustrated and Described. By WILLIAM BROCKEDON, Esq., F.R.S. London. Duncan and Malcolm.

THIS work is now brought to a close, and we have no hesitation in acknowledging that it has fully redeemed the pledge held out in the Prospectus; and that this collection of plates and descriptions, most of the subjects of which had never previously been engraved, “renders more justice to the scenery of Italy than has ever before been attempted or accomplished by the united efforts of the painter and the engraver, within the compass of a single volume.” Mr. Brockedon is fortunate in having associated this monument of his taste and talents with a land which (to use his own words) “is equally distinguished for all that is excellent in art and exquisite in scenery, and where the landscape is eloquent with the ruins and records of the past.”

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, Illustrated from Drawings by W. HENRY BARTLETT. *The Literary Portion of the Work* by N. P. WILLIS, Esq. and J. STERLING COYNE, Esq. Two vols. London. Virtue.

THIS is another specimen of the fine arts in this country, which has been brought to a close during the past month; and we cannot help thinking and saying that both are far more worthy of being selected as what are termed “Christmas and New-Year’s Gifts,” than the tawdry and mawkish volumes which generally usurp that character. The numerous decorations contained in these volumes, though beautiful, are not their highest merits or strongest attractions; the description of the scenery, antiquities, and local traditions of the sister island, are elegantly written and highly entertaining. In their Preface, the authors have ingeniously followed out the fanciful theory of Lord Byron, that the characters of nations assimilate to the natural features of their country. “The exuberant gaiety of the Irish people, their deep sadness, their warm

affections, their fierce resentment, their smiles and tears, their love and hatred, all remind us forcibly of the light and shadow of their landscapes, where frowning precipices and quiet glens, wild torrents and tranquil streams, lakes and woods, vales and mountains, sea and shore, are all blended by the hand of Nature beneath a sky, now smiling in sunshine, now saddening in tears." Thus the scenery of Ireland may help us to understand the character of its people.

The Invisible Universe disclosed ; or, the Real Plan and Government of the Universe. By HENRY COLEMAN JOHNSON, Esq. London. Wilson.

ALTHOUGH we have endeavoured, to the best of our humble ability, to understand this work, we have not yet so mastered its contents as to be able to give either an opinion of its merits or an exposition of its character. Even the object of the book we must let Mr. Johnson himself explain.

Notwithstanding that history records so many centuries of scientific research, during which time such a vast number of celebrated writers, amongst the ancients as well as amongst the moderns, have enlightened the world upon an immense variety of the deepest and most interesting subjects,—and notwithstanding that very grand and important discoveries have long since been made concerning the entire bodies of which the universe is composed, formed into a science called Astronomy, in which, however, as will be hereafter demonstrated, there are numerous and grievous errors,—yet hitherto no satisfactory application of this science has ever appeared, elucidating the plan, mode of action, co-operation, and the real laws or necessities by which these entire bodies are governed. No work has hitherto been published, shewing the connection of bordering spheres or associations, each association, as will be hereafter demonstrated, consisting of one entire ignited substance, like the one termed the Sun, and of a given number of entire fertile substances, like those called Planets, and pursuing the chain of connection between them, not only to the limits of visible space, but also by means of the analogy or similitude of their properties within the extent of that limit, penetrating into the points of space invisible from the earth, and investigating by argumentative discussion whether they are occupied by substances of exact similitude to those situated within the range of vision ; and consequently that the objects which occupy the entire extent of space are of one uniform description in every part of it,—or whether they vary ; and if so, how, and in what manner, and whether the change of objects, if any, takes place progressively or unprogressively and suddenly ;—whether the number of objects be limited or not, and consequently whether the extent of space which they make and occupy is interminable or circumscribed within a given boundary—whether they are unoriginating and self-existent by necessity, or whether they had an origin ; and whether they are invariable in their form, qualities, and magnitude, or the contrary ; whether there do or do not exist any other unknown, foreign, or extraneous objects connected with the known material bodies of the universe ; and a complete investigation of a cause for the existence of the entire known substances of the universe situated in the atmosphere of space, which cause, when in perfect accordance with their properties, operations, and connection with each other, must be the real cause of their existence.

On all these matters, and a variety of others connected with them, the present treatise contains a series of demonstration.

Royal Asiatic Society.

THIS Society recommenced its meetings on the 11th November; on which occasion, Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., took the chair. A large number of books was presented to the library; among them was a copy, in two vols. 8vo., of the *Vendidad Súdé* of the Pársis, in the Zend language and Gujuráti character, with a Gujuráti translation, paraphrase, and comment, according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians. This work has been lithographed at the charge of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; and is a choice book, twenty-five copies only having been printed. The Society at Bombay intend to publish other Parsí works in the same manner.

The honorary secretary commenced the reading of a paper, by Mr. Dowson, on the history, geographical limits, and chronology of the Chera kingdom of ancient India.

The Society again met on the 25th November; Professor Wilson, the director of the Society, in the chair.

The reading of Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chera kingdom was concluded.

The Chera kingdom is one of the three political divisions of the southern portion of the peninsula of India in ancient times; the other two being the Pandya and Chola kingdoms. Of the Pandya dynasty, Professor Wilson has given a valuable account in the third volume of the Society's Journal, and sketches, also, by the same learned authority, of the other kingdoms, are prefixed to his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection. Mr. Dowson's notices of the Chera sovereignty are chiefly drawn from the translation, now at the East-India House, of a Tamil tract belonging to that collection, called *Kongu desa Charitra*. Mr. Taylor, in his analysis of that portion of the Mackenzie Collection deposited in the Madras College Library, speaks of this tract as a very valuable acquisition to Indian history. He says: "It is for the most part free from the mythological fable which usually disfigures Hindu documents, and is well supported by dates, in general referred to inscriptions which are mentioned; and many grants of land are specified with such reference. On the whole, this is one of the best and most valuable manuscripts in the collection." Mr. Dowson, however, remarks that this commendation must be taken with some qualifications, especially so far as dates are concerned.

A list of twenty-eight kings of the Chera dynasty is given, to the last of whom the date of A.D. 894 is attached. Dates are given to several others; but not before the fifth on the list, who is stated to have reigned A.D. 42. Mr. Dowson, however, thinks the latter date is probably a Hindu exaggeration, and that the Chera dynasty did not commence till the fifth century of our era; unless, indeed, the Carei noticed by Ptolemy are identical with the Cheras, who may then be considered as an aboriginal nation of India. Towards the end of the tenth century, the Chera country appears to have fallen into the hands of the Cholas, six kings of which dynasty are mentioned in the original manuscript.

The writer then proceeds upon an inquiry into the geographical boundaries of the Chera kingdom, and as to the situation of its capital. The result of this investigation, as indicated by a map attached to the paper, shews that the Chera country formed an irregular triangle, with its apex to the south, bounded on the

west by the sea, and including in its area Travancore, Cochin, Coimbatore, the Neilgherry Hills, and part of Tinevelly. Its capital, the city of Tálakád, was situated on the north bank of the Cavery, about thirty miles east of Seringapatam. Its ruins still remain, and shew it to have been a splendid and extensive city. When Mr. Buchanan visited it, he found one temple, dedicated to Siva; others were overwhelmed with sand, the tops only remaining visible. Many inscriptions still remain upon the walls, the interpretation of which would probably throw much light upon the Chera and Hoyisala dynasties, Tálakád having been, at successive periods, the capital of each. The writer then takes a rapid view of the limits assigned to the two other kingdoms, and of the dynasties which ruled over them. In conclusion, he states that the authorities he has referred to prove, with tolerable certainty, that a race of kings ruled the country of Chera from a very early age, and during several centuries; that, at no very advanced period, they added a considerable portion of ancient Karnáta to their dominions; that, soon after A. D. 900, their possessions were conquered by the Cholas, under whom they remained till A. D. 1058; that the Chola princes must have been very powerful, and that the Pandya kingdom appears at one time to have been tributary to them. The Cholas undertook maritime aggressions upon Ceylon, and also upon the Chalukya princes of the southern Mahratta country. The destruction of the Jaina temples of the Chalukyas appears to have aroused both the political and religious feelings of that people, and to have led them to a successful attack upon the Cholas. After these events, the Chera provinces fell into a state of anarchy for a short period, when they became subject to the Bellala, or Hoyisála dynasty, who ruled over the centre of the peninsula for upwards of two centuries. An appendix to the paper gives several lists of Chera and Chola kings, from various sources.

Lieut. Cruttenden, assistant to the East-India Company's political agent at Aden, was elected a non-resident member of the Society.

Oriental Translation Committee.

THIS Committee held a meeting on the 22nd November, the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., in the chair. A letter from Capt. Troyer, of Paris, was read, announcing the completion of the printing of his translation of the celebrated Persian work, the *Dabistan*, in three vols. octavo. The completion of the second volume of Baron Mac-Guckin de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán's "Lives of Illustrious Men of Islámism" was announced. On the table was a copy of the second volume of Don Pascual de Gayangos's translation of Al-Makkarí's "History of Mahommedan Spain." This elaborate work, extending to two large volumes, each of which contains upwards of 600 pages, in quarto, is now completed, and must be considered as a valuable acquisition to our historic records.

College Examination.

EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S MILITARY SEMINARY, ADDISCOMBEE.

A public examination of the Gentlemen Cadets educated at the East-India Company's Military Seminary took place on Friday, the 8th December, in the presence of the Chairman, John Cotton, Esq. ; the Deputy Chairman, John Shepherd, Esq. ; several members of the Honourable Court of Directors, and the following visitors, viz.—*Major-Generals* Sir J. L. Caldwell (K.C.B., Madras Eng.); Trewman (Madras Est.); Hogg (Bombay Est.).—*Colonel* Lacy (R.Carr.Dep.); *Lieut.-Colonels* Sir F. Smith (R.E.), W. B. Dundas (R.A., Inspector-General Art.), Browne (R.E.); D. Macleod (Madras Cav.), Paske (Madras Est.), Joseph Harris (Bengal Est.), C. R. W. Lane (C.B., Bengal Est.), Low (C.B., Madras Est.), W. Spiller (Bombay Est.), and Hay (E.I.Co.'s depôt); *Majors* Jebb (R.E.), Willock (Madras Est.), and Harris (Bombay Eng.); *Captains* Whitmore (R.E.), A. Goldie (Bengal Est.), Stotherd (R.E.), H. O. Bryen (R.M.Acad.), and Stace (R.M.Acad.); *Lieutenant* J. C. Haughton (54th Bengal N.I.); P. Melvill, P. Barlow (R.M.Acad.), J. B. Yzarn, H. B. Smith, M. and S. Gilmore, and T. Hankey, *Esquires*; the Rev. H. Lindsay, G. Coles, R. Master, and L. Deedes.

The class consisted of thirty-two Gentlemen Cadets, of whom six were selected for the Engineers, viz.—Joseph Henry Dyas, Alexander Fraser, Charles Stewart Paton, Henry Drummond, John Charles Harris, and Peter Pierce Lyons O'Connell; twelve for the Artillery, viz.—David John Falconar Newall, James Fairlie Gilmore, John Edmund Watson, Robert Morton, Charles Wade Crump, Arthur Bunny, William Morton Gowan, John Jefferis, William John Gray, John Tulloh, Napier George Campbell, and Joseph Oldfield; the remaining twelve were allotted to the Infantry, viz.—Edward Winterton Dun, Llewellyn Paxton, George Crommelin Hankin, Leonard Turquand, Henry Waddington, James Owen Penson, Alexander Campbell McNeill, George Hunter Thompson, Plunket Bouchier, James Sinclair, Henry Thomas Walker, and John Campbell Douglas.

The distribution of prizes was as follows:—

First Class.—Gentleman Cadet A. Fraser, 2nd Fortification, Military Surveying, Civil Drawing, 1st Good Conduct; J. H. Dyas, 2nd Mathematical, 1st Fortification, 2nd Good Conduct; H. Drummond, Latin; C. Paton, Military Drawing, 1st Hindustani; P. L. O'Connell, 1st Mathematical; W. M. Gowan, French; W. Gray, 2nd Hindustani.

Second Class.—H. Hyde, Fortification, Military Surveying, 3rd Good Conduct; Ralph Young, Mathematics, French, Hindustani; George Hutchinson, Military Drawing; Wm. Miller, Civil Drawing; T. Haydon, Latin.

Third Class.—C. F. Boddam, 4th Good Conduct.

In presenting the prize for First Good Conduct to Mr. Fraser, Mr. Cotton (the Chairman) addressed that young gentleman as follows:—"Mr. Fraser, I have the pleasing duty—indeed to you I must say now, in reference to what passed on two former occasions, the peculiarly gratifying duty—of presenting to you, in the name of the Court of Directors, this sword, as an especial mark of their approbation of your exemplary conduct whilst at the Military Seminary; and I feel that it will be only giving expression to the sentiments of those to whom your conduct has been more intimately known, when I add my

conviction that the reward thus early merited by you is but an earnest of your desire to establish and maintain a high and distinguished character in the military service of India."

The MATHEMATICAL EXAMINATION commenced with several propositions in Geometry, which were demonstrated by the lower part of the class in a very clear and satisfactory manner. These Cadets then answered a number of questions in Algebra, Trigonometry, and Mensuration; and they appeared to understand fully the different propositions which they explained. General Pasley then proceeded to examine the other parts of the class in Conic Sections, Analytical Trigonometry, and Mechanics. The different systems of pulleys were explained by Mr. O'Connell, and the principles of the ballistic pendulum by Mr. Fraser. The buoyancy of the new cylindrical pontoons was investigated by Mr. Dyas, and Mr. Drummond calculated the height to which the water would rise in a prismatic diving-bell, when it was sunk to a given depth (ninety feet) in the ocean. All these gentlemen gave their explanations in a very superior manner, and seemed to deserve the high encomiums bestowed on them by the Public Examiner.

FORTIFICATION and ARTILLERY DEPARTMENT.—The first class were examined by Major-General Pasley in these branches, and acquitted themselves creditably. The plans and drawings in these departments shew the good taste, talent, and acquirements of the students. The most interesting and attractive exhibition at this examination was a large model in stiff sand, on a *scale of one inch to a foot*, of an excellent specimen of a mud fort, so common in India, *the Fort of Nepaunee*, in the Southern Marattah Country. This model fills the whole area of the octagonal redoubt near the north lodge at Addiscombe. It has been traced and superintended by Cadets Harris, Newall, Watson, O'Connell, Tulloh, Jefferis, Bunny, and Gowan, aided in the construction by Gunner Cook and Corporals Daniels and Wright. The Fort of Nepaunee was reduced in February, 1841, by a field force of the Madras Army, under the command of Major Vivian. There being no bomb-proof, a train of two 8-inch mortars and one 24-pounder howitzer sufficed to reduce the garrison into a surrender. In the attack proposed by the Cadets above named, it is presumed that casemated cover has been provided, and that the only available artillery in the attack is a battery of light field pieces; mining is therefore resorted to, the field guns being employed in breaking down the parapets and loopholes on the attacked fronts. On the third evening, the crest of the glacis is crowned by the sap, and galleries of descent immediately commenced: these galleries pierce the escarp in two places, and are driven under the *fausse braie* and *enceinte*. Three charges are lodged in branches driven from these two sets of galleries, *viz.* two to blow in the counterscarp; two directly opposite, under the *fausse braie* walls; and two under the *enceinte*: thus, two great sets of breaches are made simultaneously for two assaulting parties. On the eighth morning after the investment, these mines would be exploded, and the assault given. This model of Nepaunee is upon a scale sufficiently large for shewing all these galleries and mines on the miniature scale in which this work has been executed, and suitable charges were accordingly lodged and discharged on this occasion, which at once shewed the superiority of mining in attacking mud forts on plains. This model was executed from a plan and sections of Nepaunee, contained in the Madras Artillery Records of 1841.

First Class.—MILITARY DRAWINGS exhibited:—**Mr. Paton (prize), Cape of Good Hope (pen and ink, done in a masterly style); **Mr. Drummond, Guarda (shade); **Mr. Dyas, Mondego Bay, sketch and operations; **Mr. Hankin, Mequinenza (pen and ink); **Mr. Glover, Roliça (shade); **Mr. Jefferis, Roliça; Mr. Fraser, Ground on both sides of the Mondego; *Messrs. Harris and Gilmore, Fuentes D'Oñoro; *Mr. O'Connell, Mequinenza; Mr. Paxton, Pombal; Mr. Newall, Tarragone; Mr. Tulloh, Talavera De la Reyna; Mr. Watson, Battle of Maida; Mr. N. Campbell, Affair near Sabugal; Mr. Bunny, Roliça; Mr. Gray, Redinha; Mr. Gowan, Position of Santarem.

Second Class:—Plans.—*Mr. Hutchinson and *Mr. Winscom, Alhandra and Torres Vedras (prize); *Mr. Fitzgerald, Condeixa; *Mr. Timbrell, Part of the General Plan of Portugal; Mr. Stewart, Pombal; Mr. Hyde, Nivelles; Mr. G. R. Brown, Sagonte (pen work); Mr. Sharp, St. Sebastian; Mr. Waddington, Passage of the River Douro; Mr. Thompson (shade in pencil), Survey of Ground near Addington; Mr. Miller, D'Oropesa; Mr. Cox, Castalla; *Mr. Fife, Guarda; *Mr. Leeds, Foz D'Aronce; Mr. Harrison, Tarifa; Mr. Griffith, Battle of Vimiera; Mr. G. G. Brown, Redinha. Numerous sketches from models of ground done by the junior classes.

In the DEPARTMENT of MILITARY SURVEYING, the Trigonometrical Surveys and Military Reconnaissance Sketches seemed to give general satisfaction. An extensive sketch of the country, comprising Parley and Riddle's Downs, executed by the Gentlemen Cadets of the first class, was highly creditable to them. We noticed particularly the plans of Messrs. Fraser, Dyas, Drummond, Paton, Harris, Crump, Newall, Gilmore, Morton, Watson, O'Connell, and Jefferis, as evincing much ability and good drawing in the contour style. Of the surveys performed by the Cadets of the second class, we remarked that of Mr. Hyde, as furnishing an excellent specimen of contour drawing; while those of Messrs. Glover, Winscom, Fitzgerald, Hutchinson, Stewart, and G. R. Brown, merited much commendation. In the third class, the plans of Messrs. Grindall, Jones, Boddam, Greathed, Moberly, and Newmarsh, were highly satisfactory.

LANDSCAPE DEPARTMENT.—Judging by the number of excellent drawings shewn at the late public examinations at Addiscombe, it would seem that the interest taken in this department by the Gentlemen Cadets is increasing, and in that supposition we are confirmed by the present collection, which contains a highly favourable display of their taste, skill, and industry. Amongst the best must be noticed a large and beautiful view of one of the lakes in Cumberland, by Cadet A. Fraser, which received the first prize; the west front of Addiscombe House, most carefully wrought out, and painted with much of the force and freshness of nature in the trees, &c., by Cadet John Harris; a cattle-piece, by Cadet Charles Crump, executed with much life and spirit, and in a richness and depth of colouring more resembling oils than water-colours; a large view of Harlech Castle, Merionethshire, by Cadet John Jefferis, exceedingly well painted, with great brilliancy of colouring on the foreground, and a close attention to truth in the aerial perspective of the distances; a large and very effective sea-piece, by Cadet D. Newall; a large view on the south coast of the Isle of Wight, near Ventnor, by Cadet John Gilmore, done with great richness and transparency of colour; an extensive view near Hesketh, Cumberland, by Cadet H. Drummond; a view in Rotterdam, by Cadet C. Paton;

** The asterisks denote drawings of considerable excellence in this department.

with many other very good drawings, all by gentlemen of the first class. Many excellent drawings were shewn, also, by the Cadets of the Second Class, of which we can only mention a very clever cattle-piece by Cadet Wm. Miller, for which he received the second prize, and we regret that our space will only allow us to enumerate the names, and not the works, of some of the best, *viz.* Cadets H. Hyde, James Fife, George Hutchinson, Wm. Fitzgerald, T. Glover, Geo. Winscom, Edw. Leeds, &c. &c., all of this class.

In the LITHOGRAPHIC DEPARTMENT, the specimens afford a gratifying proof of the great zeal and industry of the gentlemen by whom they have been done.

At the close of the examination, and after the distribution of the prizes, the Chairman addressed the Cadets as follows:—

“Gentlemen Cadets,—It gives me great pleasure to have again the opportunity of congratulating you upon the very favourable report of the Public Examiner and the Lieut.-Governor as to the attention, diligence, and more especially good conduct, which have been so conspicuous amongst you since my last visit to this institution.

“The opinion thus recorded by your superiors, together with the result of this examination, will not only prove as satisfactory to the Court of Directors as it does to myself, but will, I am persuaded, be the source of unmingled delight to your parents and friends, whom you are now about to rejoin, and whose approval and happiness I doubt not each of you is most anxious to gain and promote.

“To the zealous exertions of the Public Examiner, the Lieut.-Governor, and the several Professors and Officers, I cannot but mainly attribute this continued prosperity of our military seminary, and I should not do justice to my own feelings, nor do my duty in the situation which I have the honour to fill, were I to omit to avail myself of the opportunity now afforded to me of expressing my acknowledgments to them for their very efficient discharge of the important duties with which they are intrusted. That you, Gentlemen Cadets, are duly sensible of your obligations to those able and excellent men, I cannot doubt; and I would indulge a confident hope and expectation that the habits of subordination and studious application, of moral culture and mental discipline, which they have sedulously inculcated and enforced, will not be laid aside when you leave this institution and enter upon the field of service for which you are destined, but that they will be strengthened and increased by continued exercise.

“You know, and I am sure must readily acknowledge, the high value of this scientific education, of which you have enjoyed the benefit. Do not, then, if you have any regard for your personal happiness, and desire distinction in your professional career, allow yourselves for a moment to suppose that your acquirements of knowledge may be terminated with your residence at this institution; still more I earnestly entreat you not to allow yourselves to forget one iota of those Christian principles in which you have been educated; these, if carefully fostered, will be your surest safeguard amidst the trials and temptations to which, as the common lot of all, you may and will be exposed, and founded on them alone is true happiness to be enjoyed.

“You have been here accustomed to indulgent and gentlemanly attention from your superiors; it is not, then, too much for me to expect that, when placed

in a situation of command yourselves, you will be always studious to treat those under your authority with like indulgence, sympathy, and regard.

"There is one branch of study to which I more particularly took occasion to advert when I last addressed you, and upon which, from its importance, I cannot avoid again touching—though I am happy to find there has been shewn an increased attention to it in the past term—I mean the study and acquirement of the native languages. Of the necessity of an acquaintance with the language of those with whom we may be in constant communication, I cannot suppose any one who now hears me can be insensible. This knowledge is, perhaps, nowhere and under no circumstances so essential as in the Indian army; the fidelity and the valour of the native soldiers are unquestionable, but attention to their wants, feelings, and prejudices, is one of the first duties of a Company's officer; without such a proficiency in the language as will enable an officer to communicate freely with the men under his command, how, may I ask, can that duty be efficiently performed, and without its efficient performance, how can it be expected that the attachment of the soldier to his commanding officer and his devotion to the service will be secured? I speak upon the authority of men of the highest distinction and greatest experience in the military profession—and there are many now present who I am sure would readily confirm what I am about to say—that no officer can properly perform his regimental duties if he be ignorant of the language of the native soldier; and so strongly do the Court of Directors feel the great importance, indeed the urgent necessity, of every officer making himself acquainted, as early as possible after his arrival in India, with the vernacular language, that they have recently issued further instructions on the subject, which will render the possession of such knowledge an indispensable qualification for the charge of a troop or company in all its advantages; and for staff employment, the qualification in a superior degree has been no less insisted upon. You will, therefore, I trust, adopt every means to improve yourselves in the knowledge which you may now possess of Hindostanee, whether in this country, on your passage to India, or when you shall have reached your destination.

"The foregoing observations may be considered more aptly to apply to those gentlemen amongst you who have completed your studies at this institution. I would, therefore, conclude this address by a few words in exhortation to you, gentlemen, who will rejoin it after the present vacation. To you I would most affectionately and earnestly recommend, at all times, strict obedience to the orders of your superiors, and the most assiduous attention to the instructions you receive, and you will then, I hope, have the happiness, with those now quitting the seminary, and with equal approbation and credit, to proceed, not only to obey, where obedience is due, but to guide and command in India.

"Gentlemen Cadets,—It now only remains for me to express my cordial wishes for your future happiness and prosperity, and, with every kindly feeling, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

The great length of the Report from Haileybury College, including the address of the Rev. C. Webb Le Bas, on his retirement from the principalship, compels us to defer it till next month.

The next Term will commence on Friday, the 19th of January. The students must return to college on Tuesday, the 23rd of January, at the very latest.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, December 20th, 1843.

A quarterly general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day at the Company's house in Leadenhall-street, pursuant to the terms of the charter.

SUPERANNUATIONS.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The *Chairman* (Mr. T. Cotton) said, he had to lay before the Court, in conformity with the by-laws, cap. 6, sec. 19, a list of superannuations granted by the Court of Directors, since the last general Court, to officers of the Company in England, under the 53rd George III. cap. 155, sec. 93.

HALF-YEAR'S DIVIDEND.

The *Chairman*.—I have farther to acquaint the Court, that the warrants for the payment of the half-yearly dividend on the Company's capital stock, under the 11th section of the act of the 3rd and 4th Will. IV. cap. 85, will be ready for delivery on Saturday, the 6th of January next.

AFFAIRS OF SINDE.

The *Chairman*.—At the special General Court, held on the 17th of November, it was resolved :—"That the Court of Directors be requested to lay before this Court such papers as may have been communicated to them by the secret committee, regarding the proceedings which have taken place in Sindé; that the same be printed for the use of the proprietors; and that the Court of Directors be requested to apply for and to lay before this Court all further information upon this important subject which her Majesty's government may be able to communicate." I have now to acquaint the Court, that, in conformity with that resolution, the deputy chairman and myself had the honour to write to the president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India on the 22nd ult., requesting "that the board of commissioners would be pleased to authorize the secret committee to lay before the Court the further information which the resolution contemplates." In answer, Lord Ripon has assured us, "that additional papers relating to Sindé should be laid before the Court of Directors at the earliest period at which, in the judgment of the Board, such a step can be taken without the risk of prejudice to the public interests."

The correspondence was then read as follows :

" East-India House, Nov. 22, 1843.

" My Lord,—We have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that at the general Court of the East-India Company, held on the 17th inst. the Court resolved,—'That the Court of Directors be requested to lay before this Court such papers as may have been communicated to them by the secret committee regarding the proceedings which have taken place in Sindé; that the same be printed for the use of the proprietors: and that the Court of Directors be requested to apply for, and to lay before this Court, all further information upon this important subject which her Majesty's government may be able to communicate.' In accordance with the terms of the said resolution, in which the Court of Directors entirely concur, we have the honour to convey to your lordship the request of the Court, that the Board of Commissioners will be pleased to authorize the secret committee

to lay before the Court the further information which that resolution contemplates.

"We have, &c.,

"J. COTTON,

"J. SHEPHERD.

"To the Right. Hon. the Earl of Ripon, &c."

"India Board, Dec. 15, 1843.

"Gentlemen, — I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ult., communicating to me a resolution passed by the general Court of the East-India Company, held on the 17th of the same month, and conveying the request of the Court of Directors, that the commissioners for the affairs of India will authorize the secret committee to lay before the Court the further information regarding the proceedings which have taken place in Sindh contemplated by the said resolution.

"In reply, I have to assure you, that additional papers relating to Sindh will be laid before the Court of Directors at the earliest period at which, in the judgment of the Board, such a statement can be taken without the risk of prejudice to the public interests.

"I have, &c.,

"RIPON.

"To the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman
of the Court of Directors."

The *Chairman* then stated that the papers, moved for and ordered on the 17th of November, were printed; and that they would be ready for delivery at that house at 12 o'clock on Tuesday next.

SUPPORT OF IDOLATRY.

The first notice on the paper was that of the following motion, by Mr. *Poynder*:—"That the despatch of Lord Auckland of the 17th November, 1838, by which his Lordship rejected the proposed plan of the Bengal Government, and recommended the annual money payment of 6,000*l.* to the temple of Juggernaut, to which recommendation the Directors assented by their despatch of the 2nd of June, 1840, be considered by the Court of Proprietors, on motion for abrogating such money payment, upon the ground of no original pledge or engagement having ever been given for the same by or on behalf of this Company, as erroneously alleged by Lord Auckland in his despatch."

The *Chairman* said he had received a letter from Mr. *Poynder*, requesting a postponement of his motion, which he would read to the Court:—

"New Bridge-street, Dec. 20.

"Dear Sir,—Understanding that a satisfactory reply from the Government of India, in reference to the annual payment of 6,000*l.* to the temple of Juggernaut, is not yet received, I feel as unwilling as before unduly to press, this day, the motion of which I have so long given notice. I have no doubt that, under these circumstances, you will still permit my notice to stand for the March court, and that my reason for delaying to make the motion now will be brought before the proprietors now about to meet.

"I have, &c.,

"JOHN POYNDER."

"The Hon. Chairman of the East-India Company."

The *Chairman* supposed that there could be no objection to allowing the motion to stand over.

Mr. *Fielder* hoped that this would not be drawn into a precedent, by which motions, postponed in this manner, would take precedence of other motions, of which regular notice had been given.

Mr. *Weeding* also objected to this practice, which might, at a future period,

interfere with important matters, that called for immediate discussion. In cases of this kind, where the originator of a notice did not proceed with his motion, they ought to consider it (such was the practice of the House of Commons) as a dropped motion, only to be renewed by a regular notice.

The Chairman.—This motion is postponed under peculiar circumstances,—because certain information, which was expected from India, has not arrived. I therefore hope that the Proprietors will permit the motion to be postponed till March next. Motion postponed.

CAPTAIN PATERSON'S CASE.

Major *Oliphant* said, the motion of which he had given notice was this :—
 “That from a careful perusal of the papers laid before this Court, connected with the claim of Captain John Paterson for maritime compensation, it appears that that officer, after performing eleven voyages, extending over a period of 34 years, was in the Company's actual employment until the 11th of March, 1829, on which date he was compelled to resign the command of his ship, in consequence of ill-health, duly attested by medical certificate ; that the fact of his having served and received wages within the period of five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833, having been clearly established, and he having signed the necessary declaration in the form prescribed, this Court is of opinion that Captain Paterson has made good his claim, and should be admitted to the annuity of 200*l.*, agreeably to the regulations for granting compensation to the late maritime service.” The gallant officer proceeded to say, he believed that this resolution embodied the whole of the facts of Captain Paterson's case, which seemed to him to be so straightforward and plain a one as not to call for any lengthened observation. He would, however, by a brief statement, place the claim of Captain Paterson in so clear a light as, he hoped, would lead the Court unanimously to agree in the resolution which he had read. In the first place, he would look to the rule under which compensation of the kind now sought for was granted ; and, in the next, he would endeavour to shew, that, under that rule, Capt. Paterson was fairly entitled to a pension of 200*l.* per annum. The compensation might be either in the nature of pension or gratuity. The pension was to be granted to such commanders and officers as had been ten years and upwards in the Company's service, and had been in actual employment within five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833. There could be no doubt, that if any compensation at all could be claimed by Captain Paterson, his claim must be for a pension. That claim, he thought, was undeniable, for certainly he had been for ten years and upwards in the service ; and as certainly, in his (Major Oliphant's) view of the case, he had been in actual employment within five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833. He should now read the rule, to which he had adverted, as to pensions and gratuities, which was confirmed by the Board of Control, on the 12th of November, 1834. It set forth :—“The compensation, whether pension or gratuity, to be given to such commanders and officers only as have been in actual employ in the service, within the period of five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833, upon their declaring that it was their intention to continue to follow the profession in the maritime service of the Company.” That rule being agreed to by the Board of Control, the next question was, whether Capt. Paterson was or was not in the service of the Company within five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833? The gallant officer then proceeded to prove, by a reference to the papers connected with Captain Pa-

terson's case, that that gentleman was actually employed in the service of the Company within the prescribed period, which would entitle him to a pension. The medical certificates, stating the causes which compelled him to retire were to be found amongst the papers, and were most full and satisfactory. It appeared evident, upon a full review of the case, that Captain Paterson, up to the 11th of March, 1829, was in the receipt of wages, and was actually employed in the service, which brought him within the stipulated period of five years before the 28th of August, 1833. It might be asked, "If this gentleman's case was so clear, why, although recommended by the Court of Directors, was it rejected by the Board of Control?" Now, in the whole of these papers, he found but one letter that bore reference to matter of objection; and that letter seemed to be written in relation to a point, about which the Court of Directors were not satisfied, in 1834. They requested to know, with reference to the terms, "in actual employ in the service, within the period of five years antecedent to the 28th of August, 1833," whether "that period should be reckoned from the date of the ship's being cleared, when the captain ceased to receive wages, or from the date when the charter-party was finally cancelled, and the captain declared eligible for a future command?" The meaning of this question was obvious. It was merely to ascertain, whether the period which elapsed between the ship's being cleared, and the charter-party closed, was, or was not to be included in the time of actual service? It was decided by the Board of Control that this intermediate portion of time was not to be taken into the account. This decision he considered to be an exceedingly great hardship; but, fortunately for the case which he brought forward, it could not, by any possibility, affect it. He believed that the Court of Directors, at the time this case was considered, felt that some injustice was done to Captain Paterson, and a good deal of discussion took place on the subject. He should be quite satisfied to leave the case in their hands; but, after the difficulty they had before encountered, he thought it was right that the proprietors should express their opinion on the subject. Before he sat down, he would call their attention to the case of Captain Harvey Wilmot, which was known to them all, and which was completely in point, except in this respect, that Captain Paterson had made more voyages than Captain Wilmot. Having briefly referred to the circumstances of Captain Wilmot's case, the gallant officer expressed a hope, that, as the Court of Directors had admitted, that Captain Paterson was actually in employment, within the period prescribed by the regulation, and that he had signed the necessary declaration, they would now act with the Court of Proprietors in carrying into effect the resolution which he begged leave to propose, in order that equal justice should be dealt out to one individual as well as to another. (*Hear! hear!*)

An hon. *Proprietor* seconded the resolution, which, he said, was fully borne out by all the facts of the case.

Mr. *Fielder* supported the motion. He had ever been the friend of a wise economy—but when he found that the Board of Commissioners had increased the Indian debt to £34,000,000, on very questionable grounds, he conceived that they ought not to have been so strict when they were called on to reward the meritorious services of the Company's maritime officers. Such conduct was marked by great inconsistency. In 1835, the Court of Directors took the case of Capt. Paterson into consideration; and, after due deliberation, they recommended that officer to receive compensation. He had looked into the whole of the papers, and he found that the unanimous opinion of the Directors

was in favour of this claim. The Directors considered it to be a just and proper claim, and, so considering, they had recommended it to the Board of Commissioners. That was the deliberate act of the Court of Directors, and he thought that the Board of Commissioners were bound to attend to that recommendation. A very strong letter had been written to the Board of Commissioners, regretting their refusal, but, as it appeared, without effect. He found, after all the labour and pains which the Directors had taken in investigating the subject—an investigation which fully convinced them, that this gentleman was entitled to compensation—that their representation to that effect had no weight whatever with the Board of Commissioners. He certainly thought, when the Court of Directors, having carefully examined all the papers, had recommended the payment of this paltry pension of £200, or whatever it might be, that the Board of Commissioners should also have agreed to it. They would now see, whether the Board of Commissioners would refuse a claim which was jointly supported by the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors. He thought that matters of this kind ought not to be left to the Court of Directors alone. In saying this, he did not mean any disrespect to the Court of Directors; what he meant was, that, whenever the Court of Directors were, as in this instance, opposed by the Board of Commissioners, the Court of Proprietors ought, in his opinion, to be found ready and anxious to assist them, especially when the case was one of compensation to a deserving officer.

Mr. *Weeding* said, he had carefully read the papers, and he thought that Capt. Paterson made out a clear and indisputable claim to receive the same compensation which the Court had awarded to a great many officers. He did not wish to enter into any discussion, as his hon. friend (Mr. Fielder) had done, with respect to the conduct of the Board of Control; but he did think, that they ought to act, not merely with justice, but with liberality, towards those who had served them faithfully. He had looked anxiously through the papers, and he could see no reason for the rejection of this claim by the Board of Control, except that the Court of Directors had themselves, in the first instance, felt some doubt on a particular point. They ought not, however, he conceived, in cases of this nature, to stand upon nice points and distinctions. They ought, on the contrary, to act in a liberal spirit, towards those who had served them well. He trusted that the Court would be unanimous in the approval of this motion.

The *Chairman* said, the papers relating to this case, which were fully before the Court, clearly indicated the views which the Court of Directors entertained on the subject. His own sentiments were in accordance with those views, and therefore he had not the slightest objection to offer to the motion. The gallant officer had certainly made a very clear and plain statement in bringing forward his proposition.

The motion was then agreed to; and on the motion of Major Oliphant, it was ordered that the resolution should be communicated to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.

MARQUESS WELLESLEY'S STATUE.

Mr. *Weeding* wished to ask, when the statue which had been voted in honour of the late Marquess Wellesley would be erected in that court?

The *Chairman* said he was not able to give any precise information to the hon. proprietor on the subject. The work was in progress. The death of Sir Francis Chantrey had retarded it; but he hoped that it would soon be completed.

INDIAN APPEALS.

Mr. *Lewis* gave notice, that it was his intention, at the next quarterly general Court, "To call the attention of the Court to the subject of appeals from the Courts of Sudder Adawlut, with a view to the substitution of a less expensive and more efficient jurisdiction, as a court of ultimate appeal."

The Court then adjourned. •

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(From the *Indian Mail*.)

ARRIVALS REPORTED.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Alexander Grant.
 Mr. William J. Allen.
 Mr. William Strachey.
 Mr. Edward H. C. Monckton.
Madras.—Mr. Wm. H. Bayley.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Lieut. Col. Charles R. W. Lane, c.b., 2nd N.I.
 Lieut. Col. William Burroughs, 29th N.I.
 Lieut. Col. Sir Edward A. Campbell, c.b., 3rd Lt. Cav.
 Capt. John T. Somerville, 51st N.I.
 Capt. Henry Drummond, 3rd Lt. Cav.
 Capt. William Wise, 29th N.I.
 Capt. Henry D. Maitland, 72nd N.I.
 Capt. Arthur C. Rainey, 25th N.I.
 Capt. George Lawrence, 11th Lt. Cav.
 Capt. William H. Boland (retired).
 Capt. Robert Doolan, 12th N.I.
 Capt. Richard Chitty, 40th N.I.
 Brev. Capt. Henry A. Shuckburgh, 40th N.I.
 Lieut. Charles F. M. Mundy, 34th N.I.
 Lieut. Charles E. Phillpotts, 41st N.I.
 Lieut. Charles Hogge, artillery.
 Lieut. Francis Drake, 61st N.I.
 Lieut. James Duncan, 26th N.I.
 Lieut. Charles T. E. Hinde, 65th N.I.
 Ens. Robert M. Nott, 64th N.I.
 Surg. John Smyth, M.D., 63rd N.I.
 Surg. Frederick H. Brett.
 Assist. Surg. John B. Dickson.
Madras.—Lieut. Col. John P. James, 18th N.I.
 Capt. Harry H. Watts, 26th N.I.
 Capt. Thomas W. Cooke, invalids.
 Capt. William Garron, 9th N.I.
 Capt. George Dunsmure, 8th Lt. Cav.
 Capt. De Renzie J. Brett, 31st Lt. Inf.
 Capt. Hector Mackenzie, 34th Lt. Inf.
 Capt. Charles Pooley, 38th N.I.
 Lieut. Richard Kinkhead, artillery.
 Lieut. Charles G. Southey, 48th N.I.
 Lieut. George Selby, artillery.
 Lieut. Richard Crewe, 45th N.I.
 Lieut. Charles F. Kirby, 14th N.I.
 Lieut. William M. Gabbett, artillery.
 Lieut. Arthur J. Cattley, 1st Eur. Reg.
 Lieut. Frank B. Lys, 45th N.I.
 Lieut. Henry A. O. Const, 48th N.I.

Cornet William S. S. Mulcaster, 6th Lt. Cav.
 Ensign Charles Hight, 18th N.I.
 Ensign Francis Waugh, 47th N.I.
 Assist. Surg. John A. Reynolds.
 Assist. Surg. John Gill.

Bombay.—Lieut. James H. Crawford, engineers.
 Lieut. Charles D. Ducat, 13th N.I.
 Lieut. William F. Leeson, 2nd N.I.
 Deputy Assistant Commissary Thomas Hook.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Thomas Scallan, master, Pilot Estab.

Bombay.—Capt. William Lowe, I.N.
 Midshipman James Hamilton, I.N.
 Midshipman Horatio Hill Garrett, I.N.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Daniel Inglis Money.
 Mr. Henry Robert Alexander.
 Mr. William Maxwell Dirom.
 Mr. Mungo Smith Gilmore, overland, 1st Jan.
 Mr. John Muir, 1st inst.

Madras.—Mr. Charles James Bird.

Bombay.—Mr. William Edward Frere.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Capt. Robert Garrett, 69th N.I.
 Capt. William Moultrie, 57th N.I., in Jan.
 Brev. Capt. Colin C. J. Scott, 32nd N.I.
 Lieut. Murray Mackenzie, artillery, overland, Dec.
 Lieut. Alfred Cooper Hutchinson, artillery, overland, Dec.
 Lieut. William Maitland Roberts, overland, Dec.
 Lieut. Henry Yule, engineers, overland.
 Lieut. William T. Wilson, 58th N.I.
 Lieut. John S. Bristowe, 71st N.I., Jan.
 Lieut. Edward Hervey, 10th Lt. Cav., overland.
 Surg. James F. Steuart, M.D.

Madras.—Major-Gen. Francis W. Wilson, C.B., 1st Eur. Reg.
 Lieut. Col. Francis F. Whinyates, artillery, overland, Jan.
 Major Thomas Stockwell, 28th N.I.
 Major Aeneas Sherreff, artillery, overland, Dec. or Jan.
 Major Charles Wahab, 16th N.I., overland.
 Capt. Hen. Swan Waters, 3rd Lt. Cav., overland, Dec.
 Capt. Charles Edward Faber, engineers, overland, Dec.
 Capt. James Woodward, 32nd N.I., overland, Feb.
 Lieut. George Lennox, 4th Lt. Cav., overland, Dec.
 Lieut. John B. Mortimer, 34th Lt. Inf., Dec.
 Lieut. George M. Martin, 42nd N.I., overland.
 Lieut. Vicentio C. Taylor, 3rd Lt. I., in Feb.
 Lieut. Charles J. A. Deane, 42nd N.I.
 Assist. Surg. Charles Ferrier, overland, Dec.
 Assist. Surg. Alexander J. Will, overland.

Bombay.—Lieut. Col. James Outram, C.B., 23rd Lt. Inf.
 Capt. Edward Skipper, 7th N.I., overland, Feb.
 Capt. Francis J. Pontardent, artillery.
 Brev. Capt. Henry W. Evans, 9th N.I., Jan.
 Lieut. John L. P. Hoare, 13th N.I., overland, Nov.
 Lieut. James Bedford, 2nd N.I.
 Lieut. Augustus E. Saunders, 2nd Eur. Reg., overland, Feb.
 Lieut. John L. Hendley, 2nd Eur. Lt. Inf.

Lieut. Frederick Jackson, 24th N.I.

Lieut. George P. Sealy, artillery.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Alfred Harris, master, Pilot Estab.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Major William Veysie, invalids.

Madras.—Capt. J. J. Sherwood, ditto.

Capt. R. H. Robinson, ditto.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Bombay.—Lieut. Frederick Parry Webb, Indian Navy.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Henry B. Beresford, three months.

Mr. Hugh Rose, six months.

Mr. Charles Gubbins, six months.

Mr. John Peter Grant, six months.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Lieut. Col. Henry L. White, 56th N.I., six months.

Lieut. Col. Charles A. G. Wallington, 61st N.I., six months.

Capt. Nathaniel S. Nesbitt, 22nd N.I., six months.

Brev. Capt. William Baker, 9th Lt. Cav., six months.

Lieut. Lawrence Hill, engineers, three months.

Assist. Surg. Andrew Vans Dunlop, three months, with permission to return overland.

Madras.—Major Archibald Woodburn, invalids, six months.

Capt. Thomas H. Hull, 1st Eur. Reg., six months.

Capt. Ebenezer Marshall, invalids, six months.

Lieut. Vicentio C. Taylor, 3rd Lt. Inf., three months.

Lieut. Robert J. Pollock, 8th Lt. Cav., six months.

Lieut. Charles W. Gordon, 7th Lt. Cav., six months.

Lieut. Thomas Smyth, engineers, six months.

Lieut. John Stewart, 49th N.I., two months.

Bombay.—Brev. Capt. Henry W. Evans, 9th N.I., till Jan.

Brev. Capt. James C. Bate, 11th N.I., four months.

Lieut. John Alexander, 2nd N.I., six months.

Lieut. Charles R. Dent, artillery, six months.

Surg. Henry Johnston, six months.

Surg. Richard Frith, six months.

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—The Rev. Robert Bland till Jan., and then to proceed overland.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

Bengal.—Mr. Thomas Scallan, master pilot, three months, to enable him to return to Bengal, *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

Bombay.—Capt. John C. Hawkins, I.N., six months.

APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. Horace Meyer has been appointed a volunteer for the pilot service on the Bengal establishment.

Mr. Augustus John Poett to be a veterinary surgeon on the Bombay establishment.

Mr. Daniel Dyson, now in Calcutta, to be a volunteer for the pilot service on the Bengal establishment.

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

At a Court of Directors, held 19th December, the Rev. Henry Melvill, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, was appointed Principal of the East-India College at Haileybury.

Mr. Sergeant Jones, formerly Solicitor-General of Van Diemen's Land, is expected to succeed the late Sir J. D. Norton on the Bench of the Supreme Court at Madras.

It is generally expected that Major-general Sir G. Pollock will succeed to the seat in the council, vacant on the resignation of Sir W. Casement.

Lieut.-gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland has been appointed governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, in succession to Major-general Sir G. T. Napier. Sir Peregrine will be accompanied by the Hon. Col. Bagot as military secretary, and Viscount Mandeville and Lieut. Maitland, grenadier guards, as aides-de-camp.

Paul Ivy Sterling, Esq., has been appointed attorney general for the island of Hong-Kong.

Sir Robert Sale has been appointed to the full colonelcy of the 13th regiment, or Prince Albert's light infantry, in the room of Gen. Morrison, dec.

H. S. Chapman, Esq., of the Inner Temple, has been appointed chief justice at Wellington, New Zealand, with a salary of 800*l.* per annum.

It is said that Mr. M'Gregor, who has filled the office of consul at Elsinore, is to be consul-general in China.

The Court of Directors have refused to sanction a regulation, recently passed at Bombay, imposing much higher rates than were previously charged for the conveyance of parcels, &c., by steamers to and from Suez.

Cadetships in the East-India Company's service have been promised to the two eldest sons of the late Captain Trevor, who fell at Cabul.

A further reduction of the sugar duties is understood to be in the contemplation of government.

The amount of bills drawn by the East India Company in the month ending 5th of Dec., 1843: - Bengal, 131,115*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*; Madras, 17,519*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; Bombay, 4,800*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* Total, 153,435*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*

The amount of bullion (in coin and bars) exported from the port of London in the month of November, 1843:—Calcutta, gold, ozs., 1,000; Ceylon, silver, ozs., 12,000; Mauritius, gold, ozs., 375; silver, ozs., 21,600; China, silver, ozs., 32,000.

It is the intention of government to send out to Hong-Kong twelve inspectors and twelve privates of the Metropolitan police, who will organize a police force in that island, the general corps being selected from the natives. The inspectors are to be allowed 400*l.* a year each.

The recent marriage of the wealthy partner of a great opium "millionaire" with the daughter of a deceased gallant officer has excited considerable sensation in the world of fashion. It is very credibly asserted that the bride received on the day of marriage the round sum of 100,000*l.* We have further heard that a settlement of 8,000*l.* a year was also made.

On the 11th December, colours, in place of those lost in the disastrous retreat from Cabul, were presented to the 44th regt. at Gosport, by Lady Pakenham, the wife of Major-gen. Sir H. Pakenham, commanding the district.

Her ladyship concluded a very feeling address thus: "Receive these colours, with the warmest prayers for their future glory and success, from one, who, as the sister, wife, and mother of soldiers, feels an enthusiastic interest in that brave order of men."

It is matter of very serious complaint that the Madras rolls of the second dividend of the Burmese prize-money have not yet reached this country.

No arrangements have yet been made for the payment of the Chinese batta.

A very curious collection of guns and swords, captured during the late war in China by Commander Hall, then of the steamer *Nemesis*, was lately transmitted from the India House to Windsor, her Majesty having been pleased to accept these interesting trophies. They were accompanied by Commander Hall and a Bombay marine artilleryman, named Cox, who lost his arm in an action between the *Nemesis* and a number of war-junks at Woosung.

The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company's splendid vessel *Bentinck*, intended for the line between Calcutta and Suez, which left Southampton on the 24th August last, reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 9th October. She made the voyage from the Cape de Verdes to Table Bay, a distance of 4,000 miles, in twenty-three days, seventeen hours, under steam the entire way. From St. Jago to the line the weather was unfavourable, and from the line to the Cape the wind was right a-head, and occasionally blowing strong with a chopping sea. The *Bentinck* left the Cape on the 17th October for Calcutta, and reached Madras on 18th November.

A public meeting was held at the Hall of Commerce, on the 19th December, to take into consideration the report of a committee appointed at a previous meeting held on the 19th September for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency and practicability of accelerating the communication with India. From the report read on this occasion, it appeared that a deputation had waited on the Earl of Ripon, and having explained the great necessity of enabling the merchants, not only in London, but in the provinces, to answer their letters by the outgoing mail, had received the answer of the Government that measures should be taken to bring about an object so desirable.

Accounts have been received of the total loss of the East-India packet-ship *Oxford*, Capt. Marshall, with a valuable cargo on her passage from Calcutta to London. At 4 on the morning of 1st September, while under a press of sail, the ship struck on a ledge of rocks, off the islands of Rodrigues, and shortly after became a total wreck. The crew and passengers having taken to the boats, were picked up by a Glasgow vessel, and landed at the Mauritius. The loss of this vessel and of the *Queen Victoria* is attributed to an error in the Admiralty charts, in which this reef of rocks is laid down as extending only 5 miles, whereas it extends from 15 to 16 miles.

At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, a very interesting paper was read, from Dr. Beke, on the countries to the south of Gojaur, in Abyssinia, which gave rise to a discussion on the physical geography of the country, more particularly as regards the great rivers, now an object of considerable interest, since it has been ascertained that some very large and navigable streams, rising in the high plateau of Abyssinia, disembogue into the Indian Ocean, thus affording a probability of a high road being opened into Central Africa for the purposes of commerce and the extension of civilization. Coffee, civet, and various other productions of European consumption, abound in certain parts of the country, and the climate is described as most salubrious.

The frigate *La Syre ne*, of 50 guns, the corvette *La Victorieuse*, of 24 guns,

the steam corvette *Archimède*, of 220 horse-power, and the tender *La Recherche*, left Brest on the 12th of December for China, with the commission specially appointed to explore the countries of the extreme east. It consists of M. de Langrenée, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; the Marquis de Ferrière Leyaver, first Secretary; the Viscount Barnard d'Harcourt, second ditto; MM. Marey, Mange, Delahaute, Xavier Raymond, de Martigny, the Viscount C. de la Guiche, and Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, attachés; MM. Itier, Inspector of Customs, and Yvan, physician. The commercial delegates are—M. Renard, for the manufacturers of Paris, M. Rondeau d'Elboeuf, for the woollen manufacturers, and M. Haupman, of Mulhausen, for the cotton manufacturers. Besides the vessels already mentioned, there will be stationed on the Chinese coast *La Cléopâtre*, of 50 guns, and the corvettes *L'Alcmène* and *La Sabine*, of 30 guns each.

The Rev. Dr. Wolff has left Constantinople for Trebizond, *en route* to Bokhara, taking with him a *firman*, claiming protection for the person of the traveller from the subjects and allies of the Sultan; and letters to the same purport from the Sheik-el-Islam. Previous to his departure, Dr. Wolff received a letter from M. Layard, stating that he "had received additional accounts of Messrs. Stoddart and Conolly, and that all these accounts tend to prove that these gentlemen are still alive." He says, "As far as Col. Stoddart is concerned, I do not now feel a doubt but that he was alive four or five months ago. I have learned to-day that a native of Bokhara, who quitted the city about five months ago, states that he was well acquainted with an Englishman there, who had turned Mussulman; that he enjoyed perfect liberty, and was not only permitted to live in the city, but was furnished with money and all necessities by the principal people of Bokhara. On being asked the name of this Englishman, he wrote on a slip of paper, having first endeavoured to explain *vis à vis*, 'Astartis or Stardas.' The person who furnished this account is unable to state what became of Conolly, but he has no reason to believe that he was put to death. I have already informed you that I have ascertained from persons who quitted Bokhara above a year ago, that both these gentlemen were then alive."

A letter from Teellis, dated 17th November, says, "A merchant direct from Bokhara and a pilgrim from Samarcand have assured us that two Englishmen are still living, though confined in a dungeon."

Lieut.-Col. Outram, C. B., has proceeded to India for the purpose of joining the head-quarters of Sir Hugh Gough. This gallant officer takes letters from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Ellenborough; so that he is likely again to be employed in some office of high political trust.

H. M. S. *Castor* 36, having on board the Commander-in-chief in China, Major-gen. D'Aguilar, arrived at the Cape from England, 18th October.

The Queen has appointed Colonel Edmund Morris to be Civil Commissioner and Magistrate for the district of George, Cape of Good Hope.

When the first day of the month falls on a Sunday, letters for India, &c., *vis à vis* Southampton, may be posted up to the evening of the previous day, instead of before eight in the morning, as heretofore.

The Postmaster-General, having appointed a deputy-postmaster at the island of Hong Kong, sealed mails for that colony will in future be despatched to Bombay by each overland mail. Letters for Hong Kong will, unless addressed "*vis à vis* Southampton," be forwarded in the closed mail *vis à vis* Marseilles, and will be liable to the same rate of postage as letters for India sent by the

closed mail through France, which postage must be paid in advance. Those letters, however, which are addressed "*via* Southampton," will be transmitted by that route with the mail for Bombay. The postage on such letters, at the rate of 1s. the half ounce, &c., may be prepaid, or the letters may be sent unpaid at the option of the sender. This regulation applies only to letters addressed to the British colony of Hong Kong. The postage, as far as Bombay, on all letters addressed to any other part of China, must be paid in advance, or the letters cannot be forwarded. British newspapers duly stamped, addressed to Hong Kong, may be forwarded *via* Southampton free from postage. Those which are forwarded *via* Marseilles will be liable to a postage of 3*d.* each.

The following is a list of passengers arrived at Suez on the 10th Dec. by the Peninsula and Oriental Company's steamer *Hindustan* from Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, and Aden:—George Bacon, B.C.S., Captain Colville, Mr. D'Oyley, Mrs. D'Oyley and child; Miss Fisher, Mrs. Turton and four children, Miss Turton, Colonel Graham, Mrs. Rathway, Mr. and Mrs. Watson, Captain Layard, Captain Prendergast, Lieutenant Bloomfield, Mr. Holroyd, Mr. Carlisle, Count and Countess Lackerstein, Mr. Lackerstein, Dr. Backhouse, Mr. Milner, Mr. Montefiore, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Wreddé, Mrs. Rollands, Mr. Aylwin, Captain Gifford, Lieutenant James Money, Mr. J. Lackerstein, Mr. Wingate, Dr. Berwick, Mr. A. Murray, Lieutenant and Mrs. Harvey, Mr. Pratt, Mr. Sam, Mrs. Routh, Mr. Evatt, Mr. C. W. Evatt, Lieutenant Vigne, Mr. Ogilvie, Mr. G. Cornwall, Mrs. Huntley.

PROMOTIONS, ETC., IN HER MAJESTY'S FORCES SERVING IN THE EAST.

DEC. 5. *4th Foot*.—Lieut. J. G. Bolton, from h.p., 49th, lieut. v. Glazbrook, app. adj. to 49th.

Ceylon Regt.—Lieut. R. E. P. Brereton, from 76th, lieut., v. Brett exch.

Memorandum.—The exchange between Lieut. Campbell, 4th, and Lieut. Bleckall, 49th, on 24th Nov. 1843, cane.

The Christian names of Ens. Hawes, 9th, are George Harrington, and not Harrington only.

Memorandum.—Lieut. Walter Swayne, from 84th, is superseded, having absented himself without leave, when at arrest in Chatham, preparatory to his trial by general court-martial.

The commission of Qu.mast. Wm. Guy, 62nd, to be antedated from 16th Aug. 1836, to 18th April, 1835.

DEC. 13th *Foot*.—Brev.col. Sir R. H. Sale, G.C.B., colonel, v. Gen. E. Morrison, dec.; Maj. H. N. Vigors, lieut.col., without purch., v. Sir R. H. Sale, prom.; Capt. R. M. Meredith, major, v. Vigors; Lieut. W. A. Sinclair, capt., v. Meredith; Ens. R. W. Wade, lieut., v. Sinclair.

22nd.—Lieut. C. T. Powell, capt., v. M'Phee; Ens. W. Carrow, lieut., by purch., v. Powell; G. J. Weld, ens., v. Carrow.

DEC. 18. 25th.—Lieut. W. Birch, from 6th, lieut., v. Balguy exch.

Memoranda.—The exchange between Lieut. Shelton, 28th, and Lieut. Hill, h.p. of that corps, on 27th Nov. 1817, is "without the difference," Lieut. Shelton having repaid the difference between half and full pay.

DEC. 22. 4th *Drg.G.*—Lieut.-col. W. M. Mills, from h.p. unattached, Lieut.col., v. Brev.col. A. K. C. Kennedy, who exch.; Major R. Richardson, lieut.col., v. Mills; Capt. T. Le Marchant, major, v. Richardson; Lieut. Schonswar, capt., v. Le Marchant; Cor. C. G. O'Callaghan, lieut., v. Schonswar; J. T. Cramer, cor., v. O'Callaghan.

3rd *Lt. Drg.*.—Cor. J. H. Travers, lieut., v. Knowles, dec.; Cor. R. Casement, lieut., v. Travers; Ens. J. D. White, from 3rd *Foot*, cor., v. Casement.

15th *Lt. Drg.*—Assist.surg. J. Jee, from 57th *Foot*, assist.surg., v. Bissett, who exch.

3rd *Foot*.—Serj.-maj. W. C. Collum, ens., v. White, app. to 3rd *Lt.Drg.*

9th.—Ens. F. Sieviewright, lieut., v. Macleod; J. Hanham, ens., v. Sieviewright.

13th.—Ens. L. H. Bedford, lieut., v. Penny; H. Hogg, ens., v. Bedford; R. B. Stowards, ens., v. Wade, prom.

21st.—2nd Lieut. A. S. Bolton, 1st lieut., v. Wrixson, dec.; R. E. Peddie, 2nd lieut., v. Bolton.

29th.—Ens. R. Dobbs, lieut., v. Mitchell; H. R. White, ens. v. Dobbs.

39th.—Lieut. and Adj. A. Turner, h.p., lieut., v. Colvill, app. to 29th; Ens. J. H. Archer, lieut., v. Turner; J. M. W. Ensor, ens. v. Archer.

50th.—Ens. C. H. Tottenham, lieut., v. Green, dec.; Ens. T. V. Venables, from 16th, ens., v. Tottenham.

55th.—Capt. F. Whimper, from 98th, capt., v. Grimes, exch.

57th.—Assist. surg. T. Bissett, from 15th Lt. Drg., assist. surg., v. Jee, exch.

78th.—Lieut. W. Parker, from 6th, lieut., v. Bingham, exch.

86th.—W. C. Baird, ens., v. Bowen, dec.

91st.—A. Barclay, assist. surg., v. Stubbs.

98th.—Capt. H. Grimes, from 55th, capt., v. Whimper, exch.

Ceylon Rifle Regt.—Assist. surg. J. Stuart, from the staff, surg., v. Ewing, dec.

The under-mentioned cadets of the Hon. the East-India Company's service to have the local and temporary rank of ensign during the period of their being placed under the command of Lieut.-col. Sir Fred. Smith, of the royal engineers at Chatham, for field instruction in the art of sapping and mining :—

Joseph Henry Dyas, gent.

Alexander Fraser, gent.

Charles Stewart Paton, gent.

Henry Drummond, gent.

John Charles Harris, gent.

Peter Pierce Lyons O'Connell, gent.

OBITUARY.

Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., G.C.B., &c.—This distinguished officer, who died lately, commenced his services in the 77th regiment in India, serving with it in the campaigns under Sir R. Abercromby and the Marquess Cornwallis, and likewise at the reduction of Cochin and its dependencies on the coast of Malabar, in Ceylon, &c. He was present at the capture of Seringapatam and the actions previous to the siege, having been promoted by purchase to a company in the 67th, and immediately exchanged to the 88th, with the view of continuing to serve in India; he was, however, compelled, from ill-health, in 1801 to return to Europe. He then served as major of brigade in the southern district, and in 1804 was promoted to a majority in the 6th battalion of reserve, which being reduced the following year, he was appointed to full-pay in the 71st regiment, and embarked with it for Portugal. In 1808 he served at the battles of Roleia and Vimiera, and in Spain, under Sir John Moore, at the battle of Corunna, &c. In February, 1809, he was promoted to the rank of lieut.-colonel, and served under Marshal Beresford in the organization of the Portuguese army. He was then promoted to the rank of colonel, and in 1811 to that of brigadier-general and the command of a brigade, with which he served during the whole of the war in the Peninsula and the South of France, and was present at the battles of Busaco, Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nivelle, and the Nive, the sieges of Badajos, &c. In 1813 he received the honour of Knight Commander of the Tower and Sword by the Prince Regent of Portugal; in 1814 that of honour of knighthood by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, was appointed one of his aides-de-camp, and promoted to the rank of major-general in the Portuguese service;

in 1815 he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath. During the various services in which he was employed, he was frequently honoured by the thanks of the Duke of Wellington, and particularly mentioned in his despatches after the actions of Pampeluna and Bayonne.

Being appointed to the 38th regiment in 1821, Sir Archibald again returned to India, and in 1824, the disputes with the Burmese empire having determined the Government of India to send a force against it, he was appointed to this important and difficult command. The nature of the country rendered it necessary to employ a large force of Europeans. Sir Archibald Campbell had ten European regiments under his command; with this force he advanced into the country, and after three great actions with the Burmese, and two years' warfare, he forced his way to within thirty miles of the capital, Amerapooa, seven hundred miles from Rangoon, when the Burmese sued for peace.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to him and the army under his command: he had the Grand Cross of the Bath, and after his return home he was created a baronet. In May, 1827, the East-India Company granted him a pension of £1,000 per annum, "as a mark of the sense they entertained of the skill, gallantry, and perseverance so conspicuously displayed by him in conducting the operations of the forces throughout the arduous war with the Burmese." Subsequently, he was appointed to the lieutenant-governorment and command of the troops in New Brunswick, where his duties were discharged, in very trying times, to the entire satisfaction of the Government.

The following are the dates of his commissions, *viz.* — Ensign, December 28, 1787; lieutenant, April 26, 1791; captain, May 17, 1799; major, September 14, 1804; lieutenant-colonel, February 16, 1809; colonel, June 4, 1814; major-general, May 27, 1825; lieutenant-general, June 28, 1838; colonel 77th regiment, December 23, 1834; colonel 62nd regiment, February 17, 1840.

Sir Francis W. Macnaghten.—Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten was born in Antrim, Ireland, in 1760, and represented one of the oldest families in that county. He chose the profession of the law, and became a member of the Irish Bar at an early period of his life. In 1815 he was appointed one of the puisne judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, an office which he filled for nine years, and was left for a considerable period of that time to the unaided discharge of the whole weight of the judicial business, and twice acted temporarily as Chief Justice. His mode of discharging these responsible duties during so long a period gave much satisfaction to the community of Bengal, every class of whom, at his departure, in March, 1825, gave him the strongest testimony of their respect and affection. The Grand Jury, the European community, the mercantile body, the attorneys of his Court, and the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants, presented addresses to the retiring judge, in which the genuine spirit of sincere respect and esteem beams through the language of customary compliment. The addresses of the Hindus and Mahomedans are very elegant specimens of native composition.* Sir Francis was accompanied to Chandpaul Ghaut by Sir A. Buller, the Advocate-General, the barristers, attorneys, and officers of his Court, as well as a large concourse of the community, and "certainly," observed one of the journals, "a more honourable tribute than that could not possibly have been paid to any one." Several members of the family of Sir Francis have been distinguished ornaments of the judicial and civil services of India, namely, the late Sir William Macnaghten, our able and unfortunate envoy at Cabul, and a brilliant Oriental scholar; the present Sir E. C.

* See *Asiatic Journal*, O.S., vol. xx. p. 350.

Macnaghten (the eldest son), Mr. F. Macnaghten, and E. Macnaghten. The intelligence of his son's death greatly affected his aged parent, then verging on his 80th year. Sir F. Macnaghten had a family of seventeen sons and daughters, of whom several continued to reside with him at Bushmills House. They were all at one period resident in India.

As a politician he did not identify himself with any party, and was consulted by Whig and Tory administrations on matters connected with India. From his long residence abroad, he was necessarily, for a considerable period, entirely unconnected with the politics of the county of Antrim, in which his property lay, and which was represented for many years in the imperial legislature by his late brother. After his return, however, he evinced a deep interest in many public questions, and his opinion was received by all parties with great consideration and respect. At the period of the agitation for Catholic emancipation, he used his influence, both through the press and otherwise, in favour of that measure, in the hope that it would restore peace to his native country. Again, during the discussion on the Irish poor laws, he published a very able pamphlet in opposition to the views of Mr. Nicholls, and containing predictions respecting the working of the proposed measure, that have, unfortunately, been too closely verified. He was a patron of science, possessed a refined taste, and exhibited high literary talents.

He died at his seat, Bushmills House, county of Antrim, Ulster, in the night between the 21st and 22nd November, in the 81st year of his age. Although Sir Francis had left special instructions that the funeral should be conducted with as much privacy as possible, an immense concourse of the gentry, farmers, &c., assembled to pay their last sad tribute of respect. The procession extended from the avenue-gate of his residence to the churchyard-gate at Bushmills, where he was interred, and the coffin was borne by the tenantry of the deceased.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Nov. 26. At Leicester, the lady of W. H. Barlow, Esq., son.

27. At Durham, the Viscountess Chelsea, daughter.

28. At Cheltenham, the lady of Capt. W. Thatcher, H. E. I. C. S., son.

30. At Broxmore Park, Wilts, the lady of R. Bristow, Esq., son.

Dec. 1. At Longwood, Hants, the Countess of Northesk, son.

2. At Broadlands, the Viscountess Jocelyn, daughter.

— The lady of Dempster Heming, Esq., of Caldecote Hall, son.

3. In Bulstrode-street, Cavendish-square, the lady of Professor Royle, son.

8. At Westover, Isle of Wight, the lady of the Hon. William A'Court Holmes, M. P., son.

— The wife of John Walter, Esq., jun., of Bearwood, daughter.

11. At Nantes, the lady of John Stewart, Esq., of London, son.

15. At Walmer, Lady Rosa Greville, of twin sons, one still-born.

— At South Willingham, Lincolnshire, the wife of the Rev. Andrew Corbett, son.

16. At Norfolk Crescent, the lady of Major H. B. Henderson, son.

— At Cheltenham, the lady of Capt. J. W. Reynolds, 11th Hussars, daughter.

23. At Brompton Park, the lady of W. E. Jellicoe, Madras Civil Service, son.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 23. At Polmally, in Glen Urquhart, Capt. Brown, late 4th Ceylon regiment, to Margaret, daughter of late Alexander Manson, Esq., of Tain.

27. At Leamington, the Rev. F. C. Chalmers, late Madras army, to Matilda Harriett, daughter of Rev. W. Marsh, D. D.

Nov. 28. At St. George's, R. Jenner, Esq., Lieut. R.N., son of the Right Hon. Sir H. Jenner Fust, to Selina Helen, daughter of the late J. Jameson, Esq., of Calcutta.

— At Austey, Henry William Adams, of Austey Hall, C.B., Lieut. col. 18th royal Irish, to Catharine, daughter of Rev. T. Coker Adams, vicar of Austey.

29. At Cannington, the Rev. C. Deedes, rector of West Camel, to Letitia Anne, daughter of Hon. P. P. Bouverie.

Dec. 5. At Hammersmith, Charles Cocks Eyre, Esq., to Charlotte, relict of Lieut.-col. Crookshank, R.N., of Bath, and daughter of the Rev. Charles Johnson, rector of South Stoke.

6. At Bath, Captain Ormsby, Indian Navy, to Anne Jane, daughter of Captain Leigh Lye, of Bath.

— At Little Munden Henry Edward, son of Robert Surtees, Esq. of Redworth house, late H. M. 10th Hussars, to Eliza Snell, daughter of Charles Snell Chauncey, Esq. of Dane-end.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles, son of Baldwin Duppa, Esq., of Hallingbourne House, to Ellen Pink, daughter of Major-gen. Farnce, of Bath, late 4th Reg.

11. At Medbourne, Leicestershire, Henry, son of W. H. Neville, Esq. of Esher, to Mary, daughter of the late John Gilder, Esq. of Bombay.

14. At Hawkhurst, the Rev Richard Creswell, of Salcombe Regis, to Frances, daughter of the late Robert Creighton, Esq. Bengal civil service.

19. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Right Hon. Lord Dumbayne, to Mr. Vaughan, of Belle Hatch house, Oxfordshire.

21. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles Frith, Esq., of Osnaburg-street, and of the Inner Temple, to Fanny, daughter of the late Capt. G. H. Philips, 13th Light Dragoons.

— At St. Marylebone Church. James Grierson, Esq., late Hon. E. I. C. S., to Harriet, eldest daughter of Major gen. James Alexander, Bengal army.

DEATHS.

Aug. 26. On the homeward passage from Madras, on board the ship *Anna Robertson*, Lieut.-col. Henry Smith, Madras army.

Aug. 29. At Macao, China, of fever, John Robert Morrison, Esq., Chinese interpreter and translator, member of council and acting Colonial Secretary to H.M. Government at Hong Kong.

Oct. 13. At St. Helena, Sir William Webber Doveton, in his 90th year. This highly respectable gentleman was for nearly half a century in the civil service of the E. I. C.

Nov. 7. Hugh Frazer, Esq. of Newton, Inverness-shire, late Bengal civil service.

10. At Edinburgh, Major-gen. T. Webster, H. E. I. C. S.

— Capt. John Crawford, Indian Navy.

24. At Brooke Farm, Cobham, Admiral Sir Graham Moore.

25. At Liverpool, Major Holden Dunbaden, late of E. I. C. S., Bombay establishment.

27. At Torquay, Helen Amelia, daughter of Major J. Fawcett, Bombay army.

— E. G. H. Shepherd, Esq. son of late E. C. H. Shepherd, Esq. of Devonshire-street, Portland-place.

29. In Bolton-street, C. B. Sheridan, Esq., son of late Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan.

— At King's-road, William Frederick, son of E. Jenkins, Esq., East-India House.

— At the Guynd, near Arbroath, John Ouchterlony, Esq., of the Guynd and Tulloes.

— At Neuwied-on-the-Rhine, Lieut. col. Sir William Thorn, formerly 25th light dragoons, author of the "History of the War in India," and the "Conquest of Java."

Dec. 3. At Devonshire-place, Gen. E. Morrison, col. 13th regt. light inf., and governor of Chester.

6. In Brunswick-square, Mrs. Sarah Hathorn.

Dec. 8. In Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the Right Hon. the Earl of Plymouth.

— At St Alban's Hotel, Haymarket, Lieut. gen. Sir John Taylor.

10. At Bath, Robert Brooke, Esq., late Bengal C. S.

11. At Pangbourne Lodge, Berks, Elizabeth, wife of Sir James Fellowes, late of Adbury House, Hants.

12. At Exmouth, John Houghton Esq., late 14th light dragoons.

13. At Inverness, Major John Barclay, Hon. E. I. C. 4th Bengal light cavalry.

14. John Claudius Loudon, Esq., of Porchester-terrace, Bayswater.

— In Connaught-square, Major John William Pew, late Madras army.

17. At Brighton, Sir Robert Fitz Wygram, Bart.

18. At Stratton-street, Lord Lynedoch, in his 94th year.

— At Baden, Sarah Henrietta, daughter of the late Thomas Jenner, and niece of the late Col. P. Bruce, H.E.I.C.S.

19. At Stepney, Robert, son of Mr. Dinsdale, late assistant master-attendant to the H. E. I. C.

20 At Lee, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of James H. Young, Esq.

— At Bath, Lieut.-Gen. Lambert Loveday, the Senior Officer of the Bengal Army. He entered the service in 1778, and returned to England in 1824, after a service of 46 years in India.

22. At Sutton, Capt. W. F. Du Pasquier, Madras army.

23. J. T. Bigge, Esq., formerly Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

Nov. 29. *City of Derry*, China, West India Docks; *Orestes*, *Margaret Hardie*, Bengal, Downs; *Royal Tar*, Batavia, Downs; *Earl of Harewood*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Mary Lyon*, Port Philip, Weymouth; *Clarendon*, Java, Portland.—30. *Thomas Wood*, Ceylon, Portsmouth; *Rob Roy*, Zanzibar, Downs; *Everetta*, Sydney, White; *Rota*, Batavia, Falmouth; *George Washington*, Batavia, Dartmouth; *Deerl Druid*, Manilla, Downs.—Dec. 6. *Oriza*, China, Cork.—8. *Margaret Pollock*, Bombay, Liverpool.—9. H.M.S. *Jupiter*, China, Portsmouth; *Lysander*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Anna Robertson*, Madras, Wight.—11. *Enmore*, Port Philip, Cowes; *Thos. Blyth*, Mauritius, Cowes.—12. *Barossa*, Bombay, Penzance; *Arcta*, Hobart Town, Dover.—13. *North Briton*, Lombok, Lizard.—14. *Isabella Blyth*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Frolic*, South Seas, Penzance; *Bilton*, Bengal, Lizard; *Calcutta*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Prince George* (tpt.), Ascension, Portsmouth.—15. *Isis*, Bengal, *Briton*, *Herculean*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Lord Glenelg*, Bombay, Greenock.—16. *Sophia*, Batavia, Falmouth; *Helen*, Bengal, Dover.—18. *Africa*, Bengal, Margate; *Talent*, New South Wales, Downs; *Chance*, Bengal, Wight; *Gentoo*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Marquess of Bute*, Bengal, Downs.—19. *Robert Stride*, Bengal, Downs; *D'Arcy*, Manilla, Liverpool.—20. *Patriot Queen*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Europa*, Batavia, Dover.—22. H.M.S. *Lily*, Cape, Portsmouth; *Mona*, Bengal, Liverpool.—23. *Mary Stuart*, Cape, Richmond, Algoa Bay, Downs.—26. *John Renuick*, Batavia, Channel.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—Nov. 24. *Arrow*, Cape and Bombay.—29. *Arachne*, Sydney; *Dauntless*, Bengal.—Dec. 1. *St. Lawrence*, Bombay; *C C* and *Marchioness of Douro*, Singapore; *Emma Eugenia*, *Arnwell*, and *Marion*, Hobart Town; *George*, Cape; *Achilles*, Sydney; *Caledonia* (from Shields 23rd), Bombay; *Robin Gray*, Mauritius; *British Settler*, Cape; *Elizabeth*, Bengal.—3. *Elizabeth*, Sydney; *Vesta*, Cape.—6. *Grecian*, China.—8. *Mary Nixon*, Sydney and New Zealand; *Agnes Lea*, Cape; *Siam*, Bengal.—10. *Hindostan*, Bombay; *Mary*, Madras; *Edward Bilton*, Madras.—12. *Justina*, Bengal.—15. *Vizen*, Mauritius; *Reliance*, Algoa Bay.—16. *Tuscan*, New Zealand; *Lord Saumarez*, Cape; *Narcissus*, Bordeaux and Bengal.—17. *Trusty*, Swan River, Ceina, Madras, and Bengal; *Brenda*, Mauritius.—25. *Arab*, Port Philip, Ganges, New South Wales, Madras, Madras; *Lady Feversham*, Bombay; *Susan Crisp*, *Prince Albert*, and *Britannia*, Cape of Good Hope.

From Liverpool.—Nov. 25. *Thomas Lowry*, China; *Josephine*, Singapore;

Panthea, Bombay.—Dec. 1. *William Ackers*, Singapore.—2. *Theodosia*, Bengal; *Charles and Commodore*, Cape.—3. *North Pole*, St. Helena.—4. *Frances Ann*, Singapore; *Duke of Portland*, Bengal.—8. *William Gillies*, Bombay.—9. *Johnstone*, Port Phillip; *Anjer and President*, Bengal; *Autumnus*; *Lady East*, and *Panthea*, Bombay; *Trinity yacht*, Algoa Bay.—10. *Buenos Ayrian and Duchess of Clarence*, Bengal.—11. *Eleanor Chapman*, Hong Kong; *Grecian*, Cape.—12. *Agricola*, Bengal.—18. *Tigris*, Bengal.—19. *Tapley*, China; *Eagle*, Bombay; *Agnes Ewing*, Bombay.—20. *Cœur de Lion*, Bengal; *England's Queen*, Bombay; *Princess Charlotte*, Bombay.—23. *United Kingdom*, Sydney; *Athena*, Bengal.—25. *Numa*, Cape and Bombay.—26. *Caledonia*, Bombay.

From Waterford.—Dec. 4. *Bolivar*, Bombay.

From Dublin.—Dec. 4. *Marquess of Wellesley*, Cape.

From Milford.—Dec. 9. *Hudson*, Cape.

From Hull.—Nov. 30. *Albina*, Cape.—Dec. 16. *Britannia*, Cape.

From Bristol.—Dec. 2. *Emily*, Cape.—26. *Augusta*, Bombay.

From the Clyde.—Nov. 24. *Isabella*.—25. *Mary Ann*, Singapore.—Dec. 9. *Hanover*, Cape.—10. *Minerva*, Bombay; *Salima*, Cape.—18. *Kilblain*, Bengal; *Frances Burn*, Ceylon.—19. *Sarah Botsford*, Bombay.—21. *Brilliant*, Bombay; *Favourite*, Cape.

From Belfast.—Dec. 11. *Robert Kerr*, Cape.

From Bordeaux.—Nov. 22. *John King*, Mauritius.—Dec. 14. *Horatio*, Cape.

From Marseilles.—Dec. 13. *Lynrodd*, Mauritius.

From Plymouth.—Nov. 29. *Theresa*, New Zealand.

From Cowes.—Dec. 1. *Duchess of Buccleuch*, Bombay.

From Portsmouth.—Nov. 29. *Anne Laing*, Algoa Bay.—30. *Earl Stanhope*, Mauritius.—Dec. 1. *Seaforth*, Cape.—9. *Marion*, Hobart Town.—12. *Alexander Baring*, China.—26. *Justina*, Bengal.

From Falmouth.—Dec. 14. *Earl Stanhope*, Algoa Bay and Mauritius.—9. *Duchess of Buccleuch*, Bombay; *Dauntless*, Bengal.—26. *Trusty*, Swan River; *China*, Madras and Bengal; *Narcissus*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.

From Torbay.—Dec. 26. *Lord Saumarez*, Cape.

From Shields.—Nov. 28. *Grace*, Cape.—Dec. 6. *Georgiana*, St. Helena.—20. *New Zealand*, Ceylon; *Achilles*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.

PASSENGERS TO THE EAST.

Per *Elizabeth*, to Bengal;—Mr. Wilson and Mr. O'Brien, cabin; Mr. F. N. de Garnier and family.

Per *Agnes Lea*, to Cape;—Mr. Carpenter and family, Mr. Voss, and Mr. Solomon, cabin; Mr. Stephens.

Per *Great Liverpool*, to Malta and Alexandria;—Miss Dabine, Mrs. Logan, Mrs. and Col. Pennycuik, Miss Pennycuik, Mr. and Mrs. Maltby, Mr. and Mrs. Corrie, Col. Outram, Lieut. Bruce, Mrs. Bruce, Mrs. Haselwood, Mr. Wood, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Seppings, Capt. Harvey, Mr. Farquhar, Mr. Gordon, Dr. Kellie, Mr. Bird, Mrs. and two Misses Jay, Lieut. Lennox, Mr. Sibley, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Buckley, Mr. Scott, Mr. Weston, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Ashburner, Mr. Heale, Mr. Camerer, Mr. James, Mrs. Hunter, Dr. Hunter, Mr. Jay, Mr. Field, Mr. and Mrs. Money, Col. Persse, Capt. Mansell, Mr. Young, Mr. Bourdillio, Mr. Clouet, Mr. Dunlop, Mr. J. Walker, Mr. Durand, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Jas. Dick, Rev. Mr. Bastard, Mr. W. Watson, Mr. John Carmara, Mr. William Youtman, Mr. Emmerson, Mr. Vandrey, Mr. Horneman, Lord A. Vane, Mr. Bund, Mr. Barff.

Per *Grecian*, to China;—Lieuts. Masson and Paterson, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Davies.

Per *Hindustan*, to Bombay;—Mr. Carruthers, Cadet; Mr. Walker, Cadet; Mr. Fanshaw, Cadet; Quar-Mast. Young and lady, 22nd Regt.

Per *Justina*, to Bengal;—Mr. Bateman, Mr. Minner.

Per *St. Lawrence*, to Bombay;—Mr. J. Smith.

Per *Malacca*, to Madras and Calcutta; Miss McDougall, Mrs. Douglas, Lieut. and Mrs. Bristow, Lieut. and Mrs. Mortimer, Capt. and Mrs. Mortimer, Rev. P. L. Sandbery, Mrs. Sandbery, Messrs. Jerdan, Oswald, and R. Wyse, Misses Reynolds, Capt. and Mrs. Fraser, Mr. Coombe, Mr. Rammel,

Mr. Watson, Mr. Shortland, Messrs. Eagles, Jackson, Innes, English, Besgrave, P. Clarke, Ensign Tritton.

Per *Walmer Castle*, to Madras and Calcutta:—Miss Harriott, Mrs. Col. Elderton and daughters, Mrs. Barker, Capt. Moultrie, Dr. Morrison, Mr. Woolley, Mr. Morton, Mr. Elderton, Ensign Leckie, Capt. D. Pott, Mr. Jones, Mr. Ellis, Lieut. Taylor, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Hodgson, Lieut. Stewart, Mr. Cruikshank, Capt. Trail.

Per *Justina*, to Calcutta: Mr. Miller, Mr. Aikman.

Per *China*, to Madras and Calcutta: Mr. Paterson, Mr. Milford, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Freeling, Dr. and Mrs. Evans and sister, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Robinson, Ensign Taylor.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1842-43.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>vid</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>vid</i> Marseilles.)						
July 6	Aug. 6	(per <i>Cleopatra</i>) 31	Aug. 13 ..	38	Aug. 17	42
Aug. 4	Sept. 6	(per <i>Berenice</i>) 33	Sept. 13 ..	40	Sept. 17	44
Sept. 6	Oct. 12	(per <i>Victoria</i>) 37	Oct. 18 ..	43	Oct. 20	41
Oct. 4	Nov. 14	(per <i>Cleopatra</i>) 41	Nov. 20 ..	47	Nov. 26	53
Nov. 4	Dec. 13	(per <i>Atalanta</i>) 40	Dec. 21 ..	46	Dec. 23	50
Dec. 6	Jan. 14	(per <i>Victoria</i>) 39	Jan. 20 ..	45	Jan. 24	49
Jan. 6, 1843 ..	Feb. 14	(per <i>Cleopatra</i>) 39	Feb. 19 ..	44	Feb. 23	48
Feb. 6	March 15	(per <i>Atalanta</i>) 37	March 18 ..	40	March 23	45
March 4	April 14	(per <i>Victoria</i>) 41	April 20 ..	47	April 23	50
April 6	May 13	(per <i>Cleopatra</i>) 37	May 20 ..	44	May 23	47
May 6	June 6	(per <i>Semestria</i>) 31	June 12 ..	37	June 14	39
June 6	July 7	(per <i>Victoria</i>) 31	July 14 ..	38	July 17	41
July 6	Aug. 7	(per <i>Semestria</i>) 32	Aug. 15 ..	40	Aug. 18	43
Aug. 6	Sept. 9	(per <i>Atalanta</i>) 35	Sept. 16 ..	42	Sept. 20	47
Sept. 6	Oct. 11	(per <i>Victoria</i>) 35	Oct. 13* ..	37	Oct. 17*	41

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *vid Southampton*, at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 1st, and *vid Marseilles* on the evening of the 4th Jan.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1843 ..	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Feb. 7	38	Feb. 13	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 44
Feb. 3	<i>Atalanta</i>	March 13	38	March 16 ..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 41
March 2	<i>Victoria</i>	April 7	36	April 11	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 40
April 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	May 8	37	May 13	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 42
May 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	June 5	35	June 10	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 40
May 20	<i>Victoria</i>	July 3	44	July 10	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 51
June 19	<i>Semiramis</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 7	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 47
July 20	<i>Memnon</i>	Lost			
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46	Nov. 13 ..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 67
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 ..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 46
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 47
Dec. 1		Not arrived.			

A Mail from Calcutta, 15th Nov., per *Hindustan*, reached London on 26th Dec.

* These Mails were conveyed by the steamer *Hindustan*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Pathfinder</i>	362 tons.	Bruton.....	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 3.
<i>Thomas Lee</i>	327	Wooff	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 3.
<i>Lady Clarke</i>	440	Lawrence ..	—	Jan. 10.
<i>Arab</i>	484	Sumner ..	—	Jan. 20.
<i>George</i>	414	Martin.....	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 1.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Sophia</i>	537	Saxon	E.I. Docks ..	Jan. 10.
<i>Walmer Castle</i>	656	Campbell...	—	Jan. 27.
<i>Lord Hungerford</i>	736	Pigott	—	Feb. 1.
<i>Pekin</i>	562	Laing	—	Feb. 24.
<i>London</i>	612	Atwood ..	—	Feb. 25.
<i>Poitiers</i>	800	Denny.....	—	Feb. 26.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>British Empire</i>	616	Young.....	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 20.
<i>Worcester</i>	636	Bickford ..	E. I. Docks ..	Feb. 1.
<i>Anna Robertson</i> ..	448	Hamilton...	W. I. Docks ..	Feb. 20.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Earl Durham</i>	453	Cabel	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 1.
<i>Roseberry</i>	312	Young.....	Lond. Docks ..	Jan. 6.
<i>Isabella</i>	580	Johnstone..	E. I. Docks ..	Jan. 10.
<i>Token</i>	625	Cheyne ..	W. I. Docks ..	Jan. 10.
<i>London</i>	450	Andrews...	E. I. Docks ..	Jan. 20.
<i>Colombo</i>	442	Thomson...	—	Feb. 15.

FOR CHINA.

<i>Mary Bannatyne</i>	535	Picken.....	E. I. Docks ..	Jan. 1.
<i>Lady</i>	315	Marshall ..	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 20.
<i>City of Derry</i>	474	Vincent ...	W. I. Docks ..	Feb. 1.
<i>Surge</i>	560	Burnett ..	—	March 1.

FOR SINGAPORE.

<i>Shepherdess</i>	294	Poole	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 7.
<i>Druid</i>	308	Ritchie ..	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 15.
<i>Sons of Commerce</i>	431	Williams...	W. I. Docks ..	Jan. 20.
<i>Royal Tar</i>	338	Bell	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 31.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Sumatra</i>	353	Duncan ...	W. I. Docks ..	Jan. 20.
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FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Isabella Blyth</i>	443	Lane	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 7.
<i>Water Witch</i>	253	Douglas ...	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 15.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Eliza Scott</i>	150	Beale	W. I. Docks ..	Jan. 4.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. IV.

It is discouraging, and rather humiliating, to a writer who undertakes to record and criticise political occurrences, to discover that his facts are fictions; that he has endeavoured to weave a rotten woof into the web of history; that he has wasted his powers of speculation upon nonentities, and satisfactorily explained and accounted for transactions that have no existence. To some extent, this is our unhappy predicament in respect to the late events in the Punjab, which form the most interesting and exciting topics of Indian politics at the present moment. True it is that we fortified our mind with as much scepticism as decency would allow, after the supposed murders had been reiterated and confirmed by successive accounts, at considerable intervals of time, and felt some repugnance at believing in stories of mutual slaughter, which bore too close a resemblance to the incidents of a certain English tragedy to square well with probability. And it turns out that the parallel will hold remarkably well, for many of the dead men have risen again. The catalogue of murders at Lahore must now be revised and corrected (in the phraseology of title-pages), by striking out the names of all the supposed victims since the death of the Maharajah Shere Sing, of his son Pertab Sing, of the "great rajah" Dhecan Sing, and of their assassins Ajeet Sing and Lena Sing Sindanwalla, whom we must merely assume, for the sake of argument, to have fallen, till the arrival of the next two or three mails shall leave us without any pretext for doubting the fact. All the after-massacres are pure inventions of the news-writers, who seem to have been seized with a general *rabies*, which impelled them to perpetrate murders with the implement that Julius Cæsar found so effective in defence, namely, their *styles*.* It was stated that, after the assassination of

* The *Bombay Times* (November 11) throws some light upon the origin and motive of these fabrications:—"We have learned, with no little astonishment, that the individual who supplied us with our former intelligence was more than likely under the control of the Government, and that he has been guided in many instances by the directions of the local authorities. The object must be obvious to all those who have any insight into the intrigues of a native court, and requires no explanation at our hands. It may be remembered that a very curious account of a visit of Maharajah Shere Sing to Rajah Goolab Sing, at Jumboo, appeared in our columns, with most circumstantial details. We are not a little surprised to learn that the whole was a pure invention from beginning to end—the Maharajah never having been near Jumboo during his summer excursion in the hills, and that political expediency led to the fabrication on the part of high authorities with the view of proving something to those whom it was most desirable to deceive. The whole transaction is worthy of the worst days of the Napoleon-Fouché system. Later misstatements since the 15th of September it is impossible to account for. Being naturally desirous of placing our correspondent beyond the influence of the authorities at Lahore, we have done our utmost to secure the services of an individual likely, under our most strict injunctions, to be far more careful than his predecessor, and our arrangements will secure us series of communications much more likely to be correct in their details than have hitherto been furnished to us. It is, however,

Shere Sing and Pertab Sing, the wretch Ajeet and his party brought out from the zenana all the wives and children of the two princes, and slaughtered them in cold blood, not sparing an infant son of Shere Sing born only on the preceding day. Although our scepticism, in doubting the reality of these wholesale and superfluous murders, saved a little of our credit, yet many eyes have probably been dimmed with moisture, and some tender hearts may have bled, at the recital of occurrences which are now known to be impudent falsehoods. The women are safe, the children are unharmed, and the prediction of the astrologer, that the young prince, supposed to be murdered, would turn out "a fortunate hero and a mighty conqueror," may still be verified. Again, the same sanguinary spirit seems to have inspired the news-writer at Mooltan, who announced the assassination of Sawun Mull, the viceroy of that province; whereas he is not only alive, but in possession of so much influence there, derived not from the harsh exercise of power, but from the ability and equity of his rule, that it is not considered improbable that he will, in the dissolution of the kingdom of the Punjab, secure the independent sovereignty of Mooltan. Then, again, the December Mail announced that Lena Sing Majeetea, one of the ablest Sikh chiefs, and Heera Sing, the prime minister and regent, having sat down *tête-à-tête* to divide the loaves and fishes, quarrelled about the spoil, and that Lena killed Heera, a catastrophe which (having, perhaps, unconsciously in our thoughts the well-known precedent of Peachum and Lockit) we deemed not improbable, and drew from it an inference of the state of the capital and country, which such an event, we thought, "strongly illustrated." It now appears that the two chiefs are acting heartily in concert, in order to reduce the affairs of the state to order. The merciless scribblers at Lahore ventured even to kill Golab Sing, the rajah of Jumboo, who was then comfortably located in his hill territory, and made the young king fly from his throne (as well he might after such scenes), taking with him the *koh-i-noor* diamond; whereas he is still in the royal nursery, unless, we are told, "the Maharajah, accompanied by Rajah Heera Sing, goes out for a walk, when a number of children of his own age, who act as his body-guard, precede him, laughing and playing."* This was the last effort which the ingenious fabricators were permitted to exert in this quarter; the truth, which seems to have been hauled

however, most difficult to bring oneself to place implicit reliance on the testimony of any natives, whose frequent desire is to make things appear as they would wish to have them, instead of as they really are."

Indian Mail, Jan. 6, p. 257.

up from a very deep well, at length appeared, and we have now a better knowledge of the actual state of affairs in the Punjab, which is shortly this:—

“Heera Sing is in any thing but an enviable situation. He is the prime minister in a court in which Duleep Sing is the nominal monarch. He is very young and has little experience, and may be cut off when he least dreams of death. The Dogur family, of which he is now the most prominent and exposed member, is hated by the Sikhs, who would gladly extinguish them and their power. Suchit Sing, his uncle, a brave soldier, seems to keep aloof from the court. The chief friend and adviser of Heera Sing appears to be Lena Sing, of whom rather an exalted opinion is entertained. The troops in and about the capital are numerous, rapacious, and disposed to mutiny; and there is no master spirit to curb their licentiousness. There seems to be no obstacle to their shortly upsetting the central government at Lahore; upon which the kingdom would, in all probability, be broken up into a number of little principalities. Golab Sing would in that case retain Jumboo and add Cashmere to it, keeping possession, as far as possible, of his rich acres in the plains; Peshawur would again fall under Mahomedan sway; Sawun Mull would found a dynasty in Mooltan, and every petty chief in the Punjab would endeavour to establish his independence. Such a state of things would not of course last ten years in the presence of the paramount power in Asia.”*

This is, undoubtedly, a ticklish state of things to be managed by a minister of twenty-five years old to a sovereign of six. The worst point in the prospect appears to be the condition of the Sikh troops, who are represented as mutinous and clamorous for the high pay and rewards promised to them in the first instance by Heera Sing, when he originally obtained their aid and co-operation. Heera Sing is stated to be busily occupied in organizing the army, and despatching troops to different parts of the country to insure obedience; a force is reported to be under orders for Mooltan, and preparations are making to meet any aggressive movement on the part of the British Government, of which considerable fear appears to be entertained at the Lahore durbar. Golab Sing had, at length, at the urgent instance of his nephew, Heera, proceeded with a force to Lahore, where, upon his arrival, he received all the sirdars, and assured every one of his good-will, but expressed his firm determination to resist the demands of the soldiery, and to come to blows with them sooner than permit a compliance with them. As he brought 22,000 hill troops, with twenty pieces of cannon, it is more than likely the mutinous soldiery, with all their boasting, will submit.

We shall run through the Ukhbars down to the latest period, extracting whatever possesses any interest.

The treasurer, Bukkul Ram, was directed to distribute Rs. 550,000 to the troops, 10,000 of whom were shortly to leave Lahore for Peshawur. Private intelligence had been received to the effect that Dost Mahomed Khan, who had formerly intended proceeding towards Bokhara, had changed his mind on the receipt of the intelligence of the death of Shere Sing, and determined on an expedition towards Peshawur. Sirdar Ruttun Sing, Sheeralce, was directed to place the whole of his sowars under the command of Sirdar Shere Sing, Attaree-walla, who was about to proceed towards Peshawur. It was intended that the artillery should be removed from under the charge of the Sikhs, and committed to the care of Hindostanees, as great doubts are entertained of the fidelity of the former, who are strongly suspected of an inclination to create a revolution.

Maharajah Duleep Sing had recovered from a fever under which he had been labouring for some time past, and walked out with Heera Sing. Every object of charity receives immediate relief at his hands, either in shawls or money. It is confidently reported that, since Heera Sing has had charge of every thing, he has been removing many valuable articles, jewels, and even cash, from the public treasury, and sending them off to Jumboo. The fact having become known to the Sikh sirdars and troops has caused great dissatisfaction. Rajah Suchet Sing presents himself but rarely at the durbar, pleading sickness as his excuse; and when there, remains perfectly silent. He is said to be in fear of his life. Although the pay of the troops has been increased, they are not in a state of subordination, and daily petitions are being presented to Rajah Heera Sing, complaining of ill-treatment on the part of their officers. The minister issued orders to the latter to treat their men with more consideration, or they shall be punished; but the officers are many of them as indifferent to the orders of Heera Sing as the men are to those of the officers. Wherever a knot of Sikh troops is met with, the chief subject of conversation is the delay of the British in marching an army into the Punjaub, which they boastingly attribute to the fear entertained of them. They had put to death Ajeet Sing, the enemy of their late ruler; they had raised the Maharajah Duleep Sing to the throne, and they would support him there. The amount of troops in the vicinity of Lahore is sixty regiments of infantry, fourteen of cavalry, and artillery in proportion. The sirdars of the troops ordered for Peshawur are hesitating to obey the instructions communicated to them, as, on account of the youth of Maharajah Duleep Sing, and the general disrespect shewn towards Rajah Heera Sing, changes are anticipated. Heera Sing called a council of all his sirdars, and requested them all to give up a portion of their land-revenue, to enable him annually to make up the eighty lacs he had issued to the troops extra, agreeably to promises made them when they were asked to

avenge the maharajah's and his father's death ; the sirdars unanimously declined doing so, and said that they had nothing to do with his promises ; that if the Khalsa's troops did mutiny, it was no business of theirs, and if they were bent on being turbulent and inclined to plunder, it was his (Heera Sing's) duty to take measures for preventing it. This serious dispute has gone sadly to cool the ardour of the sirdars who felt inclined to support the present government.

Rajah Heera Sing wrote to Rajah Goolab Sing, requesting him to come to Lahore. The rajah has answered privately and publicly. In his public communication he states that he proposes leaving Jumboo in three or four days at furthest ; in private, he strongly recommends Heera Sing to disperse the troops about Lahore, pay them up, and thus obtain their good-will. He adds, that until this is done, no satisfactory arrangement can be made at the capital, and that he, having rid himself of his own enemies, would be in Lahore as soon as possible, when they would enter fully into the consideration of what was to be done for the future. Heera Sing has been visiting the army, and doing his best to secure their good-will. He is anxious to send those sepahees who are natives of Lahore to stations at a distance, and to keep in the capital those who are inhabitants of districts in the country. He has persuaded many Lahorees to go to Peshawur, and some have already proceeded towards their destination, and it seems probable that he will succeed in his plan. He has also resolved on keeping all the Hindostanee artillery at Lahore, and distributing all those in whom he has no confidence in different parts of the country. The Sikh troops often say, when talking together, that since they have revenged themselves on Ajcet Sing for the murders of Shere Sing, Purtab Sing, and Dhyran Sing, the only reward they had received is an increase to their pay of 2-8 and Rs. 3 per man, but when they shall have fought and beat the British troops, they will doubtless receive receive Rs. 15 each man. The Bunnahs and inhabitants of Lahore generally say, that if any enemy should come to fight the Sikh troops, they would refuse to supply any grain to the latter, on account of the cruel manner in which they had lately treated them, and that nothing would give them greater satisfaction than to see all the Sikh troops defeated and destroyed.

Heera Sing ordered his people to procure 500 young men of the Affghan Rampoorcea tribes, whom he is anxious to engage for his body-guard. From all this, it would appear that he has no faith in the Punjabees, but gives the preference to Hindostanees. Rajah Heera Sing takes the greatest precautions for the safety of his own person.

A petition from Sirdar Tej Sing, ruler of Peshawur, was received, stating that he had succeeded in restoring peace to the territory under his rule. The hill people who had quitted their dwellings, and were preparing to fall on Peshawur, hearing that a reinforcement was ordered from Lahore, had returned to their homes, and are ready to pay their tribute.

Heera Sing professes friendship with all the sirdars, and appears kind to all, but is in reality their enemy, particularly of Lena Sing Majee-

teea, who is one of the great sirdars of the state. He appears to be seeking his advice, but in secret he writes to all the other sirdars, to excite them against him. He has addressed many purwannas to Dewan Sawun Mull, nazim of Mooltan, and others in different places, to have every article ready for the magazines, as he had ordered, especially gunpowder. The Sikh army, notwithstanding the large sums they have received, are still in a state of insubordination towards the Rajah Heera Sing and their immediate officers. They quit their regiments whenever they think proper, and proceed to their homes without asking for leave, and return at their leisure. The minister remonstrated with the officers on this conduct, but they told him the men were beyond their control. Rajah Heera Sing has been doing all in his power to satisfy the troops, by distributing two months' pay amongst them, but they continue to insist on getting four months. At last he sent for the officers, and said he would give them three months' pay now, and the other month's, with the additional sum promised them, in the course of the ensuing month. To this the officers and men agreed, and the distribution of the pay commenced.

Faqueer Azeez-ood-deen has ceased to attend the durbar, on pretence of suffering from blindness; but whenever Rajah Heera Sing requires his presence on some particular business, he proceeds to the durbar, but protests he would much rather be left alone in his house. It is generally said in the city, that if the sirdars and great men absent themselves in this way from the durbar, another disturbance may very soon be anticipated in Lahore.

These extracts, if they are to be relied upon, shew a condition of feeling at the capital and in the court which does not promise well for the stability of Heera Sing's authority, unless sustained by that of his uncle. A late letter from Ferozepore seems to imply that hostilities had commenced: "I have opened this letter to give you a little Lahore news, this moment received. Heera Sing is in the fort with his own troops, and Lena Sing Majeeteca and Shan Sing, the father of Now Nehal's widow, have attacked the place with a large force and upwards of 100 guns. I knew the Sikh chiefs would not put up with these low caste Paharces much longer, and allow them to be the war-makers of the Punjab." We learn, moreover, that the services of two of the French officers, Colonels Mouton and Lafont, have been dispensed with, and, what is more symptomatic of the real state of affairs, that General Ventura has solicited permission to resign, and is about to return to France. Meanwhile, the *Delhi Gazette* says: "We know positively that a treaty has been presented by the British Government for acceptance to the Lahore Durbar, and hear that its provisions are such that they will most probably not be accepted, and that on the refusal to accept this treaty ulterior measures will depend. We may,

therefore, reasonably calculate on a speedy solution of the important question which has, since the murder of Shere Sing, agitated the public mind, and occupied almost as much of its attention as the late extraordinary events in Affghanistan. That the treaty tendered for acceptance has been framed in such a manner as to invite rejection, would seem probable from the decided manner in which our informant speaks on the subject of that rejection, and that such rejection will be followed by compulsory measures can scarcely be doubted."

The circumstances attending the assassination of Shere Sing are not yet established beyond doubt. The *Bombay Times* has published, on the credit of a European gentleman who was present at Lahore during the tragedy, the following particulars regarding the late tragical events, which, it states, may be fully relied on for their authenticity :—

With regard to the murder of Shere Sing, the maharajah was at the time standing at the window of a small garden house, in the Shah Belavel, about the height of a man from the ground. Ajeet Sing was outside, and having brought his troops for review, presented the maharajah with a carbine or rifle, which he had previously loaded. The maharajah had no sooner reached his hand for the present, than Ajeet Sing touched the trigger and shot the maharajah through the head, on which he fell backwards. The whole of the courtiers immediately took to flight, and the only sirdars who were not fortunate enough to escape were Boodh Sing and Nika Sing. The murder of Prince Pertaub Sing was considered a most barbarous act by all the people at Lahore. The number of women who immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of Rajah Dhyan Sing was eleven, one wife and ten slaves. One slave only was willing to immolate herself on the occasion of the body of Shere Sing being reduced to ashes. The maharajah had been warned for several days before his death of the fate that awaited him. Duleep Sing is spoken of as being a very engaging child, of certainly not more than six years of age.

Although little can, we fear, be said on behalf of the assassin Ajeet Sing, an attempt is made in one of the Mofussil papers,* to remove some of the blackness of his deed. A writer in the paper cited says :—

Ajeet Sing has had recourse to "wild justice" on Shere Sing, who had inflicted wrongs on his family which there was no law to remedy. Ajeet has been heard to say, that Kurruck Sing and No Nehal Sing were both made away with by Shere and his minister. At any rate, Shere Sing, it appears, boasted openly of having put Chund Koor to death, who was Kurruck Sing's widow, and he is well known

* *The Hills.*

also to have caused the death of No Nehal's son, besides having kept Lena Sing and all Ajeet's family that he could get hold of in confinement, until Ajeet himself returned to Lahore and made his mock submission to the usurper, who was no more the son of Meetaab Koor the ranee, than he was of the old Rajah Runjeet. Duleep Sing is no son of Runjeet. I have a Punjaub political sitting at my elbow, and he tells me that he never heard any thing of the kind. If there is any heir to the guddee, it is Utter Sing, who has not been killed. He was only second cousin to Runjeet, and is a man of good character and much respected, both by the Europeans and the Sikhs; though old and imbecile now, he has a son.

A writer from Ferozepore states that Utter Sing would be sent for and placed upon the throne instead of Duleep. Utter Sing, with his son Kir Sing, had taken refuge with the Rajah of Putteala.

The Sikh possessions without the Punjab seem to be in a precarious stato. At Peshawur, Deerialh Khan, chief of the Oodoozies, assembled his clan or tribe, on hearing of the death of Shere Sing, and strongly recommended them to attack Peshawur. Upon hearing this, Peer Mahomed Khan, brother of Sultan Mahomed Khan, went to Deerialh Khan, and having placed the *Koran* between them, entreated him not to carry out his intention, but to dismiss the people whom he had assembled, and Deerialh Khan complied with his request. The supposed reason of this proceeding is that, in case of any disturbance at Peshawur, Sultan Mahomed Khan, now at Lahore, would most probably be put to death. Murders and plundering were going on in the vicinity of the city. The inhabitants of Cashmere have shewn no signs of disaffection, though the treatment they are suffering at the hands of Warris Khan, governor of Sri Nuggur, is such as might warrant any resistance.

The accounts from Gwalior describe the durbar and the city as the scenes of confusion and excitement. A party of the troops (the Maharaj Campoo) had seized the person of the Khasgeewalla, the self-constituted regent, and were guarding him with great strictness; another party, headed by the Bhac, were endeavouring to procure his release, in order that he might re-assume his usurped power. The latter circulate a report that it is the intention of our Government to disband the whole *Lushkur*, and to increase the contingent, which would cool the zeal of the Maharaj Campoo against the Khasgeewalla. One of the parties proposes to call into existence a body of Pindarries, whilst fresh battalions are reported to be organizing. The fact is, the interests of all the most influential members of the durbar, as well as those of the army, are opposed to the terms offered by, or any connection with, the

British Government; and they will therefore raise every obstacle to any accommodation. The terms offered are said to be these:—That the Khasgee, who has usurped the office and power of Prime Minister, be dismissed, and Mama Sahib restored to that post; that certain tracts of territory, which inconveniently protrude into Bundelkhund and other of our provinces, be exchanged for tracts more convenient to the Durbar and to ourselves; that the present refractory army be dismissed, and a large contingent force, under British officers, be substituted in its stead; and that the Gwalior treasury pay the expense incurred by the present assemblage of troops. The latest news from Gwalior stated that the Khasgee had been made over to the British authorities, and it was expected that every thing would be peaceably settled. One of the Calcutta papers suggests that, in consequence of this intelligence, various military movements had been countermanded, and that the Governor-General had determined upon not making his projected journey into the provinces.

The real intentions of the Government are now, however, most studiously concealed. Arrangements have been actually published in Government Orders (dated October 30th), for the secretariat to accompany his lordship; and an Act passed the Legislative Council on the same day, authorizing the Governor-General, alone, to exercise, during his intended visit to the north-western provinces, “and other parts of India,” unaccompanied by any member of the Council of India, all the powers which may be exercised by the Governor-General in Council, except the power of making laws and regulations.

The intelligence of the dreadful extent to which sickness has prevailed in Scinde, leaving, out of a force of 10,000 men, only about 3,000 capable of taking the field, would be truly alarming, but that the Bombay papers of the 1st December, the latest date from India, state that the cold season had set in and that matters were mending.*

The native news-writers have made an exhibition of their murderous propensities in relation to Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabul, whose assassination was related in so circumstantial a manner that scepticism itself could scarcely doubt it. He was said to have been struck by four balls, in the temple, the chest, and one arm. An attempt was made to assassinate the sirdar, which appears to have been very nearly successful. Though alive, however, he appears to be in very perplexing circumstances. The chiefs renounce their allegiance to him; the Loghurs, the Ghilzies, and other tribes,

* *Indian Mail*, Jan. 6, p. 259.

refuse to pay him tribute, and are in open rebellion; even his kinsmen—his son, Mahomed Akhbar, and his brother, Jubber Khan—oppose him; and his army, consequent upon an impoverished treasury, is dwindling away, being already reduced to 3,000. The coolness and jealousy between the sirdar and his son are said to have arisen from the latter having expressed himself displeased with his father for proposing to enter into terms with the British Government. Nuwab Jubber Khan is stated to have taken offence at the appointment of the Dost's son, Hyder Khan, to the command and government of Ghuznie, in supersession of himself and his son, and he is reported to have sided with Nuwab Zeman Khan, Sirdars Mahomed Oosman Khan and Shumsodeen Khan, who form a powerful party hostile to the interests of Dost Mahomed. The Kuzzilbash faction are on indifferent terms with the sirdar. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bokhara, against whom he threatened to march, now talks of marching against him. He has conquered Kokan, and was threatening Khooloom; and a general feeling is said to exist in Affghanistan that the king of Bokhara would have no difficulty in making himself master of Cabul. It appears that Prince Sufter Jung has arrived at Cabul from Candahar, at the invitation of Dost Mahomed, and were he a man of greater talent or higher character, the Suddozye dynasty might yet regain the throne. The Sirdars of Candahar were oppressing the people, on the plea that they had given assistance to the British.

The disturbances in Shekhawuttee have been put down by the vigorous measures of Major Forster, who has seized some of the leaders and destroyed their forts or strongholds. The dispute respecting the succession to the Marwar state has also been determined by the election of Tukt Sing, chief of Ahmednuggur. The *Delhi Gazette* remarks:—"The affections of the chiefs will naturally incline to the king of their choice, and the pride of the people will be gratified in being ruled by a descendant of the heroic Juswunt, whose prowess shook the stability of the Mogul empire, and carried the renown of the Rhatore name to the base of the Hindoo Koosh."

Although Bundelkhund appears to be gradually subsiding into comparative quiet, the country is still harassed by bands of plunderers and outlaws (rather than insurgents), and by the *dours* of the military and police. The ex-rajah of Joytpoor, Parceechut, is still at large, though the loss of his adherents and his necessities, it is expected, will force him to seek the clemency of the British Government. A few of the Boondela chieftains, however, adhere to his cause, and one of them, Duleep Sing, who was taken pri-

soner in 1840, and released on conditions, has been detected in conveying information to Pareechut of the movements of the troops and police.

The tranquil condition of our own territories in India, which furnish scarcely a topic for comment, fortunately affords a convenient opportunity of settling these political questions, which at other times, when the government has been hampered by internal difficulties and distractions, would have produced serious embarrassment. The activity of the Governor-General and his decision of character are qualities suited to the present emergencies; and if events compel our interference in the affairs of the only states which have preserved their independence, both the time and the man seem adapted to its successful exercise.

The affairs of the Nizam's state are not yet satisfactorily adjusted. His highness is still reluctant to adopt the advice of the British resident; but his financial embarrassments have compelled him, rather than intrude upon his own private hoards, to apply to our government for a loan of two crores of rupees, which will, probably, be made; and, in lieu of repayment, it is said, he will be required to cede in perpetuity the rich valley of Berar, which will be annexed to the Bombay presidency.

Some disturbance has occurred at Conjeveram, under the Madras government, in consequence of a tax recently laid upon the looms of the weavers in that place; in the attempt to enforce the payment of which the collector encountered open resistance, his tehsildar and subordinates being maltreated, and driven off by force. In consequence of this occurrence, a squadron of cavalry was sent into Conjeveram, which had the effect of awing the unfortunate weavers into paying the obnoxious impost. The Madras papers express a strong sympathy towards these poor people, whom they describe as being "driven to desperation by an oppressive edict, which may be considered as striking the last blow at the native manufactures of Southern India."

The *Ceylon Herald* has announced the gratifying fact of the approaching final extirpation of slavery throughout the island. "The local government has effectually and for ever extinguished slavery in the maritime provinces from Dondra Head to Point Pedro." It states that, in the whole island, there had been about 25,000 slaves, but it was chiefly in the northern province that slavery prevailed; that, in that province, there were about 23,000 in 1842, every one of whom is now in a state of freedom; that, in the Kandian provinces, the numbers have been rapidly reduced, and that, according to the

register, "instead of 25,000 slaves, there are only 79 in the whole island."

The intelligence from China is so far satisfactory that it is said the supplementary treaty, agreed upon between our Plenipotentiary and the Imperial Commissioner, was about to be signed, and that it will contain a clause guaranteeing all other nations the same privileges as are granted to the English, and which will render unnecessary any negotiations between the Chinese and the agents of other nations. This is wise policy on the part of our Government, and provides against a very probable source of disputes arising from the jealousy of other European powers and of America. It seems, moreover, not to be doubted that the Emperor has expressed his delight at the conclusion of the treaty, and that he has enjoined the strictest conformity to the regulations by all his subjects. Here, however, the intelligence ceases to be agreeable. Sickness prevailed to an alarming extent at Hong Kong. Amongst others whom it has carried off, is Mr. Morrison, the Chinese interpreter, colonial secretary, and member of the council, whose rare talents have made his death be regarded and recorded by Sir H. Pottinger, as "an irreparable national calamity." The prevailing disease, a fever, between the *jungle* and the *yellow*, had become so malignant, that few Europeans, who are attacked, escape. "Altogether," says a private letter, "the air and aspect of Hong Kong have assumed a tone of the most gloomy description conceivable: the Chinese dislike the place as much as ever, and few, whom the thrift of gain entices over there, remain long, asserting that whoever drinks of its waters for any length of time cannot fail to become sick." Complaints are likewise made of the extortions of the linguists and other subordinate agents, whose employment is optional with the merchants, who cannot, however, dispense with their services. The Hong merchants, too, who are grievously injured by the new system of trade, create every possible obstacle; and as they are the chief proprietors of the warehouses, very few of the "outside men" having the means of storing large quantities of goods, the merchants are reduced to some perplexity. Nevertheless, it would appear that trade is beginning to flourish under the open system. "Already, without any assistance on the part of the British Government," says a private letter, "the English merchants are pushing their trade onwards into every channel where profit promises to reward their enterprise, and with Chusan harbour as a place of refuge, re-equipment, and refit, their ships appear to be penetrating into almost every accessible port along the north-eastern coast."

THE PATHANS OF HINDOSTAN.

THERE are four tribes of Pathans in Hindostan, who have emigrated at various times from Affghanistan, viz., the Punnee, Dillazakh, Tyreen, and Nyazee, among whom are to be found the most turbulent and discontented of all our subjects in the East. Of these the most numerous are the original Canker clan of Punnee, who came from Seewee, in Seewcestan. They first settled in Jounpoor, about three centuries ago, attracted thither, in all probability, by the usurper Shere Shah, himself a Pathan, of the tribe of Soor; thence they penetrated to the Deccan, where they multiplied under the reign of confusion which existed for such a length of time in that region, and gathered an extraordinary number of adherents, from the circumstance of Jemaul Khan, the leader of the insurrection at Ahmednugger, being of their persuasion—at that time called Mehadie. This daring and cruel chief, after the accession of Ismael Nizam Shah, obliged that monarch to embrace the new opinions; and the king's example was followed by many of his subjects, to avoid the persecutions of the court party. When, however, peace was partially restored, and the inhabitants feared not to express their sentiments, the turbulent conduct of the Punnees, who were for ever engaged in brawls with the populace, gave great offence, and soon earned for them the reputation of being bad neighbours and intriguing subjects. As the power of the Mussulmans increased in the south, they bent their steps in that direction; and strengthened by the bands of their own tribes, which continually poured into India from the Caucasus, they soon acquired a preponderance in the districts beyond the Khistna, where their leaders established sovereign power at Kurnool, Kurpa, and Savanoor, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and continued to recruit their ranks with their brethren who accompanied the Rafzie, Nadir Shah, in his inroads into India. In after years, a few penetrated into the dominions of Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore; but much as that sovereign was anxious to increase the Mahomedan population of his kingdom, he too well knew the character of his new subjects to permit them to remain, and accordingly he issued orders for their expulsion. They are now to be found in the greatest numbers at Jounpoor, in the province of Allahabad, at Cuddapah and Kurnool, in the Ceded Districts south of the Toombuddra, and at Savanoor, in the province of Bejapoor, where they may be seen lounging about the musjids, proclaiming their conviction that the prediction of the Prophet has been fulfilled, and stigmatizing the whole seventy-three sects of Mahomedans as obstinately blind, and wilfully regardless of the commands of Heaven.

The prediction of Mahommed, that the world would not come to an end until one of his own family and own name should appear upon the earth to assert his divine mission, and perfect the conversion of mankind to the only true faith, was such a direct invitation to imposture, that it was eagerly taken advantage of, even in the Prophet's lifetime, as no

less than three pretenders to divine revelation arose in Arabia, and seduced multitudes of men from the orthodox belief; and in the lapse of a few years after his death, eight others shewed themselves, and promoted schisms among the people of Islam. It does not, however, appear that any of them asserted themselves, or were believed by their disciples, to be the Mehadie, or instructor, of whom the apostle of God had spoken; it was reserved for the followers of Hakim ben Hassen, the veiled prophet of Khorassan, of Mahommed Aboul Kassim, the twelfth Imaum, and of Syed Mahommed, to proclaim this of their several spiritual leaders; but the manner or reality of the Imaum's death being unknown, he is believed by his disciples to be still alive. As for the more recent false prophets that have appeared, it would be a difficult matter correctly to estimate their number, inasmuch as every Mahomedan country, wherein anarchy has prevailed, has produced one or more of these enemies of mankind. No sooner had Bonaparte shewn himself on the shores of the Red Sea, than he received a mission from a pretended Mehadie, in whom the achievements of the infidel hero had kindled the desire of celebrity as the leader of a new sect; and more recently, when the same country was menaced by foreign enemies, and divided by domestic dissensions, there was not wanting a man to uplift the banner of the expected prophet, and to profit by the reign of confusion which appeared about to ensue.

The impostor Syed Mahommed, who appeared in 1550, is the guide in whom the sectarians of India are content to put their trust; he boldly asserted himself to be the true Mehadie; and so acceptable were his doctrines to the restless and ambitious, that he soon numbered among his followers all the desperate characters of the south. The same antipathies, which at that time divided his disciples from their neighbours, continue to operate, and to render the present race obnoxious to the orthodox members of the Islam. They are idle and dissipated, fond of dress, boastful and irritable, on the watch to take offence, and ready with tongue or sword to silence the timid or coerce the strong; quiet is to them the greatest evil, as contention is the greatest good. The locality, therefore, in which personal danger is most to be apprehended, is to them the sweetest resting-place; in short, their very presence in any place soon breeds contention, associated, as their opinions always are, with the necessity of adhering strictly to the injunctions of the Prophet contained in the 4th cap. of the *Koran*, viz., "To maintain the truth of their belief against all who question it," and "to look down upon and regard as adversaries those who sit still and restrain their hands from warring."

The recent events in the countries whence those restless spirits originally sprang, have led to a renewal of those immigrations into Hindostan which, for the last half-century or more, had been checked by the presence of a disciplined foreign army, and by the quiet which prevailed throughout India. The return of Shah Soojah to Cabool brought with it the evils which tread in the steps of a despised monarch reinstated in power by foreign aid: his people hated him for his friendship to the

infidels ; his subjects who were unfriendly to his restoration, those who had enjoyed the favour of his predecessor, and those who could not endure the thralldom of being controlled by foreigners, sought a voluntary exile as the only means of enjoying the independence they so highly valued. The country, which from the earliest times has been the land of promise—the Eldorado—to the needy, the wretched, the outcast ; the king, the merchant, the soldier ; those in search of bread, and those in quest of a throne ; India, with its people divided into castes, like a house divided against itself, was the region to which they took their way ; not as formerly, it is true, in the character of invaders, harnessed for the fight ; but with the same contempt of human sympathies, the same love of treachery and blood, and the same eagerness for possession, by which they have been always distinguished. And wherever they may now settle, their presence will be hurtful to the state—in kingdoms ruled by native heads especially so, since the courage for which they are famed will render them acceptable to all parties, as much so to the sovereign as to his tributary chief ; to the one they will communicate a feeling of security, to the other they will bring dreams of emancipation and projects of rebellion ; and to both they will do mischief. In the Punjab, and in the districts south of that country, they will be ready at all times to foster dissensions, and to rally round every pretender who may present himself ; and no fitter moment than the present, when the lord of misrule is so actively at work among the magnates of Lahore, and ill-will so rife among the Mahratta chieftains. In the territories of the English they will be more wary, nor venture to do more than what they have so often done before—particularly during our occupation of their fatherland.—viz., express their impatience of infidel control, and their detestation of infidel policy, which has for its first object the peace of a country ; but if the time should ever arrive, when the domination of the English is seriously compromised, these people, who have inherited, as a kind of heir-loom, a passion for treachery and strife, will be found in the van of our assailants, composed of Pathans, Mahrattas, Pindaries, Akelias, and the thousand-and-one kinds of enthusiasts which are to be found infesting all the large cities of India.

J. S.

SHIPWRECK AND CAPTIVITY AT FORMOSA.*

IN the early part of the year 1842, a British merchant vessel, called the *Ann*, was wrecked on the coast of Formosa; a fate that had befallen another British vessel, the *Nerbudda* transport, the year before. By the Chinese authorities on that island, the masters and crews of these two vessels, instead of experiencing the sympathy and hospitality which, in such seasons of calamity, are manifested by every nation not absolutely barbarous or piratical, were very cruelly treated, and many of them were murdered. The exasperated state of feeling in China towards the English, against whom it was believed (we fear with too much justice) the Chinese nation had ample grounds of complaint, might go some way to palliate a considerable degree of harshness; but nothing can excuse cowardly brutality and murder. At the instance of Sir Henry Pottinger, the Chinese government directed an inquiry into the circumstances of the affair; but the result is entirely unsatisfactory, screening, in fact, the authors of the wrong, and attempting to cast blame upon the innocent.

Two journals, kept by two persons captured in the *Ann*, namely, Capt. Denham, the commander, and a young gentleman named Gully, have just been published, and in their simple diary form they make it apparent that the report of the Chinese authorities is a tissue of misrepresentations, and that the poor shipwrecked men, even if considered prisoners of war, were, nevertheless, most inhumanly maltreated.

Mr. Robert Gully, who is described by the editor of the Journals as "a fine, gallant, and excellent-hearted young man," had been engaged in commercial pursuits in China, but quitted them for a time to join the British expedition, in which he distinguished himself, on board the *Nemesis*, at Ningpo and elsewhere. Finding it necessary to resume the occupations which had brought him to China, he was on his return to Macao, in the *Ann*, when he fell into the hands of these inhospitable islanders, and was one of the persons murdered by them, or rather by the Chinese local authorities. Capt. Denham escaped that fate.

We begin with Mr. Gully's Journal. He says they left Chusan on the 8th March, 1842, and on the 10th, at night, they struck the ground, and were forced over a dangerous reef, upon a shingly beach, mingled with rocks, and in the morning found they were on

* Journals kept by Mr. Gully and Capt. Denham, during a Captivity in China, in the Year 1842. Edited by a Barrister. London. Chapman and Hall.

the island of Formosa. They left the wreck, which was then high and dry, and, fifty-seven in number, with their arms, nautical instruments, and a few extra clothes on their backs, marched over a sandy plain to a creek in which were some rice-junks. They went on board two, and offered one of the junk-men 3,000 drs. to take them to Chin-chew, but the vessel was not going to leave for ten days. Shortly after their getting on board the junk, small parties of armed men collected about the creek, and two respectable persons, attended by a party of soldiers, beckoned them to come on shore, which they declined. Their people then used threatening gestures, and at last pelted them with stones. More soldiers came, accompanying a mandarin in a chair, who boarded the junks, stripped the shipwrecked party of nearly every rag, leaving Mr. Gully only two pairs of old drawers. They were then taken out of the junks, each was put under the charge of two or three soldiers, and in this exposed condition, and without shoes, they were compelled to commence their painful march, a piercing northerly wind blowing, accompanied by rain and sleet. On their first day's journey, three of the crew perished through cold and fatigue.

They halted at a small town for three days, being miserably lodged and fed. On the 14th March, they were taken before three mandarins, tickets were put round their necks, and they were marched, under a strong escort of soldiers, to a walled town inland, where they were divided into two parties. The soldiers, to frighten them, told them they were to be beheaded here, and began to sharpen their swords. They were put into two cells, about eight feet by seven each, the number stowed in them being fifty, besides the three guards. There was nothing but a sprinkling of straw to keep them from the damp bricks.

The villages, he says, appeared pretty, surrounded by bamboo. The land on each side the road was cultivated; the fields (of rice) very small, and divided by an embankment about a foot high. The carts were of bamboo, drawn by bullocks; the wheels were composed of two solid pieces of wood, joined in the centre, with a hole, which merely slipped on to the axle-tree, and was confined by a linch-pin, the axle turning with the wheel. The women in the villages were extremely plain, but had a very pretty fashion of wearing natural flowers in their hair.

On the 17th, they were taken before some mandarins, ticketed again, a fresh name was given to each, and, being first hand-cuffed, they were placed in chairs, and conveyed out of the town. They were told in the villages they passed through, that they were going to

have their heads taken off. In the first part of this day's journey, the country was tolerably cultivated; wheat was observed growing, but the crops were small and poor. They soon came to a very barren country; immense plains of round stones, destitute of vegetation, stretched inland as far as they could see. They passed many little road-side public-houses, formed of stones and mud, with, in some cases, a spreading tree and seats close to it. The scattered dwellings were few and far between, and, he says, "The people appeared a more wretched, ill-clothed race than I ever saw in China before." Their march was southerly, and they passed several un-walled towns, all having gates of brick or bamboo. They suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities in passing through these places, except from the women. Their halting-place for the night (after a march of twenty-five miles) was a large town, with high walls of brick. For some miles before they reached it, the country was a continued paddy-swamp, interspersed with hamlets surrounded with bamboo, some sixty feet high. Here they were lodged in two of the common gaols, formed of wooden bars, with stocks, &c., inside. It rained nearly the whole time, the cold was severe, and their food "abominable." Two of their party (natives) were beaten, and Capt. Denham was threatened. The mandarins seemed to think that the *Ann* was a vessel of war, come to look after the crew of the *Nerbudda*.

On the 21st, they resumed their journey, leg-irons being added to their hand-cuffs. The country from this town to the capital improved very much, though some parts were wild and dreary. They crossed several large streams, once in a ferry-boat; at other times on bamboo rafts or rickety bridges. The face of the country reminded him of Cambridgeshire, where hedges are scarce, and the fields are bounded by belts of firs or a ditch. Some of the lanes were shaded for miles by high bamboos on each side. Much ground was covered with sugar-cane, and places for preparing the sugar were observed. Tobacco is grown in large quantities, and a sort of vine, very carefully grown on trellis-work, in rows, generally fenced in, and a mat covering for each row. He could not learn what this was. In the evening they arrived at a large walled town, and were taken to a gaol-yard, where a mandarin came to see them eat some rice and fish; but he was disappointed, for it was so filthily dirty, that they refused it. They were then shewn into their sleeping-apartment—the cage; and upon the poor fellows representing that it was not large enough, the mandarin flew into an awful passion, and strutted about, pulling his moustaches like a Bartholomew-

fair sultan. As they refused to take his hand-cuffs off during the night, Mr. Gully broke them, as he had done before. Some of the crew (lascars) this day behaved disgracefully.

Next morning (the 23rd), they were brought out of their cell, and, as before, two mace were given to each of them, to buy food for two days. They halted that night in a large village, at a public eating-house, which had great difficulty in accommodating them; and regular fights took place amongst the Chinese for food. Here they were better treated, and the mandarin was civil. The next morning, they resumed their march, over a hilly and well-wooded country. On the road they were separated into two parties, and proceeded by distinct routes to the capital, Tac-wan-foo. This place is walled; the gates and walls like others in China. They were not taken through any principal street, and after passing along some narrow lanes, they emerged opposite a mandarin's house, almost pulled to pieces by the people crowding to get a sight of them; and ultimately, after the labels round their necks had been duly examined, they were taken to their place of permanent confinement, on the side of the river-yard of a mandarin's residence; Mr. Gully's party, ten in number, being thrust "in a den, so small," he says, "that not one of us could stretch our legs at night, being coiled up like dogs." They were allowed only once a day to wash, and then in the water used by the others.

In this condition, they soon found that nothing was gained by submission, and Mr. Gully, by a few acts of insubordination—tumbling the head gaoler into the bucket, and throwing the lamp at the second gaoler's head—obtained better treatment. The party, on their arrival, were infested with vermin, and being so crowded, they could not get rid of them, till three (including Mr. Gully) were removed to a separate place. He arrived on the island in good health, but, in a few weeks, sickness brought him down to "a useless being, disgusted with himself."

Examinations of the parties by the mandarins were frequent; some of the questions (not relating to the ship) were ridiculous and indelicate. Sometimes they were permitted, by the connivance of the gaoler, to go out into the air, and to have communication with the other party. Mr. Gully employed himself (as did Capt. Denham) in drawing sketches of European objects (such as coaches, railways, tunnels, ships, &c.), which were greatly prized by the Chinese, though apparently not very elaborately executed, and brought them small supplies of cash.

An extract or two from the journal or diary will shew how the

dreary time passed, the scenes which sometimes occurred during their dismal captivity, as well as Mr. Gully's manner of recording them :—

21st.—When dinner was brought to us to-day, there was an unusually small quantity of pork, half-boiled cabbage, and cheese made from beans. I was awfully hungry, but none of this could I touch, so I kicked up a row, and hove it into the yard. None of the nobls were at home at the time, but they shortly arrived, and we had a most laughable scene: first the fat gaoler came, then the tailor, cook, and lastly, that scoundrel Gee Sam y at. I threw a piece of cabbage at the nor-hua, and told him to go and attend to his sewing; he then made off. Gee Sam y at flared up in first-rate style, because I told him if the lotier could not give us better food, to let me go to Captain Denham's lotier. He was in a perfect rage, but only got well laughed at. It ended in his ordering other food for the morrow morning, and the fat gaoler gave us thirty cash to buy cakes. This relieved the monotony of the imprisonment. The mandarin's attendant likewise brought us some cakes, after we had turned in. We evidently got the better of Gee Sam y at, for he lost his temper.

July 1st.—Fine. Up as usual. Here is another month. Oh dear! oh dear! The gunner has taken it into his head that it is beneath him to draw pictures for sale; therefore will not partake of some of the things bought with the money obtained in that way. He is a fool. A man never lowers himself by earning his own victuals, or even a few luxuries, by the work of his hands, and to be consistent he ought to take nothing but what the mandarins give him. He is a Yankee, and therefore must be excused such folly.

7th.—Up as usual. Hard rain and squalls during the night. It has come through the old roof. Mangoes. Cloudy morning and squalls of rain and wind during the whole day. No better or more food; so in the morning I commenced operations by heaving my basin and trash into the yard, and then smashing my bucket and sending it to look after the basin. Our abode afloat all day from the rain. Buckets of water pouring down in divers places. The gunner's picture all spoiled. Worse on the opposite side in the other prison. In the evening, food the same; eat it and asked for more, but was refused, so smashed the dish, and Mr. Partridge walked up to the mandarin unknown to me, and the mandarin promised more food, and that the roof should be repaired, and that when the rain was over, he would give us more money. I don't believe a word of it. At night the fat gaoler came, and looked at the effect of the rain for the twentieth time, and allowed two of our opposite neighbours to sleep on the tailor's bed. This day one of the cooks told us that a ship had been here, but went away when the gale came on.

24th.—Our boy, who runs errands, a few days ago, commenced smoking opium, and in consequence experienced all those agreeable

symptoms which boys in England have on beginning to smoke tobacco. From this we may judge to what extent the smoking is carried. Indeed, from what I have seen, I doubt if ninety-nine out of every hundred, who can afford to spend thirty cash a day, do not use the drug in simply eating it. I can buy enough of the eating drug to make me drunk, for less than ten cash.

The last entry on the diary is the 5th August. Some secret communications had been opened, by means of natives, with Captain Forbes, and there were hopes of their liberation. He had begun a new journal, having written only "1843, Aug. 10. Attempted to boil water without fire, but, curiously enough, failed." He had made a calendar, on a small piece of paper (of which a fac-simile is given), from 13th May to 10th November, in which each day is blotted out to the 9th August inclusive. On the 10th he was murdered.

The deficiencies in Mr. Gully's journal are supplied by that of Capt. Denham, which, though less lively, is more circumstantial. He mentions that in the vicinity of his prison was a gateway, which was the work of Europeans. There had been an inscription over the door, now defaced and obliterated, except the following letters and figures: "F. F.—E. C. T. Anno 1054." Capt. Denham's party were treated in some respects better than Mr. Gully's; but having incautiously ventured on the top of their prison, they were subjected to punishment, in the manner described in the journal:—

29th.—A beautiful morning. Directly after breakfast, some soldiers came, and we were all put in irons, hands and feet, and told we were going to the governor's. They said Messrs. Roope and Partridge, with me, were to go first. We were taken out very quietly, but had no chairs, and soon saw we were not going as they told us. We passed close to our old joss-house, and shortly after came to another larger one, with a paved yard. Here we were halted, and I was taken in first. On reaching what appeared to be the principal entrance, I saw our mandarin, Quan, with a gang of his friends and clerks, and about thirty or forty soldiers, all armed. Time was not given me to make the usual salaam. I was seized by the hair of my head, and hove on the ground. Then Quan ordered the brutes to examine my irons. The handcuffs, I suppose, were considered sufficiently strong, but the leg-irons were hauled off, which hurt me, and scratched and bruised my legs. Another pair was then brought (very thick and heavy, about eight or ten cattie's): these were put on, and inclosing the legs, they fairly drove them into my flesh. Expostulation was useless. I was spit on and abused: it prevented me putting my right foot to the ground. I was then dragged by the legs and hair to the end of the place, and carried about twenty

yards to the back of where this gang of brutes was, and seated on the ground. Messrs. Roope and Partridge were then taken in, and served the same way. Mr. Roope was afterwards brought out, but not placed near enough to me to speak. I was then taken back, hove down in the same way, and pulled up on my knees again by the hair of my head. I now saw the carpenter and shroff. The first question Quan asked me was, why I went on the roof of our prison, and so on to the fort walls. I told him I did so to have a look round, not knowing I was doing any harm, as the soldier who acted as our guard not only made no objection, but pointed out the place where we could get the best view from. He then asked me why I had broken a plate. This I denied, not having done so ; but I have since found out that, some days ago, one was broken by the gunner. He then spoke about the door being broken ; and then asked why we burnt a piece of bamboo. We certainly had burnt this ; but it was a short piece, and I should say had been kicking about in the yard for years, as it was quite rotten, and could have been put to no use whatever. He then said the next time I did so he would flog me ; and that if a plate was broken, no matter if by accident, he would flog me : he then said he would shew me how. I was now seized by seven of the soldiers, and dragged a little further back, still on my knees. Two of them stood on the calves of my legs, another fixed his knee in my back, one held each shoulder, and two my head by the hair and beard. In this position my trousers were hauled up, and fifty blows given on the front of my thighs with a stick about two-and-a-half inches thick, a kind of Penang lawyer. A fresh man was had for each ten blows. Thanks to pride and pluck, I did not sing out ; this appeared to make Quan furious ; he turned red in the face, stood up and talked on at a furious rate ; his eyes glistened as if under strong excitement. After these fifty, my right elbow was held out (the arm being bent) in a horizontal position, and the other end of the stick used. There was a knob or head to it. With this I received thirty blows ; as before, a fresh man for every ten. One was abused for not striking harder, and the stick given to another wretch. No fault could be found in this respect with this fellow, still I would not cry out, but twice could not help groaning, the pain was so acute. When the thirty were finished, our mandarin's deputy ran up to me and then to the mandarin, chin-chinning him not to torture me any more, and after a little bustle I was made to cow tow to Quan. Mr. Partridge was present all the time ; he, as well as the carpenter, chin-chinned for me, but to no purpose. I was now carried out (the mandarin said he would on the next offence give us short allowance of food) and placed as before on the ground, my legs raw and bleeding, and my elbow in a sad state. I nearly fainted : every thing swam before me, and on asking for a drink of water, a blackguard offered to ——— in my mouth, nor could all my entreaties procure a drop of water. I would have given 1,000 dollars for a basinful if I had had them. I only got laughed at for asking. I was not allowed to cover my legs, and was kept here about one hour and a-half ; the gunner and

others from our prison were brought to look at me, and told I was a *pilan*. Before taking us back, the locks were taken off our handcuffs, and they were secured by a piece of redhot iron, a blacksmith being brought for the purpose.

At this time, Capt. Denham was ignorant of the fate of Mr. Gully and the rest; but it appears from his journal that, on the 10th August, he (Capt. Denham) and his party were removed from their then place of confinement, and taken to a large mandarin's house, where he was subjected to a very rigorous interrogation, and obliged to *ko-tow*, or knock head, in the presence of a body of high mandarins. On the 12th October, he was informed of the fate of his companions:—

In the afternoon, Heen, the one-eyed man, came and told us as much, by signs as words, that out of both ships' companies, Newman and ourselves were the only survivors. They were all taken out and beheaded about two or three days after our removal to the granary. This dreadful butchery has made us all most miserable. Poor Gully was the first who suffered. I believe a day before the rest. I cannot make out why Newman and we have been kept so long. Heen says that the mandarin did not kill us, as we are the principal people belonging to the vessels, and that now peace has been proclaimed we shall be sent away. To us as yet all is a mystery. I shall not consider our lives worth a straw till we are out of their hands. Should we ever live to get clear and tell our sad tale, surely the British Government will take notice of such wholesale murders—197 men were put to death in one day, most of them British subjects, and all serving under our flag. The heads of our unfortunate fellow-captives, the carpenter tells us, are placed at equal distances along the sea-shore on posts.

After the death of his companions, or rather after the events which had changed the state of feeling in China, Capt. Denham and the survivors were treated with much more attention, and they were told that they would soon be liberated. On the 21st October, he was permitted to write a letter to the English at Amoy, to inform them that they were coming. He adds, in his diary: "I also write one which is to be sent to the emperor, thanking him for the care he has taken of us, and for sending us away, &c. I am to say in it how well the To Ty had behaved to us all: this is at their own request." On the 29th, they embarked in a junk, but on the 10th November, at the Pescadors, they fell in with two war-junks from the main land, bringing a report that four large English ships had left Amoy, full of troops, and were coming to attack Tae-wan-foo. The mandarins in his junk, terrified, were for going back; but Capt. Denham declared, if they did, he would stay on the islands. By

dint of threats and promises, he prevailed upon the mandarins to proceed to Amoy, and on the 26th November, they got on board an English ship in the harbour, and here their sufferings terminated. "Had not the war ended as it did," Capt. Denham says, "our heads were destined to ornament the walls or gates of the imperial city of Pekin."

Our opinion of the late "opium war" has been often expressed; we think that the Chinese nation has much to reproach us with on that score; but our sympathy extends not to the cowardly miscreants, whoever they may be, by whose orders these defenceless men, thus thrown into their power by the elements, were tortured and murdered. It is a deed which should be thoroughly inquired into, and severely expiated. The party before whom Capt. Denham was taken, on the 10th August, included "three high mandarins," with red and blue buttons and peacocks' feathers; these, doubtless the persons who sentenced Mr. Gully and his companions, are the individuals responsible for the crime.

FROM KAMÁL UDDÍN ISMA'IL.

نظم و نثر سخن برابر نیست
 گرچه هریک چو دتر مکنونست
 سخن نثر اگر چه بس نغزست
 کارِ منظوم خود دگر گونست
 آن نه بینی که آهن بی قدر
 همبر زر بود چو موزونست

POONAH AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

HAVING remarked on Bombay, its scenery, bazaars, and people, the subject would be incomplete without adding to the sketch a zigzag outline or two of Poonah, which, with the Candalla heights, and the range of the Mahabuleshwar, may be considered as the sanitarium of Western India, whither all who can do so, of the Bombay residents, resort for climatic reasons easily understood in all countries, and practised alike by calculating citizen and instinct-governed swallows.

Poonah is commonly resorted to during the "rains," that strange season of damp, mildew, and sociability. As the most characteristic, I have selected, therefore, this period for its description.

Increasing civilization, in spite of even bigotry and prejudice, which impede, but cannot stop, its advance, brings every hour fresh advantages upon earth, affecting all things either immediately or collaterally; consequently, there is now a clever little steamer, that plies from the island of Bombay to Panwell, the port of the peninsula, as pleasantly as if one was going from Portsmouth to the Isle of Wight. In olden times, we had only a bundah boat, commanded by some very inferior Parsee, the craft itself being remarkable for a low cabin, with doors never to be fastened, but banging loudly to and fro with every roll of the vessel, rendering it dangerous even for the rats, who ran in and out of it in battalions from the hold, perfectly indifferent to the presence of a black kitten who, herself suffering from giddiness, merely winked at them from a hole. It may be readily supposed, therefore, that although a voyage of but twenty-one miles, it was occasionally dreaded. Yet if the time is day, the season cold, and the weather calm, there is much to admire, much to charm the voyager, in this trip across the beautiful bay, by the magnificent island of Elephanta, and into the mouth of the Panwell river, which is rich with wooded margins, every bend studded with huts, and dotted over by slender dusky forms, whose cloak of dried leaves, which serves to screen them from both sun and rain, with their strip of scarlet raiment, gives them a wild, picturesque look, well in keeping with the landscape.

Arrived at Panwell, the first exclamation will be, "Oh, what a horrible place!" and with reason, for it is only celebrated for donkeys, dogs, and dust. This alliterative trio will be thought bad enough any where; but the howling, carrion-devouring pariah of an Indian village, the ever-braying servitor of the potter, and the hot, mosquito-bearing dust-clouds of the East, possess misery-inflicting powers greater than are to be found in any other country in the world; and therefore, although there is a traveller's bungalow, with a bed-frame, two dangerous chairs, and a white-ant-bored table, with another bungalow, kept by a Parsee, who gives one a tolerable dinner at a very intolerable price, it is well to leave Panwell as soon as possible, passing still more speedily by Chôke,

celebrated only for its tigers and bears, but resting at length at the beautiful Candalla, the Montpellier of Western India.

Society in India holds sometimes very differing opinions concerning localities. Some will love the tangled forest for its own sake, heedless of the malaria that brings with it their untimely fate; some, the sterile, rocky hill, over which their daring steed gallops after the wild boar, in headlong, dangerous chase. I have even heard a hot wind praised for its beverage-cooling capacities, a pestilence-breathing morass for its snipe-sheltering advantages, and various places, terrible to the general eye, will be found of interest, and possessing gratification for some; yet *all* agree that Candalla is a most lovely spot. This opinion the Bombay residents have proved their acquiescence in by the number of pretty villas that are to be seen perched about the hills, from which their dwellers can enjoy the luxury of morning walks, in paths cut through the flowery foliage, or ride their little Pegue ponies from house to house in the full sunshine, a luxury unimaginably valued by the Indian resident, who, while in the plains, can never venture from beneath his punkah or from behind his tatties, except before sun-rise or in the evening breeze. The young French girl always thinks it is delightful to be married, because "one can walk upon the Boulevards;" the Indian resident observes, "The hills are delightful, for one may be out all day in the sun:" it is the contrast of life that forms the charm in both cases, combined with the idea of freedom, and an emancipation from the shackles of custom.

Descriptions of scenery are generally tiresome, even when most graphic; yet, in justice to Candalla, I must really beg the reader not to leave it until he has imagined its mountains, of most majestic height, thickly wooded with every variety of tree and flower produced by a tropic clime, with here and there huge masses of dark rock jutting from between the brilliant verdure; above, beneath, hang clouds like snow-wreaths, while ever, where the sun beams brightly, a mountain torrent foams and sparkles down its leafy bed, affording a cool and midnight draught to the forest lords, who steal from neighbouring lairs to its refreshment.

I remember, that the first "*march*," as it is called in India, that I ever made on horseback, was from this beautiful Candalla, starting an hour before dawn, with the Pleiades bright above us, and the whole land a blaze of fire-flies. It is a pleasant thing, a morning's march, with the grey quiet hours, and then the silent dawn, growing more and more ruddy unto the gorgeous sunrise; and one feels so much the better for it, too; for sure I am, that, in a tropic clime, early rising is the best Hygeian treatment, as well as the readiest cosmetic to be found. It is a stimulant, too, such as even Father Mathew would allow us; but yet, unlike most stimulants, is efficacious for the day.

Our comforts are also great at its conclusion, whether the march is made in the evening or morning hours; and yet they are of an odd character, too, such as at home would be little thought of. In merry England, after a long and tedious journey, we look forward to drawn

curtains, a blazing fire, a smoking urn, and "mine host" all smiles. In India, some yards of cotton, stretched over a few bamboos, pitched in some desert spot far from the village, with its howling dogs and native music, but with the pale ale cooling beside it, and the cook busy with his curry, produces exactly the same, or perhaps a higher, degree of comfort in idea; and even the oil-wick in a tumbler half-full of flies, or the wax candle in a bottle, has effects decidedly cheering; but the greatest satisfaction is the certainty of a good curry; and let me tell the reader, that, after a fast ride of eighteen or twenty miles, this same sanitary combination of condiments is not without its value.

By the way, I cannot help regretting that the people of England, who possess so many excellent dishes, some national, and others borrowed from their Gallic neighbours, should envy us poor Indians our single tolerable dish, and attempt to libel it as they do, by giving its title to a strange, wild composition, formed by throwing a little dust from a red packet, decorated with gilt hieroglyphics, into a dish of hashed fowl, and giving to the same the brevet rank of "*curry*." Now curry is an artfully-composed dish, depending for its excellence on its flavour, not on its power of excoriating the human tongue by a wicked deception under the form of pleasant nourishment, and to obtain this, all the ingredients, some sixteen in number, must be fresh grown and fresh ground. Happily, however, an Indian cook effects this under circumstances in which an English servant would let his master starve; but give a native of India but a bit of level ground, or the plank of a boat, where he may make a fire, and provide him with a cooking vessel, a bit of ignited charcoal, a chicken and a stove, and in half an hour he produces a good dinner; the chicken being denuded of his feathers after execution, by a dip in scalding water, while the "*curry stuff*" is ground upon the stone. There is merit in this, and its results would have rejoiced the heart of poor Caleb Balderstone, who, Sir Walter Scott says, was more thrown upon expedients than any man alive, at least in the culinary department.

In modern days, as if to be in keeping with the steamer, a currie runs from Panwell to Poonah, in twelve hours. But it is oddly horsed and oddly driven, and some tales are told of the journeys performed in it that would give a full week's occupation to Mr. Cruikshank. The road is good, having been made, at an enormous expense, under the direction of Sir John Malcolm; but this character does not extend itself to either the horses or the drivers of the vehicle, and the old-fashioned system of "*marching*" is infinitely preferable, over a road commanding such magnificent views.

Walking matches are occasionally made for this road, but are sometimes interfered with by tigers, who also have been found to select it for a midnight promenade. An officer of my acquaintance, so engaged for a considerable wager, encountered a tiger on the footway just below Candalla, walking leisurely as a gentleman would do to take the air; the officer climbed a tree, and waited till the brute had passed; yet still he won his wager, and deserved to do so. During our war with the

Peishwa, this road was the scene of many fearful events, and frightful cruelties ; but the record of them would be but painful to the reader.

Poonah itself is a fine cantonment, essentially military, with high roads on all sides, and well situated ; there is also a good travellers' bungalow for strangers ; but Poonah society is too hospitable to make it much frequented. During the rains, which set in with the most sublime and terrific effects at Poonah, this station is one of the gayest in India ; balls, amateur theatricals, hog-hunting parties, and pic-nics, whiling away the time. There is always a dragoon regiment stationed at Kirkee, which is situated about three miles from Poonah, and this fact tends much to the enlivenment of society. The mess-parties are very popular among the gentlemen, and the ladies are gratified by the presence, occasionally, of their fine band on the exercise-ground at Poonah, on which the bands of the regiments doing duty there alternately play.

However, I cannot avoid surprise at the opinion generally held, that India, like Paris, is the Paradise of women ; as the enjoyment must surely be rather negative than positive. For men, there is a profession, with its hopes and duties ; while for recreation, they have hunting, of the most exciting kind, shooting, racing, cricketing, billiard-playing, theatricals, plenty of agreeable and congenial society, and the constant resort of a mess-room, with its gaiety and comfort ; but women must depend entirely on their own resources to escape dying, absolutely *dying*, of dulness ; a state nearly as bad as any that fever or dyspepsia can assume. Apart from the interest of native history and society, which all do not care to study, there is, after a twelvemonth's residence in India, little to be done or seen, and, from the customs of European society, little domestic occupation. Accomplishments are apt to rust from the want of means for their exercise, and few new ideas on familiar subjects are presented to the mind.

The bungalows and gardens, or "*compounds*," as we call them in India (why, I have no idea, unless it is for the odd union they present of flowers of the most rare, and vegetables of the most common kind, in juxtaposition), are very good ; the latter are celebrated for their green peas and scarlet geraniums, which grow as luxuriantly in the camp-gardens as they do on the rock of Gibraltar. There are also quantities of red roses, Indian pinks, Madagascar perriwinkles, and jessamine, while the governor's garden, a short distance from the camp, is one of the richest in botanical treasures to be found perhaps in India.

The Poonah theatre, during the rains, is one of the principal sources of general amusement, and is very well managed, considering its purely amateur character. It is well lighted, comfortably carpeted, and contains a small stage ; but with good scenery and drop curtain, and a pit of sufficient size, filled with commodious seats. The men of the Queen's regiments stationed at Poonah assist materially in the dramatic representations, and a military band enlivens the orchestra ; but of course, as we in India labour under the same evil that the English stage did in its early history, for want of female actors, it is not extraordinary that

strange absurdities sometimes occur, in the endeavour to make a six-foot recruit simper forth the sentiments of a love-sick maiden ; yet, altogether, the affair generally ends to the perfect satisfaction of all parties, the actors (which is unusual) being quite as much amused as the spectators, while a supper given on the stage, at the end of the performance, is, for mirth, good feeling, and real hilarity, unequalled in the country. Usually, the classical drama is chosen for representation ; but sometimes original genius is brought out, under the fostering care of the stage-manager ; and I remember one result of this in Poonah, which I am sure will never be forgotten by any one who was fortunate enough to have seen it. A soldier, who could neither read nor write, had dictated the drama to a friend, by whom it had been written down, and this composition was absolutely acted at the Poonah theatre, in *eleven* acts ! the serio-comic performance being entitled the “*Parjured lover, or what the Deuce is the Matter with You ?*” It was brimful of horrors, after the manner of Mrs. Radcliffe, and the curtain dropped on seventeen dead bodies !

Another great amusement of the society of Poonah during the rains, are its fancy balls ; and people in England, who obtain their costumes with ease, would find it difficult to imagine the perplexity and excitement caused in an Indian out-station by the necessities which attend the endeavour to appear that which we are not. The bustle of engaging tailors, then the inventing, choosing, and re-choosing of costumes ; wishing, perhaps, to be very distinguished as a sultana, and sinking down to a Swiss peasant, for lack of materials to embody one’s satin and velvety ideas in ; then the notes, or “*chits*,” flying about camp, begging morsels of blue, or pink, or green ribbon, as the case may be, a string of beads, or a pair of buckles ; all this is entertaining enough. But worthiest of remark is the quick understanding of the poor native tailors, who, from a drawing of Ackerman’s, or an original sketch of the desired costume, will arrange it admirably ; and then the use they make of their toes in so doing ! People stop in the streets of London, and esteem it a strange and curious thing to see a poor mutilated beggar write on the pavement with his toes ; but, in India, these useful members are second only to hands, and of nearly as great utility to their possessors. I cannot aver that the Indian tailor threads his needle with his toes, but he certainly unwinds and straitens the thread with them, while between the large toe and the second, the work is held, and with the toes of the other foot the *dirzee* pulls it along, whenever he requires an advanced quantity of the material.

A fancy ball is, generally speaking, one of the most successful amusements of Indian life, the anticipatory enjoyment of the ingenuity adding great zest to the actual entertainment. The Eastern dresses, too, are always good, and the divertisement of nâchwomen, introduced, as it were, between the acts, who exhibit frequently in a prettily decorated tent near the ball-room, is in admirable keeping with the scene.

It is true that these scenes of entertainment at Poonah are sometimes marred considerably by the elements, as must be the case where people

depend on open carriages for their transit, or where palankeens are scarce. Occasionally, a fine afternoon, bright and breezy, is followed by a most fearful storm of thunder and lightning, such as is known only in the stony country of the Deekan. At these times, the sky becomes uniformly black and gleamless, save when illuminated by a flash of white light, whose sudden but powerful flashes continue at intervals, while thunder, bursting from the loaded clouds, reverberates among the surrounding hills, nearer and nearer pealing, until it seems to threaten destruction to every roof, while the rain pours down on the hot earth with that hissing sound known only in a tropical clime. The mischief produced on these occasions is often terrible; stables are washed down, roofs worked in, gardens inundated, and other miseries occur too numerous and minute to be detailed, but yet of which some idea may be formed from the phrase of a native friend of mine, of low degree, the Figaro, or, in fact, barber, of the Great Bazaar, who, coming in one day, laying his little bundle on one side, folding his hands, and looking very dismal, exclaimed, "Oh, Madam Sahib, great many houses break make come;" and literally it was so, both in the camp and in the bazaar.

Poonah having a high celebrity throughout India, both for its extensive native and European society, the jugglers and natchwomen of the various native courts frequently proceed to the city, in the hope of gathering a rich harvest in return for their skill. I once saw a puppet-show there, which really was very clever; and as I believe that the character of nations, as of individuals, is often most developed by trifles, so even the puppet-show may deserve description, for there was really a good deal of humorous satire in the ideas and management of our showman. All the figures were about a foot in height, although their stature varied a little with their titular rank, the minister being an inch taller than the coolie, and the emperor topping the premier. There was a *natch* at the commencement, the puppet falling into all sorts of difficult attitudes, and again recovering herself most gracefully; with camels and elephants in the back-ground kicking as if it was the thing they came into the world to do, and so they did it. And then we had the King of Delhi holding his court, and nuwabs, rajahs, and other great and consequently tall men, tributary to Delhi, were introduced, until the little stage could hold no more; when, to entertain the potentates, a large golden fish swam in, representing wealth, as we were told, and "a wise man," an astrologer, hooked him up; but a moment after, a huge alligator, representing tyranny, came in also, and swallowed up both the fish and the wise man, to the great entertainment of the lookers-on. Next, we had some good mimicry of the military service in India, and four short, stuffy-looking puppets, in red coats and cocked hats, were introduced, as Colonel Sahib, Major Sahib, Captain Sahib, and Ensign Sahib, and then came the *pultun* (regiment), with two companies of sepoy, and two of Europeans, who formed squares, and went through all sorts of drill, at the word of command of our showman, and never have I seen a more complete caricature. The

natives delight in this jest, and consider it as the very cream of all the rest. There is no question, I think, but that the love of caricature is inherent in a semi-barbarous people, and we have instances of this on the early temples of Egypt and India, as well as in the amusements of modern times.

An acquaintance from the Land of Cakes once told me, that he considered Poonah as "Jist 'ane elegant scene o' fashionable dissipation ;" and, perhaps, as far as I have gone, the reader's ideas may in some measure draw the same conclusion. But there is a great deal of beauty and interest about Poonah, quite apart from the amusements of its society.

In the Peishwa's time, Poonah was one of the most celebrated and interesting cities in India ; a character peculiarly given to it by the talent of its ruler and the extraordinary ability and influence of its priesthood. The government, in fact, was a purely brahminical one, and thousands of anecdotes might be told connected with it, each of which would form the materials for a romance. A brahminical government being in India a generally unpopular one, the priesthood in Poonah endeavoured to conciliate the people by extraordinary abstinence and self-denial ; yet cruelty, under the garb of religion, was carried to a frightful extent, aged women being urged to self-immolation in honour of certain ceremonies, and human sacrifices frequently demanded.

The spot on which the European barracks are now erected, was long the locality devoted to the mutilation of criminals ; a barbarous, but very frequent, system of punishment in the East, under native governments, and as late as 1810, miserable creatures might be seen crawling from that spot, after their hands and feet, or ears, had been severed by the executioner of the Peishwa's *dictum*. The principal number of these criminals were Ramoosies, daring and independent robbers, who infested the hills that may be seen to the south of Poonah. An officer, with whom I am acquainted, took one of these poor, bleeding, and mutilated criminals, whom he found dragging his weary limbs from Execution Hill, home to his bungalow, tended his wounds, gave him clothes, food, and money ; but no sooner did the man recover, than he robbed his protector, and fled again to the mountain fastness. The leader of the Ramoosies, the celebrated Oomeeah, who long harassed our troops in Poonah, during our vain endeavour to track and capture him, was at length taken, through the treachery of a follower, and executed ; since which time, the Ramoosies keep terms, and are the watchmen of the camp bungalows, as the Puggies are in Bombay.

One of the most elevated spots of this southern range is crowned by the fort of Singhur, literally the 'house of the lion ;' in the hot season it is frequented by Poonah residents, as a cool and healthy place, and is convenient, being only eight miles from the city ; but the hill on which it stands is so densely wooded, and contains such innumerable quantities of bears and beasts of prey, that it is dangerous to quit the fort after sun-set, and fires are burnt nightly at its gates ; yet, notwith-

standing this, numerous are the instances of peasants, hummalls, and others, being carried away by these brutes.

The tutelary goddess of the city of the Peishwa is the mountain goddess Doorga, or the 'Difficult of Access.' As usual, her temple is erected on a hill, looking over Poonah, the ascent to which is by innumerable small steps, difficult enough of access on foot, but which, to the riders of a camp, afford an entertaining, but highly dangerous, stimulant to rivalry. Persons have ridden both up and down these steps; but it must be remembered that a spirited youth in India never calculates, by putting danger in opposition to glory, for he believes them to be synonymous.

The temple of Doorga, or Parvati, as it is called, is well built and substantial, commanding a superb view of the city and its environs. In olden times, an annual ceremony, called *Datchma*, or 'almsgiving,' was performed here, with magnificent presents and grants from the Peishwa, and his principal officers. Of course, Poonah was then a Paradise of priests, and forty thousand brahmins was the ordinary number who thronged the Temple of Parvati, to share its loaves and fishes. Below the temple, is a beautiful grove, a fine tank, and a walled space, in which, it is said, human sacrifices were offered on the feast of the goddess; I endeavoured to enter it, but was not allowed to do so by the brahmins. A little farther, as if in contrast to it, is a beautiful garden, rich in fruits and flowers, to which the residents of the camp resort for their most lively and agreeable pic-nics.

The native bazaar of Poonah is handsome and curious, and of late years it has been very much improved. All the streets are named from the gods of Hind, or a portion of the planetary system: thus, we see the street of Mars (the Planet), the street of the sun, of Ganesa, or wisdom, &c.

The most remarkable circumstance that perhaps ever occurred under a native government, was the arrival of a European lady, desiring and gaining military service under the Poonah government, by whom she was long known as "Jamal Khan," and highly revered. This lady was the wife of a respectable barrister in Madras. From some extraordinary combination of circumstances, or a peculiar character of mind, somewhat similar, perhaps, to that which led Lady Hester Stanhope to desire the title of Queen of Palmyra, Mrs. Hall took the command of a battalion in the Nizam's service at Hyderabad, and, finding reason to dislike her position, came to Poonah, intending to take military service under the Peishwa; but a brahmin, whom she implicitly trusted, proving unworthy of her confidence, Mrs. Hall caused him to be seized and beaten, under which punishment he died; and although her life was spared, in consideration of her being a woman and a stranger, she was incarcerated in one of the hill forts, near Poonah, until shortly before her death. She was handsome and courageous, and dressed in the Moslem fashion, with full trowsers, a flowing vest, having a Damascus sword, and a plumed helmet, and was well spoken of and liked. I have

never heard of her having taken the field, but she was, no doubt, fully capable of doing so, and would have perhaps been as useful in exciting the troops as Joan of Arc; her sex and courage being well calculated to excite the superstitious reverence of the native soldiery.

The soil of Poonah is rocky and sterile; but sport is abundant without the camp, and recreation in it never fails. The young aspirant to military fame generally makes his *débüt* on the drilling ground of Poonah, and amidst the drudgery of his new profession, finds solace in his fifty rupee tattoo, and his Thursday's hunting pic-nics. Thus, while the student meets with learning, the diseased with health, and the gay with sociality, at Poonah, it is not remarkable that all classes speak of it with regard, and recollect it with regret; or that, after many years' residence in the various stations of Western India, we all remember, and talk of with pleasure, the "rains that we spent at Poonah."

M. QUATREMÈRE'S TRANSLATION OF MAKRIZI'S "HISTORY OF THE MAMLUK SULTANS OF EGYPT."*

THE first portion of the second volume of this great undertaking—for which we are indebted to the comprehensive philological knowledge and indefatigable industry of M. Quatremère, and to the liberal patronage of our Oriental Translation Fund—consists of the reigns of Mansur Kelaun, and of his son, Asshraf Khalil; the former extending from A.D. 1279 to 1290, and the latter from that date to A.D. 1294. Asshraf was succeeded by Nâser Mohammed, the history of whose long and important reign will be the subject of the succeeding portion of the volume.

The translation is most ably executed, and the Notes, indicating an acquaintance with Arabian and Oriental literature, extensive, exact, and profound, diffuse a light upon the text which leaves nothing obscure or doubtful.

Kelaun was of the Kapjak race, and belonged to a tribe named Burj-ogli. He was brought into Egypt whilst very young, and purchased for 1,000 pieces of gold by the Emir Ala-eddin Adeli, one of the Mamluks of Malik Adel Abu-Bekr, son of Ayub, whence he had the surname of Elfi. After the death of his master, he passed into the service of Malik Sâleh Nejm-eddin Ayub, where he remained till the death of that prince. When Moczz-Aybek became Sultan of Egypt, he quitted that country, with other Mamluks, and

* *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte; écrite en Arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi; traduite en Français, et accompagnée de Notes Philologiques, Historiques, Géographiques. Par M. QUATREMÈRE. Tome 2nd. 1ère Partie. Paris. Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. 1842.*

after various adventures, was nominated Atabek of the Egyptian armies in the reign of Malik Adel-Salamesh, son of Dáher. This prince was soon after deposed, and Kelaun was elevated to the rank of Sultan, when he took the title of Malik Mansur.

His first act was the abolition of the onerous impost called *zekat addawlebah* (which M. Quatremère concludes to mean a tax imposed upon all who employed in manufactures the circular machine called *dúlab*), and of the contribution of the Christians, which had been established for eighteen years. Another ordinance sanctioned the farming of wine, whereby this liquor might be openly drunk, which increased the number of drunkards, and may, perhaps, have occasioned the following incident.

In the year of his accession, there appeared at Cairo and at Misr (Fostat) two men who were falconers attached to one of the Emirs, and who committed great disorders under the influence of wine, to which they were violently addicted. They wrote menacing letters to distinguished personages to extort money, and reached such a point of insolence, that they frequented the places of public amusement with swords at their sides, none daring to molest them. The wali, or governor, of Cairo, employed several emissaries to take them, but they would rush upon a hundred men without fear, and repel them. They came into Cairo in the night, took the wali charged with making the rounds, and hung him up by an arm; cut off the nose and ears of the commandant, and attacked with fury all those who had been directed to seize them, so that the whole population was in alarm. One night, when these two men were leaving a garden, in order to proceed to Cairo, they were encountered by a Mamluk of the wali, attended by his page. As he knew the men, he wounded one with an arrow, and the other, in endeavouring to escape, leaped the garden wall and broke his leg. The two miscreants were taken to Cairo, and upon being asked by the Sultan, before they were delivered to execution, how they, who had routed numbers, could suffer themselves to be taken by a single man, lean, short, and insignificant in appearance, they characteristically replied:—"When the hour fixed for our destiny had arrived, opposition was useless. The term of our existence having been completed, when we beheld this man, we trembled in all our members, and had not resolution to make a single effort at resistance."

One of the most remarkable incidents in this reign was the invasion of the Tartars. In A.D. 1280, intelligence was brought to the sultan that these ruthless tribes were on their march for Syria in three corps; one, under Sagaruniji and Tarunji, had taken the route

of the country of Roum; another was coming from the eastern parts, under Baydu, son of Targay and grandson of Hulagu, accompanied by the prince of Máredin; and the third, composing the bulk of the enemy, and the most ferocious Mongols, was commanded by Mangu Timur, son of Hulagu. Preparations were made in Egypt as well as in Syria to oppose these invaders, but a panic prevailed throughout the territory of Aleppo, the inhabitants flying to Damascus. Terror soon infected this city and its dependencies, and the population fled in vast numbers to Egypt. A small body of Tartars penetrated into Aleppo, which was abandoned by the troops, and they committed dreadful ravages there, pillaging, burning, and massacring, not sparing colleges, palaces, or mosques, and they were suffered to depart with their booty to their winter encampment.

The sultan set out from Egypt at the head of his army for Syria, to meet the Tartars, leaving the government to his son Malik Saleh Ali. In the same year, he received ambassadors from the Franks, who came to solicit a truce, which was concluded with the grand-master of the Hospitallers of the city of Akka for ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours. The same year, an ambassador of the king of the Franks died, and all his goods were seized. Meanwhile, advices were brought that Mangu Timur, son of Hulagu, had entered the country of Roum at the head of the Mongol armies; and a Tartar, having been taken prisoner, was sent to the sultan, who learned from him that the invading force consisted of 80,000 men. The sultan employed himself in collecting reinforcements, and he was joined, from Irak, by 4,000 Arabs, of the tribe of Mora, well armed and mounted, covered with cuirasses of silk, and having helmets on their heads. Before them were slaves, who led their horses, and behind were the women and baggage. These Arabs were accompanied by a musician, who travelled in a litter, and sang a war song.

The advance of the Tartars diffused terror throughout Syria. The people thronged the principal mosque at Damascus, pouring forth supplications to God, accompanied by cries and tears. On reaching the frontiers of Aleppo, Mangu Timur commenced ravaging the country, and plundering the towns and villages. His army consisted of 50,000 Mongols and 30,000 Kurjes (Georgians), Greeks, Armenians, and Franks. A Mamluk had deserted to the Tartars, and pointed out the vulnerable points of the Mussulmans.

The battle took place in the plains of Hems, and lasted a whole day. The left wing of the Tartars threw itself impetuously upon the right of the Mussulmans, which repelled the Tartars, broke them, and drove them upon the centre, where Mangu Timur commanded.

On the other hand, the right of the Tartars attacked the left of the Mussulmans, cut it up, and put it completely to the rout. The left wing of the centre was also broken. The Tartars pursued the fugitives to the walls of Hems, where they fell upon and slaughtered the merchants and people without the city. The Mussulmans of the left wing did not know that their right wing had been victorious, and the Tartars who pursued the Egyptian troops were completely ignorant of the defeat of their left wing, and those of them who reached Hems dismounted, and let their horses graze in the plain, whilst they occupied themselves in pillaging, expecting to be soon rejoined by their companions. Hearing that Mangu Timur had fled, they remounted, and took the same course. The right of the Egyptian army, having routed the left of the enemy, penetrated to the centre of the Mongol army, Malik Mansur having been nearly surrounded by them, with only 300 horsemen about him. It is stated, that one of the Mussulmans, pretending to surrender, desired to be brought into the presence of Mangu Timur, and when there, he attacked him, and threw him off his horse. The Tartars immediately leaped from their horses to the succour of their chief, when the Mussulmans fell upon them. Mangu Timur was wounded, and fled with his whole army. The Mongols retreated in two bodies, one by Salamieh and the Desert, the other by Aleppo and the Euphrates.

This victory is ascribed to the especial interposition of Providence on behalf of the Mussulmans; "in fact," the historian adds, "had it pleased God that the enemy should have returned to the attack upon the troops of Islamism, the latter were not in a condition to have resisted." Indeed, a report being spread that the Tartars were coming (occasioned by the return of the Egyptian troops sent in pursuit of them), it occasioned great alarm. The invaders lost a vast number, and many having concealed themselves in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, the sultan ordered the caverns on the banks of the river to be fired, which destroyed numbers. On the part of the Mussulmans, two hundred "obtained the crown of martyrdom."

The second day after the battle, a pigeon alighting at Damascus communicated to the inhabitants the news of the victory, which excited great joy; but the following night, some of the fugitives arriving from the defeat of part of the Mussulman army, ignorant of the success which had attended the other part, produced a new panic, till a courier confirmed the intelligence of the victory.

Amongst the spoils taken from the Tartars was a case belonging

to Mangu Timur, which contained letters from several emirs pressing the Tartars to invade Syria, and promising to aid them in their conquest of the province. The sultan, after some deliberation, ordered all these proofs of treachery to be destroyed.

In the year 1282, an embassy was received from Ahmed Aga Sultan, son of Hulagu, announcing that that prince had become Mussulman, proposing to put an end to the war, and offering to insure a safe conduct to pilgrims.

Another remarkable occurrence during this reign was the arrival at Cairo, in A.D. 1283, of an embassy from the king of Ceylon. The following is the account given by Makrizi of this embassy:—

The 14th day of this month (Moharrem, A.H. 682) ambassadors were received, who had been sent by the sovereign of the country of Ceylon, which forms part of India. This prince is named Abu Nekbah-Lebah. They were bearers of a box of gold, three fingers wide, and half a cubit in length. Within it, there was something of a green colour, which resembled palm-leaves, and exhibited lines written in a character which no one at Cairo could read. The deputies were interrogated, and according to their answers, this letter contained forms of salutation and friendship. The prince declared that he had renounced his alliance with the sovereign of Yemen, in order that he might keep up the bonds of attachment with the sultan, and he desired to receive an ambassador. He announced that he had in his possession a great many articles, which he enumerated, such as elephants, jewels, and many valuable commodities of every kind; that he had prepared a present to be offered to the sultan; that the kingdom of Ceylon contained twenty-seven fortresses, and mines of precious stones and rubies, and that the treasuries of the sovereign overflowed with gems.

The sultan was preparing to conquer Akka, the Franks having violated the truce, when he was attacked by fever, of which he expired in A.D. 1290, at the age of seventy, having reigned eleven years. Makrizi tells us that he was of a handsome shape, though he had large shoulders and a short neck; that he spoke the Turkish language and that of Kapjak elegantly, but knew very little of Arabic.

The short reign of his son and successor, Malik Asshraf Khalil, contains little worthy of particular notice. Ambassadors came from the Franks of Akka "to implore the clemency of the sultan, who refused to accept their excuses," and he prepared with great energy to conquer the city, against which he sat down with a numerous army and ninety-two "machines of war." Reinforcements of Franks had been thrown by sea into the city, which had a numerous population. After a siege of forty days, the place was carried by assault. The Frank garrison fled by sea; the Mussulmans "made

prisoners, pillaged, and massacred ; they led into captivity an incalculable multitude of women and children. At the moment when the place was taken, the Franks, to the number of about 10,000, prayed to be granted an amnesty ; but the sultan distributed them amongst the emirs, who slew them every one." The city was destroyed ; the ramparts, churches, and other edifices were demolished, and the rest committed to the flames.

This sultan fell a victim to a conspiracy of some of the emirs, who assassinated him, when he had ridden out, attended only by the grand huntsman. He died at the age of thirty, and is described as generous, brave, intrepid, and of extraordinary activity ; in spite of the impetuosity of his character, his conversation was delightful, and he evinced a superior understanding, and a delicacy of taste in his intercourse with men of letters.

The official documents in the Appendix (in the original and translations) are curious and valuable.

FROM ANWĀRĪ.

في گوشه كنجي و كتابي بر عاقل
 بهتر ز بسي گنج و بسي كامرواني
 گر بخردان قيمت آن ملك ندانند
 اي عقل خجل نيستم از تو كه توداني
 فرعون و عذاب آبد و ريش مرصع
 موسي و كلیم الله و چوبي و شباني

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD HAND.

BY CAPTAIN BELLEW.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON reaching Agra, our regiment encamped on the *Maidan*, or plain fronting the lines. Other regiments had preceded us, and ranges of snowy tents, in long succession, stretched away in the distance; everywhere the bustle and tumult of an Indian army in a state of concentration met our view. Horsemen and weary sepoy, dusted to their eyes, escorting freshly-arrived baggage; strings of camels, laden with *churba* (provender), slowly wending their way into camp, with officers' led horses, and greyhounds and terriers (covered with warm housings), in leashes; soldiers of various arms, European and native, in diverse attire, straggled here and there, whilst a multitudinous host of servants—bazaar people and camp-followers—with their wives, hackeries, and tattoos, all on the move, pouring in from various quarters towards the common point of junction. Every now and then, too, a towering elephant, flourishing his trunk in the air, and shuffling along through clouds of dust, a mountain of camp equipage on the howdah of some "mighty hunter" on his back, would pass us by. As we approached our tents, groups of sepoy of the regiments cantoned at the station, or of those already arrived, to form a part of the army assembling, in their half or undress, and distinguished by some peculiarity in the form or ornament of the cap, &c., from those we had recently been accustomed to see, stood by the way-side, eagerly anticipating the moment when the dismissal of the corps would permit them to embrace long-separated friends, relations, or brother *busty wallahs* (villagers) in the regiment; many a European officer, also, in buggy or on horseback, rode along parallel to our line of march, as in "dusty splendour" the Tullubmajoods strode away into camp to the inspiring tune of the "British Grenadiers." What a pleasant thing it is, how delightfully exciting, to stomp along, colours flying, bayonets gleaming, the observed of admiring observers, to the animating strains of martial music! How the young officer inwardly exults, with the conscious pride of being part and parcel of so gallant a band! how he strides along, and what a toss, like a proud steed, he gives to his head ever and anon, whilst his trenchant blade gently reclines on the bend of his arm, and his scabbard bangs at his heels! And ah! if "lovely eyes" rain their sweet "influence" on him at that moment (a conjunction, by the way, not very common in India), ye gods, he is blest indeed! This, decidedly, is one of the sunny aspects of war; but, change the scene; reverse the medal—see the writhings of the wounded; hark to the moans of the dying; look on the desolated hearths, and the widow's anguish, and the orphan's tears—think on these things, thinking men, and the pageant vanishes, as we confess that "all is not gold that glitters," and that the serpent's burnished hues but poorly atone for the

poison that lurks under his fangs! Man was made for better things than to destroy and persecute his fellows, and he has but to reflect to be convinced of it, and that in the glorious work of regenerating his species, socially, morally, and politically—in giving them a love for good, and aiding them rationally to attain it—as much and a far more healthful excitement may be found than in destructive or frivolous pursuits.

I should explain, that the officers of regiments, both European and native, ride on the line of march in India; but it is usual for them to fall in with their companies on reaching the ground of encampment, and previous to their final dismissal. No sooner, on the present occasion, had Col. Bobbery given the words to “lodge arms” and “break off,” than our expectant friends poured in upon us, the natives hugging often their very unequal partner, the head alternately transferred to each opposite shoulder of the *embracée*; whilst, on the part of the Europeans, many a hearty squeeze, in good old John Bull fashion, doubtless as singular to the former as his mode of salutation to us, testified the joy of meeting with long absent acquaintance. Wildfire was immediately “bespoke” by an old shipmate, who whisked him off in his buggy to breakfast, whilst a couple of tearing griffs hooked Paddy under the arms, and bore him away in triumph, evidently delighted to have secured so valuable a prize. Many more found congenial entertainers, whilst I, for my part, was “boned” by a steady-going old captain, whom my ever considerate friend Marpeet had prepared for my arrival, and whom I was at no loss to recognize from the description I had received of him. “Come,” said he, after the first exchange of civilities was over, “the kicheree,* fish, and eggs are all ready for you at my shop, as doubtless you are for them.” “Never nearer a just conclusion in your life, Sir,” said I; so off we moved to his bungalow.

There is, perhaps, no event incident to a life in India so thoroughly animating and agreeable as the assembling of an army preparatory to taking the field; the somewhat monotonous existence of cantonment becomes suddenly exchanged for one of delightful excitement—a new world, fraught with fresh pursuits and objects; new acquaintances are formed, and old links renewed; hospitalities are exchanged; regiments meet that never met before; their appearance is criticised, and their discipline discussed; visits are interchanged from tent to tent; *gup* (news) and gossip fly about; visions of promotion and prize-money are indulged in; and endless speculations and reports arise touching the probable duration, theatre, or prospects of the campaign.

The army, which it was now my lot to join, was commanded by General (afterwards Sir Rufane) Donkin, an officer in the Royal service; it was a most compact and efficient little force, complete in every arm, and alone, I should say, sufficient to have encountered successfully any native army that could have been brought against it. It consisted of three brigades, comprising H.M.’s 8th Royal Irish Dragoons, the 3rd Native Cavalry, and Gardner’s Irregular Horse—a picturesque, Cossack-looking body of men, wild in appearance as Croats or Pan-

* *Kicheree*, a preparation of rice and dholl.

dours ;—H.M.'s 14th regiment, and four regiments of Native Infantry, with the usual proportion of horse and foot artillery, pioneers, engineers, battering train, &c. The first-named was a remarkably fine corps, the men athletic, well set up, broad-shouldered fellows, on whom I often looked, as they rode past, with no small feeling of national pride, for though my lot was cast with sepoys, for whose fine qualities I have a high admiration and respect, I could never forget that I was a Briton, or repress delight when my countrymen shone to advantage, or hesitate to which side my predilections should incline. The 8th, indeed, was a noble corps, which, during a long service in India, had invariably upheld, in a high degree, the well-earned reputation for gallantry of the British army ; its good conduct, too, and orderly demeanour in cantonments and on common occasions, were (if my information be correct) strictly of a piece with its courage in the field. The princely hospitality of its officers, some instances of which I may have occasion to relate, were the "theme of honour's tongue." I think I have heard it stated, that their superior appearance, high bearing, and sobriety, caused the natives to imagine that they must be a "cut above" the Europeans in general, who certainly, in those days, did not shine in some of these particulars, and that they subsequently dubbed them the "regiment of the Sahib Logue," or the "Gentleman Regiment." The European corps of foot are usually designated by the natives "*Gorah-kapultun*," or regiment of whites ; but the dragoons they call "*Sojer Gorah*," though it is not clear why there should be such a distinction—"sojer" being obviously, as it is amongst our humble classes, a corruption of the word "soldier." I am strongly inclined to believe that Blackey is of opinion that they, the common soldiers, are neither of the same race or country as their European officers, or the "Sahib Logue," for I have often had surprise expressed to me by sepoys when I told them they were both : as we neither associate nor eat with them, it was puzzling to them to believe they were of the same *caste*.

Agra, where we now found ourselves, is perhaps on the whole one of the most interesting cities of India, and one which, even in its now reduced and fallen state, affords a lively idea of what it must have been in the zenith of its prosperity, and when it was the favourite residence of the great Akbar. The vast red-stone fort struck me with astonishment, in its amazing circuit, the loftiness of its machicolated walls and towers, the solidity of its materials, and the noble appearance of the gateways. There is a proud imperial grandeur, similar to that of its prototype at Delhi (and to which our dirty Tower of London, divested of its associations, is as a satyr to Hyperion), which powerfully calls to mind the splendour of the once potent race of Timur, now "fallen from its high estate." Within its spacious area, now much modified in their appearance, and diverted from their original purposes to quarters, magazines, &c., are the halls, palaces, baths, mosques, &c., which, in their *ensemble*, once constituted the luxurious abodes, and their appendages, of the royal princes. One of the mosques, the

Motee Musjid, or pearl mosque, is entirely composed of a somewhat coarse-grained white marble; it is generally admired, and its chaste appearance has often obtained for it the above appropriate designation. But the building for which Agra is most renowned is the beautiful Tauje Mahal, erected over the remains of the brave Noormahal, a mile or two below the city, and justly does it merit all the encomiums that have been lavished on it. The Tauje has often been described, or rather attempted to be described, but certainly nothing but an actual inspection can afford an adequate idea of this most exquisite structure. After saying thus much, it may seem savouring of presumption to attempt to depict it myself; nevertheless, I must e'en venture on a trial, and perchance add one more to the list of failures.

The second day after my arrival at Agra, Wildfire, riding up to my tent, proposed a visit to the Tauje. "With all my heart," said I; "and shall we take Flannagan here along with us? he takes an interest in any thing which concerns the ladies, and the Tauje, you know, was built in honour of a very pretty one." "That's true, the first part of it," replied our friend Pat, who was smoking his pipe, with his legs jauntily stretched on a morah; "if 'twas the house of a living lady instead of the tomb of a dead one, I'd be of your party; but as the case stands, boys, you may go and *sintimentalize* by yourselves; Divil the bit will I move, but stick to my chillum and brandy-and-water." So, stigmatizing Pat as the veriest Goth to the east of the Caucasus, with no more soul than a mealy potato, we mounted our ponies and started.

A short ride through ruins brought us to the great gateway of the extensive garden or enclosure, in which the tomb is situated, and which was guarded by a few lounging nujeebs, a sort of picturesque militia, dressed in the Mussulman garb of Upper India, armed with crooked-stocked matchlocks and bayonets, and encumbered with mull-shaped powder-flasks, and other cumbrous accoutrements. This enclosure is a spacious garden, adorned with fountains and shady trees. From the noble archway of the lofty entrance, having on each side the *nobut khaneh*, or galleries for musicians, a perfectly fairy scene opens on the view. You look down a long broad vista, or paved walk, having about the centre a white marble reservoir; on each side of this alley, the deep green of the mango, cypress, and pomegranate lent its dark contrast to the snowy building beyond, whilst (as was then the case) the *jets-d'eau*, in airy lightness, flung their diamond spray in air. Terminating this walk, in all its purity, arose from a double terrace or platform, "the pride of India's land," the chaste and unrivalled Tauje. We slowly proceeded down this walk, lost in admiration at the beautiful building before us, and thinking how just was the remark ascribed to the painter Zoffani, that it required but a glass cover to render it complete. On ascending a side flight of steps, we found ourselves on the first terrace, the tessellated pavement exhibiting alternate chequers (if my recollection is correct) of red, white, and black marble. On each side of this extensive area are two mosques, of a reddish stone, and farther on some elegant domed and polygonal pavilions, overlooking the Jumna, and

commanding a fine view of the imperial city and the ruins on the opposite bank ; a balustrade or parapet runs around this terrace, in the centre of which rises a second platform of marble, some eight or ten feet high, arched and panelled, from each angle of which springs a lofty and graceful minar,* of the same costly material, crowned by a light cupola, and encircled by galleries at the different stages. In the middle of this second terrace is the body or principal building (entirely of marble) of the mausoleum, of a polygonal form, and crowned with a large dome in the centre, with cupolas, &c., at the angles ; its massiveness somewhat relieved by windows, archways, and mosaic borders. The mosaic or inlaid work of this beautiful tomb constitutes one of its principal features ; it is arranged to represent flowers, fruit, and sentences from the *Koran*, and becomes more delicate in workmanship and costly in material as it approaches the *sanctum sanctorum*, or shrine, beneath which repose the remains of the fair Noormahal, in whose honour the costly pile was erected. In the centre of this principal building, beneath the dome, and which has, I believe, a corresponding one in the vaults below, is the sarcophagus, surrounded by a screen-work, seven or eight feet high, of that beautiful marble fillagree which I noticed when describing the tomb of Akbar. The frames of these panels or screens, of polished marble, exhibit the finest specimens of the costly mosaic ; in the flowers and wreaths they compose, every turn of a leaf, every convolution of a tendril or stalk, or variety of shade or colour, is expressed by some stone, agate, blood-stone, or cornelian of corresponding hue, blended with such exquisite nicety as to resemble the richest painting ; it is said that sometimes a single flower contains sixty or seventy distinct stones—for this, however, I cannot vouch. Whether this species of adornment is purely Asiatic or not, I am incompetent positively to decide ; but I have certainly seen specimens of Italian work closely resembling it, and am inclined to think, as artificers were assembled from all quarters to construct the building, that it was the work of people of that nation, several of whom were in the service of the Mogul princes at an early period, as some of the tombs at Agra attest, and as we learn from Bernier and Tavernier, and other earlier travellers.

Whilst I was pondering over the tomb of the princess, and indulging in the “thick-coming fancies” which such a spot never fails to produce, strains of the sweetest music, reverberated in a hundred melodious echoes from the dome and corridors, fell sweetly on my ear. I may truly say, with friend Sterne, “they were the sweetest notes I ever heard”—just such as we may conceive our divine poet must have imagined, when he described the dying strains of music as like “the sweet south that breathes upon a bed of violets.” These strains proceeded from my friend Wildfire, who, unknown to me, had put his flute in his pocket, for the purpose of affording me an agreeable surprise.* Of all the wonders of our wondrous organization, none strikes

* “ It seemed as though the flute contained
A sorrowing spirit, there detained

me as more mysterious and astonishing, than our exquisite sensibility to the power of music, and its unaccountable influence over the feelings and passions. Every chord of an instrument seems to have in that "harp of thousand strings," the human compound, a corresponding string, which often, independent of association, apart from all volition, and unbidden, vibrates in instant unison, awakening, as if by magic, long-buried thoughts and dormant affections or passions, the very existence of which, a second before, was perhaps unknown to the possessor—such is the "softener of rocks," the "render of knotted oaks." When my ear luxuriates on melodious and harmonious sounds such as those I have been describing, and my heart is intoxicated from a source of such innocent and refined pleasure, I often think of the saying of that good old brother piscator, Isaac Walton, who, apostrophizing the strains of the woodland warblers, exclaims, "Oh, God, what pleasure must you have designed for the saints in heaven, when you have given to bad men such music upon earth!"

Wildfire, having finished the last bar of "Ye Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon," aroused me from my reverie by a slap on the shoulder, exclaiming, "Hollo, Gernon! in a brown study, old fellow? What say you? after a touch of Euterpe, perhaps you've no objection to be introduced to the temple of another of the Muses?" "Divested of all classical ideas, and on the indignant parts of a sore shoulder and a broken reverie, I beg to know, Mr. Wildfire, what you mean?" "Why in plain English, then," said my companion, "I want to shew you a place they call the 'Poets' Corner,' where you will see some very good matter-of-fact prose, chopped up into longs and shorts, and tipped with rhyme; or perhaps I should call it the Tauje Lying-in Hospital for Poets—the theatre of many an untimely birth and severe literary accouchement." "Wildfire," said I, "you are disposed to be spiteful and scandalous this evening, and are sacrificing truth to smartness: I dare say we shall find more evidences of genius in the Poets' Corner than you are disposed to admit." This brief conversation brought us to the *locus in quo*—a small alcove or chapel, the walls of which were covered with poetical effusions. Many of these, as far as I can recal my somewhat dimmed recollections, were considerably above average merit of such "mural monuments" of genius in general. Parts of one or two only can I now remember. The following strikes me as possessing considerable force, point, and elegance, though I suspect I have rather marred the concluding lines, in which, neglecting to observe the reverse of Pope's rule, the "sense" does not altogether seem an echo to the "sound:"—

Oh, thou whose great imperial mind could raise
This splendid trophy to a woman's praise,
If love or grief has fired the bold design,
No mortal's joy or grief e'er equalled thine.

Entranced, till his reviving breath
Awoke it from its transient death,
To breathe that wild lament."—B.

Sleep on secure, this monument shall stand
When desolation's wind sweeps o'er the land;
In sleep and death, by one wide ruin hurled,
The last triumphant wonder of the world.

And the following fragment still lingers in my mind :—

In death's cold arms the fair Momtara slept,
And sighs o'er Jumna's winding waters crept;
Tears, such as angels weep, with fragrance filled,
Around her grave in pearly drops distilled;
There, fixed for ever, firm congealed they stand,
A fairy fabric, pride of India's land.

The last is certainly a somewhat odd and original idea, though it sounds well in poetry. It might be a subject of curious calculation, the quantity of tears in a state of concretion or crystallization, taking the average volume and bulk of a mortal tear, which is perhaps somewhat larger than an angel's tear, as the base of the calculation, which it would require to construct a building of the height and dimensions of the Tauje.

Whilst the army was at Agra, numerous parties of officers and their ladies resorted of an evening to the Tauje Garden; on which occasions the military bands played on the terrace, and the fountains were set a-going, and the whole scene, enlivened by red coats and ladies in gay attire, had a very cheerful and animated appearance, not much unlike those scenes of Versailles, &c., which are depicted in old coloured prints and pictures. During my stay here, I visited the original European burying-ground at Agra, in which repose the remains of many Frenchmen and Italians who died here in early times; some of the tombs are more than two centuries old. I copied the inscriptions on several of them—one of a Venetian, as stated in his epitaph—but I have to regret having lost them. One inscription I remember—it was brief and touching, and simply recorded the fate of a no doubt gallant soldier of fortune, who fell, probably, in the service of one of the native princes. It was as follows :—

Ici repose le corps de Paul Frederique, tué au siège de Kama.

Poor Paul! thou wast no saint, like thy namesake, possibly, but a brave, merry fellow, I dare be sworn, who went off, no doubt, with a proper *coup de théâtre*, apostrophizing *la gloire* and *la belle France*.

CANDIDATES FOR THE OFFICE OF EAST-INDIA DIRECTOR.

It is a little derogatory to the dignity of the human intellect to consider how many discoveries beneficial to mankind have been the result of accident rather than of invention or device—stumbled upon by chance, rather than attained by regular search and methodical investigation—and how many theories have been painfully elaborated, which such a trivial incident as the fall of an apple has overturned, and which now remain as monuments of ingenious absurdity. Not only are the annals of the arts and sciences pregnant with proofs of this anomaly, but the highest departments of philosophy, those which are supposed to stand upon the basis of demonstration, can furnish instances in which the wanderings of man's understanding have been arrested and directed into the proper channel of inquiry by what is popularly termed "chance." Nay, the best schemes of government—expedients for the most effectual administration of the joint-stock fund of freedom contributed by each society for the purpose of carrying on its common affairs with advantage, and which, at the first view, would seem to require, as an indispensable condition, that all the machinery should be invented and adjusted beforehand—even the best schemes of government—those which have worked most beneficially—have been lighted upon by accident, and have in some cases established themselves, very irreverently, in the teeth of theory and demonstration. Had the contrivers of a constitution for the English nation sat themselves down sagely to construct a model *a priori*, they would have carefully avoided the existing one, since it had been already recorded and proved to be impossible, or, if practicable, mischievous.

If we were required to produce the most decisive example of the felicity attending fortuitous discovery in this very department of knowledge, government, we should adduce the scheme of administration under which our mighty Indian empire has been created and ruled down to the present moment. Were a constitution-maker gravely to propose that a dependent territory, several times larger in extent than the mother country, comprising distinct kingdoms, containing a population of eighty millions, differing from each other in race, language, religion, and manners, and kept in subjection by a mercenary army of their own countrymen, should be governed by twenty-four private gentlemen, forming no part, however subordinate, of the general government of the country—not even Privy

Councillors—and to the head of whom a Prime Minister of England would not condescend to concede the ordinary courtesy title of “Esquire,”*—he would be told to take a voyage to Anticyra. Yet, that British India could have been better managed by any other form of government than one which was given to it by accident—one that made itself—few will be so rash as to affirm—a government which, in the recorded opinion of its severest critic, who employed his utmost vigilance to discover faults in it, has done more good for its subjects than all other sovereigns together upon the face of the globe:—

In matters of detail (observes Mr. Mill), I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company’s Government than to praise it; and till the business of government is much better understood, whoever writes history with a view solely to the good of mankind will have the same thankless task to perform: yet I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shewn more of good-will towards them, have shewn less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all the other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe.†

Even in the article of patronage, where abuse was most to be expected, this watchful censor declares that “in regard to patronage, the conduct of the Court of Directors will be found to exhibit a degree of excellence which other governments have rarely attained.”‡

Nor have the singularity and anomaly of the Indian Government consisted merely in the constitution of its ruling body, in the circumstance of twenty-four private gentlemen, silently and unostentatiously administering, in a parlour in the City, the affairs of a mighty empire, with so much equity as to make their government, though that of foreigners, a covetable boon to natives not under their sway; but the manner in which they are selected and placed in their office is not the least wonderful part of the whole affair. According to theory, these functionaries should be chosen either by the people they govern or by the people of England, after being subjected to the rigorous scrutiny of an open public election; whereas, they are chosen by a small body of constituents, the Proprietors of East-India Stock, who have had little or no direct interest in the

* At the commencement of the negotiations for the last Charter, Earl Grey, communicating with the late J. G. Ravenshaw, Esq., the Chairman of the Court of Directors, addressed him as “Mr. Ravenshaw.”

† *Hist. of Brit. India*, b. vi. c. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, b. v. c. 9.

good government of India, many of whom know nothing about India, and who have a vote cast upon them by the accident of their having invested a little money in that Stock instead of on mortgage or in Government securities. Country gentlemen, merchants, professional men, retired tradesmen, ladies, both spinsters and matrons, with only a sprinkling of civil and military servants of the Company, compose the body from whence the governors of British India have been taken for the last two centuries. And as for notoriety, or public criticism, or any of those securities which are supposed to be the indispensable guarantees for the due fulfilment of public duties by public men, there have been none whatever. Who hears of—we might ask, who cares for—the election of directors, except the proprietors of East-India Stock? There is infinitely more noise, and uproar, and declamation about the choice of a fit and proper person to represent a small borough which narrowly escaped the *limbus* of Schedule A., or of a Lord Mayor, or even of a parish officer, than about a director of the East-India Company, whose casting vote may have decided the destiny of a kingdom, or the fate of thousands who have perished in a war.

Although accident has thus secured what the most consummate wisdom might have failed to secure, under another system, namely, an able and a just administration of the affairs of India, and a pure disposal of the patronage attached to that administration, no one will contend that, therefore, the whole should still be left to the direction of blind chance. The Legislature, supported by the general opinion of the nation, has deemed it proper to subject the Court of Directors to the supervision and control of the imperial executive government, which, since the abrogation of the Company's commercial functions, have been made still more severe and coercive; and we think no injury, but on the contrary much benefit, would arise if the electoral body and the public generally were made better acquainted than they usually are with the character and merits of those gentlemen who aspire to fill the still important office of director of the East-India Company. The present moment seems to be peculiarly fit for such an exposition, when the electors must be somewhat embarrassed in their choice by the number of candidates who have declared themselves. With the view, therefore, of supplying this necessary information, we have collected, from the most authentic sources, such particulars of the history and pursuits of those gentlemen as will enable the Proprietors to form some judgment of the opportunities they have had of qualifying themselves for a share in the direction, and of the peculiar class of duties in which they may

be expected to render their talents respectively beneficial to India. Although it will be seen that we confine ourselves strictly to an exposition of the official career (if we may so express it) of each candidate, we think it better distinctly and expressly to disclaim all partisan views, or a covert intention to advance the interests of any individual.

Of Major James Oliphant, who has been elected a Director (in the room of the late Mr. Stanley Clarke) whilst this sheet was passing the press, we need say no more than that he was an officer of the Madras engineers, and retired from the military service of the Company on the 17th December, 1838. He has of late years taken a part in the debates in the Court of Proprietors, in which his speeches have been distinguished by two qualities, which, though essential, are not often found there,—they have been short, and to the point.

Mr. John Clarmont Whiteman was originally in the maritime service of the Company, and commanded the H.C. ship *Herefordshire* in 1826. Shortly after, and prior to the cessation of the Company's trading functions, Mr. Whiteman settled in China as a merchant, and was head of the firm of Whiteman and Co. We have understood that he is a gentleman of good property, respectable talents, and extremely well-informed in commercial matters, especially those relating to China. Although the separation of the Company from this important branch of our commerce may seem to render it less necessary now than formerly to have a person in the governing body conversant therewith, yet, considering that, both financially and politically, the Government of British India is still connected, and will become yearly more so, with China, it is essential that the direction should have the benefit and assistance of gentlemen locally experienced in that very peculiar branch of trade.

The Honourable William Henry Leslie Melville is a son of the late Earl of Leven and Melville, and was born in the year 1788. He entered the civil service of the East-India Company, as a writer, on the 21st July, 1807, and in 1811 he was appointed assistant to the commercial resident at Commercally and Hurriaul. His promotion through various offices was rapid. In 1812, he was second-assistant to the salt agent at Bullooh and Chittagong; in the following year, assistant to the superintendent of eastern salt chokies and acting register of the Provincial Court of Dacca; in 1814, he became register of the zillah of Dinagepore, and in 1815, register of that of Nuddea, and acting magistrate of Dinagepore; in 1816, he was appointed acting register and joint magistrate of the suburbs of Cal-

cutta, and next year to be assistant to the superintendent of police in the Lower Provinces, and afterwards acting joint magistrate of Cuttack. In 1819, Mr. Melville was assistant to the superintendent of police, Western Provinces, and acting joint magistrate of Pooree, and the ensuing year, judge and magistrate of Ghazepore. In 1824, he was advanced to the more dignified post of agent to the Governor-General at Moorsshedabad, and in 1830, he was made commissioner of revenue and circuit in the Bareilly division, having officiated in that capacity the preceding year. In 1831, he came home on the absentee allowance, and returned to India in 1835, when he was again appointed Governor-General's agent at Moorsshedabad; and in February, 1838, he retired on the Annuity Fund. Thus, in a service of thirty years, this gentleman passed through a great variety of official employment, commercial, revenue, police, and political, which must have furnished his mind with knowledge and experience well fitting him for superior administrative functions. We may add, that Mr. Melville has written one or two very able pamphlets upon Indian topics, and his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the Charter question indicates much minute and accurate information.

Mr. Henry Thoby Prinsep is one of the few surviving members of a family so distinguished for talent, that the very name carries an intrinsic recommendation, which has been enhanced by the transcendent and universal talents of his late brother, Mr. James Prinsep—one of those men who, like Marcellus, are shewn to the world only for a short time:—

*Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent.*

Mr. H. T. Prinsep entered the Company's Bengal civil service, as a writer, on the 8th May, 1808, and in 1810, he was appointed assistant in the office of register of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut. The following year he officiated as register of the City Court of Moorsshedabad, and in 1812 he became register of the Zillah Court of Agra, and afterwards of that of Backergunge. In 1813, he was acting assistant and preparer of reports to the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut; and in the next year, he was appointed assistant to the secretary to the Governor-General (Lord Hastings), whom he accompanied to the Upper Provinces. In 1815, he was superintendent of lawsuits, and, in that capacity, he was sent on a commission to investigate the land-tenures of Burdwan and other districts, where, owing to the system of leases in perpetuity to middlemen, five or six holders intervened between the

zemindar and the ryot. He was thereby enabled to draw up the Regulation VIII. of 1819, which completely settled the question. He was again employed in inquiries into the execution of decrees, the details of the salt monopoly, as connected with the land-revenue, and Khalasce rents, and the result of his inquiries finally adjusted those questions. When the Mahratta war called Lord Hastings to the north-west, Mr. Prinsep was in attendance upon his lordship during that important and critical period. In 1820, he became successively secretary to the Committee of Records and secretary in the Persian department, and whilst in this office he was also employed in revising the department of the Bengal customs. In 1822, he was advanced to be officiating secretary in the judicial department. He had a short intermission of official employment from 1824, when he came to England, till 1826, when he returned to India, and was immediately made officiating secretary in the territorial department, and placed in charge of the finance at the presidency in very difficult times.* In 1827, he was appointed agent to the Governor-General in the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, and in the same year he succeeded Mr. Lushington as secretary in the general department, with the additional charge of all the separate revenues, which he held till appointed to Council. In 1831, he accompanied the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) to the North-west Provinces, when his lordship had the well-known interview with Runjeet Sing in the plain of Roopur, and was present at the meeting of the Rajpoot princes at Ajmere. In 1835, he was nominated (provisionally) a member of the Supreme Council, and in the same year he became secretary to the Government of India and Government of Bengal in the general, foreign, and financial departments; in 1837, he was transferred to the judicial and financial departments, and officiated as president of the Law Examination Committee. In these various capacities Mr. Prinsep took a prominent share in several important measures—such as placing the customs of Bengal and Bombay on a permanent footing, the laws and details of the system being prepared in the secretariat, not in the committee, &c. In February, 1840, on the assumption by Mr. Robertson of the government of the North-western Provinces, Mr. Prinsep, by virtue of his provisional appointment, took his seat as Member of Council,

* In the secretariat at this period many critical occurrences happened in the departments under the charge of Mr. Prinsep, especially in the opium revenue. In 1825-26, in consequence of the bad quality of the Behar opium, thirteen lacs of rupees were paid back to purchasers as compensation. Again, in 1837, when, in consequence of the derangement of prices in China, merchants were almost ruined, twenty-eight lacs were remitted or refunded, and a revenue of two crores yielded notwithstanding.

which he retained till the beginning of last year, when he resigned his high post, and returned home.

It is not merely in these numerous and important offices that Mr. Prinsep's talents and acquirements have been exhibited; as an author and Oriental scholar alone he would be entitled to distinction. His "*History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings*," originally published in 1820, containing a masterly description of the great Mahratta and Pindarry war, is a work of high literary merit. His *Memoirs of Runjeet Singh* and *History of the Sikh Power*, published in 1834, and his translation of the very curious autobiography of the notorious Pathan freebooter, Ameer Khan, which appeared in 1832, have likewise earned for Mr. Prinsep a large share of reputation, which, in conjunction with his philological knowledge, induced the Asiatic Society of Bengal to elect him, in 1842, their president. The ease with which the learning of Mr. Prinsep can throw off seasonable information may be seen in his account of the expedition of Alexander into India, with reference to the late campaign in Affghanistan.*

The manner in which Mr. Prinsep's official conduct in India was appreciated by those who were most deeply interested in the measures of which he was known to be the projector or adviser, is shewn in the addresses offered to him upon his departure for Europe by the native community. Although the constitutional responsibility for public measures in India lies in the gradations of authority, yet enough always transpires there to enable the public to learn the connection of public servants of the state with those measures, to discriminate their characters, and to discover those whose views and opinions command their sympathy; and the native gentlemen are extremely alert in making such discoveries. In the address of the Hindu, Mahomedan, and Parsee gentlemen, presented to Mr. Prinsep by a deputation headed by Baboo Dwarkanauth Tagore, is the following passage :—

But we address you, not merely as a friend whose private and personal virtues we admire, but as a public functionary, retiring from a service in which you have been called to fill various situations of great responsibility, extensive power, and high distinction. We believe that in all these situations you have been guided by a love of justice, and a desire to advance equally the honour of the British name and the happiness of the people of India. Without referring to that share, which, from a knowledge of your character, we may well suppose you to have

* *Asiat. Journ.* for October last.

had in the framing of many wise and salutary enactments during the period of your connection with the Supreme Government, we recognize in you the framer of a regulation (Regulation VIII. of 1819) which secured the most valuable benefits both to the zemindar and the leaseholders of these provinces. You have also on various occasions manifested your desire to maintain inviolate the just rights of the landed proprietary, and the sacred enjoyment of their religious privileges by all classes of the native community. Yourself possessed of rare talents, and distinguished by high attainments in the literature of India, you have been the fosterer and promoter of Oriental learning, and the warm defender of that learning when attempts have been made either to supplant or retard it. When you shall be no longer among us, we shall retain the evidences in the works which you have published of your ability to elucidate some of the most interesting portions of our national history.

We have unavoidably dwelt long on Mr. Prinsep's history, because the materials are abundant, and we now pass to Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles, son of the late J. Mangles, Esq., of Guildford,—who was Member of Parliament for that borough from 1831 to 1837,—a gentleman who has, like Mr. Prinsep, passed through a long series of official employments, and is distinguished by his literary talents. Mr. Mangles entered the Company's service, as a writer on the Bengal establishment, April 30, 1819, and was in 1821 appointed assistant to the secretary to the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. In the next year we find him acting collector of Government customs and town duties at Furruckabad; in 1823, assistant to the secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces and acting commissioner of the Sunderbunds; in 1825, secretary to the commissioner of Pegu and Ava; and next year, deputy secretary in the judicial and territorial departments. So rapid an advancement is rare even amongst the ablest civil servants of the Company. In 1828, he came home on the absentee allowance, and during the inquiries into the Charter question, he not only proved a very intelligent witness before the Parliamentary Committees, but we have heard that his pen was not idle, though employed anonymously, upon that important question. In 1831, he returned to India, and became immediately officiating junior secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue. In 1832, he was appointed deputy secretary in the general department, and in the following year became, successively, magistrate and collector of Tipperah, magistrate and collector of customs and land revenue at Chittagong, and magistrate and collector of Agra. In 1835, he was advanced to the post of secretary to the Govern-

ment of Bengal in the judicial and revenue departments, to which was added, in 1837, the legislative, and he officiated as private secretary to the President of the Council ; and in 1838 he was temporary member of the Sudder Board of Revenue at the presidency. In 1839, on the death of his father, having a complaint which had given him several warnings, he returned to England, and shortly after retired from the service. A writer at Calcutta, mentioning his approaching retirement, observed : "He does not leave his equal behind him in India, and his departure is a public loss : as a writer he is clear, energetic, and elegant—the energetic character is truly wonderful."

At the general election in 1841, he was returned Member of Parliament for the borough of Guildford, heading the poll, after a strong contest ; and he retains his seat, voting with what is termed the Reform or Liberal party. He has distinguished himself upon several occasions in the House, especially on topics involving Indian or China questions.

Mr. Mangles is the author of many anonymous papers in the Indian journals and in periodicals at home (the *Edinburgh Review* in particular), which fully justify the opinion of his literary talents we have just quoted.

Captain William Joseph Eastwick is a retired officer of the Bombay army. He was a cadet of 1826, and entered the 12th regiment of Native Infantry at that presidency, as ensign, in 1827, and was made lieutenant in 1828. He retired from the service as a brevet captain 1st July, 1843. We are not in possession of more information respecting this gentleman, than that he is an Oriental scholar, and well acquainted with the history and literature, as well as the politics, of our Indian empire. Some of the most useful members of the Court of Directors have been in the Company's army, and it is desirable that the infusion of military men in the governing body should not be confined to those of one or two presidencies.

Major-General James Caulfield, C.B., is an old military servant of the Company. He was a cadet of 1798, and entered the 5th regiment of Light Cavalry (on the Bengal establishment), as cornet, in 1800. The several stages of his promotion are as follow : lieutenant in 1805, captain in 1818, major in 1825, lieutenant-colonel in 1829, colonel (by brevet) in 1834, and colonel of the 10th Light Cavalry in 1841. In 1831, he was made a Companion of the Bath, and in November, 1841, he was included in the brevet promotion, and became a major-general. The services of Major-General Caulfield have been employed in the political department ;

he has been political agent at Kotah, and afterwards at Moorshe-dabad, and in 1838 he officiated as resident at Lucknow. He is likewise an able political writer, and has published several pamphlets, in which he has urged the expediency and advantage of extending our power and assuming a commanding position in India.

Mr. Neil Benjamin Edmonstone is the son of the late director of that name, who was a distinguished civil servant, and an accomplished Oriental scholar. Mr. Edmonstone entered the civil service of Bengal, as a writer, on the 30th April, 1827. In 1828 he was appointed assistant to the joint magistrate and collector of Belasore; next year, assistant to the salt agent, Northern Division of Cuttack, and collector of customs at Balasore; and the year following, assistant to the magistrate and collector of land-revenue at Ghazee-pore. In 1831, he became acting magistrate at Ghazee-pore, and in 1832 was assistant to the Governor-General's agent in the Rajpootana states. In 1835, he was appointed superintendent of Ajmere and first assistant to the Governor-General's agent in Rajpootana, and in 1838 he became officiating magistrate and collector at his old station of Ghazee-pore. In the end of that year, he returned to England, and in 1842 he resigned the service.

Mr. Christopher Webb Smith entered the Company's civil service, on the Bengal establishment, as a writer, on the 8th May, 1808. The offices he has held are the following: in 1814, assistant to the magistrate of Etawah; in 1815, register of the zillah of Shahabad and acting register of Benares city; in 1817, acting judge and magistrate of Shahabad; in 1818, additional register and assistant to the magistrate of Etawah; in 1820, acting judge and magistrate of Behar; in 1823, judge and magistrate of Patna City Court; in 1828, judge and magistrate of Shahabad; in 1832, session judge of the same; in 1833, officiating civil and session judge of Ghazee-pore and acting commissioner of the Patna division, and afterwards commissioner of revenue and circuit of that division; in 1835, junior judge of the Sudder Board of Revenue at the presidency. The subsequent official history of Mr. Webb Smith we are unable to trace.

Mr. Henry Sullivan Græme is an old civil servant of the Company, having entered as a writer, on the Madras establishment, on the 10th September, 1796. In 1798 he was appointed second, and in 1799 head, assistant under the collector of the Polygar Peishcush; in 1800, subordinate collector in the Ceded Districts; in 1803, collector in the Southern Division of Coimbatore; in 1804, collector in the Northern Division of Arcot; in 1818, third judge

of the Provincial Court in the Southern Division ; and in 1820, in the Central Division, in which year he was made third member of the Board of Revenue. In 1821, he became second puisne judge of the Sudder Foujdarry Adawlut, and in 1823, member of Council and president of the Sudder Court and Board of Revenue. In 1828, he vacated his seat at the Council, agreeably to the Regulations, and in 1830, he became resident at Nagpore. In 1834, he came home on the absentee allowance, and retired on the Annuity Fund from the 1st May, 1837.

Mr. William Fleming Dick is likewise a retired civil servant. He entered, as a writer on the Bengal establishment, on the 29th July, 1805, and in 1808 was appointed assistant to the magistrate of the City Court of Patna. The successive appointments held by Mr. Dick are the following : register of the Zillah of Allyghur, 1810 ; joint magistrate of Allyghur, 1815 ; assistant to the superintendent of police in the Western Provinces, in 1816 ; and in 1818, officiating superintendent ; judge and magistrate of the Northern Division of Bundelcund, 1819 ; and the same office at Allyghur, 1820 ; at Agra, 1820 ; at Nuddea, 1822 ; at Etawah, 1822 ; at Bareilly, 1823. In 1825, 1826, and 1827, he was successively acting judge, fourth judge, and third judge of Bareilly, commissioner of revenue and circuit of the fifth division and agent to the Governor-General at Bareilly. In 1830, he came home on the absentee allowance, and returned to India in 1832, when he was appointed officiating postmaster-general, and, in the following year, magistrate and collector of Agra, and judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad. He retired on the Annuity Fund in February, 1838, and left India in that year.

The last candidate to be noticed is Mr. James Frederick Nugent Daniell, who entered the Company's civil service, as a writer, at Canton, in 1813, and rose successively to be senior writer in the Commission, supercargo below the Select Committee, and third member of the Select Committee. After the cessation of the Company's trading privileges, and the abolition of their factory in China, Mr. Daniell became the head of a mercantile firm at Canton. The observation we have made respecting Mr. Whiteman will apply to Mr. Daniell, namely, that the peculiar experience of gentlemen connected with the China trade (either as Company's servants, or independent merchants, or where one character has succeeded the other) is desirable in a body which cannot leave out of its consideration the important bearing which the politics and trade of China have upon those of India.

This exposition of the history and services of the candidates from whom the Proprietors of East-India Stock will hereafter be called upon, as vacancies occur, to select members of the Court of Directors, although it is, in some instances especially, more imperfect than we should have been glad to make it, will nevertheless afford some guide to the species, as well as the extent, of their experience in Eastern affairs. We repeat, that we have no other object than to supply this information.

THE EVENTS AT CABUL.

The following correspondence has been published in the *Delhi Gazette* :

From Captain Pat. Grant to Lady Sale.

“ Simlah, 23d July, 1843.

“ Madam,—In a supplement to a recent number of the *Delhi Gazette*, the following passage is quoted from your *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan*. ‘Capt. Grant, with cold caution, obstructed every enterprise, and threw all possible difficulties in the way.’

“ On observing this passage, I wrote to Captain Johnson and Lieut. Eyre, and begged of them to state to me honestly and candidly their opinion of how far my brother's conduct justified these expressions; conceiving that their knowledge of all that occurred at Cabul, and during the retreat, was likely to be based on personal observation, and not, like your ladyship's (as you have admitted in your note to Captain Johnson of the 14th instant), founded on hearsay.

“ I enclose copies of the replies I have received from Captain Johnson and Lieut. Eyre, and I trust that, after perusing the incontestable proof they afford of your having put forth a misstatement (under an impression, I readily admit, that you were recording facts), your ladyship will not hesitate now to forward to me in writing an unqualified retraction of the aspersion which you have cast on the memory of a brave man, who, dying a soldier's death in the execution of his duty, was conspicuous to the last for his gallant bearing.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed) “PAT. GRANT.”

From Lieutenant V. Eyre, R. A. to Captain P. Grant, Asst. Adjt.-Gen.

“ Meerut, July 18, 1843.

“ My dear Grant,—I take the earliest opportunity to answer your late note of the 12th instant. I can well imagine the distress of mind you must have experienced, on perusing Lady Sale's severe animadversions on your deceased brother; and, as you have appealed to me for my opinion, I shall endeavour to give it with all that honesty and candour which you so earnestly enjoin, and which the occasion so imperatively demands.

“ Being well aware that her ladyship must have formed her opinion on such subjects from hearsay rather than from observation, I confess I am not so much surprised to find that she has committed harsh and hasty criticisms on individuals to the pages of a daily journal, written at a period of intense excitement,

as to see such criticisms deliberately published to the world so many months after the victims of her lash have been numbered with those whose scattered bones lie bleaching on the rocks in the Afghan passes; and who, having fallen like brave soldiers in the performance of their duty, have thereby earned not only that just tribute of respect for their merits, but that charitable mantle of oblivion for their errors which ought never to be denied to the dead when compatible with justice to the living, or with the stern demands of truth, in matters of high historical import. In the latter case, surely the narrator should be unusually careful in ascertaining the undoubted accuracy of every stated fact before venturing to consign the memory of the deceased to lasting reproach or contempt; and, while I duly appreciate Lady Sale's high motives, in speaking out so fearlessly as she appears to have done, yet intimately acquainted as I am with all the chief military transactions at Kabul during the insurrection, I feel it impossible to second her in the sweeping assertion, that 'Captain Grant, with cold caution, obstructed every enterprise, and threw all possible difficulties in the way.' All men are liable to commit occasional errors of judgment, and I will not take upon myself to say that Captain Grant formed an exception to the rule; but *this* I can and will affirm, that no military officer, in his responsible situation, was ever more awkwardly circumstanced, or ought to have more allowances made for him, than the late assistant adjutant-general at Kabul. It too often happens that a large share of the odium incurred by an imbecile or incompetent general is inconsiderately cast on his official adviser, who is supposed, as a matter of course, to exercise sufficient power and influence to counterbalance the incapacity of his superior. To judge and condemn Captain Grant by any such rule would be exceedingly unjust. True it is that our unhappy general, crippled in body, and distracted in mind, could neither act vigorously nor deliberate wisely; but let it not be, therefore, supposed that he was a mere lifeless automaton, to be moved at the will of another. Happy for us and for our country had he been so! Beset with difficulties, both real and imaginary, and seeing the necessity for doing *something*, yet utterly unable to determine what that *something* should be, General Elphinstone was in the habit of applying for an opinion to almost every one of the numerous officers who at various hours of the day went to him for orders; and it is not at all wonderful that, being questioned separately, without any opportunity for consulting together, and thus coming to a mutual understanding, the opinions given by them were frequently of so conflicting a nature as to tend rather to mystify the already dim faculties of the general, than to clear up the difficulties that were continually presenting themselves to his mind. Had these same officers been asked to form a *joint stock* of their ideas, with a view to forming some definite plan of operations, I have little doubt they would have speedily reconciled their seeming differences, and come to something like a satisfactory decision. I have often heard Captain Grant give what I considered very good advice; but I firmly believe that, had he possessed the wisdom of Solomon, it would have been all lost on one of the general's vacillating character. It happened not unfrequently that an officer, after having, as he imagined, impressed the general with the necessity of a certain line of action, and yet finding that he adopted quite a contrary course, would angrily cast the blame on Captain Grant, from the mere circumstance of his being the last person consulted. I believe that, in this manner, Captain Grant came in undeservedly for a large share of odium; the more so, perhaps, because, from his usual reserved habit of speaking on public matters, his opinions were but imperfectly known. But Captain Grant

often complained bitterly to me in private that, after imploring the general for hours together to decide on some point of emergency, and at length obtaining definite instructions, he had no sooner commenced to carry them into effect, than he received a sudden counter order, and on returning to ascertain the cause, would find that some fresh difficulty had occurred to the poor old man's mind, which was not removed until the time for action had passed away.

"In fact, no one who did not actually witness it can possibly conceive the difficulty a staff officer found in transacting business, that involved any great degree of responsibility, with General Elphinstone. As for myself, I candidly acknowledge I scarcely ever wasted my time and temper in asking for instructions, but contented myself with doing that which seemed right in my own eyes, acting entirely on my own responsibility, unless interfered with, as was sometimes the case, when, of course, I obeyed orders. Had I been in Captain Grant's place, I should probably have acted on the same plan; but as it would have involved no small responsibility, no one has a right to cast blame on him for not having adopted such a course. As far as my personal experience goes, I can honestly declare that I always found Captain Grant ready and willing to co-operate with me in every thing, and I will mention two important instances in which he not only offered no opposition, but went cordially hand in hand with me where the plan of action was in each case my own proposing.

"1st.—On the 5th November, when, immediately after the loss of the Commissariat fort, I urged the general to retake it by a *coup-de-main*, as might easily have been done, had not the expedition been intrusted to one of the most incapable officers in the whole garrison, (a fact which historical truth compels me to record).

"2ndly.—When, somewhere about the middle of the same month, I proposed the immediate assault of Mahomed Khan's fort, to deliberate on which a council of staff officers was convened, and an attack agreed upon that very night. Captain Sturt, who had hitherto been warmly in favour of the plan, was sent out to reconnoitre the ground, which, between us and the fort, was intersected by a canal and some water-cuts. On returning after, perhaps, about two hours' absence, he told me that several serious objections had in the meanwhile occurred to him, which he had just been discussing with the Envoy, who had declared himself convinced by his argument. The plan was, therefore, abandoned. Captain Sturt may have reasoned rightly. On that I, however, intend to offer no opinion, but I have deemed it only just to your brother to shew that he did not in either of the above cases 'throw difficulties in the way.'

"Having proved thus much, I trust it is hardly necessary to add my testimony as to his personal bravery. That I do not suppose Lady Sale had the slightest idea of impugning. Nothing could be more soldierly than his conduct on the retreat. At Jugdulluck he received a wound in the cheek * when prominently exposing himself with some other officers in an attempt to check the increasing boldness of the enemy. This was so far from quailing his spirit that, thenceforward, up to the final massacre at Gundamuck, he was among the foremost to encourage his companions in arms to fight manfully while they had life and limb. Being at length rendered powerless by wounds in both arms, he ordered an artillery serjeant, who had lost his own weapon, to draw his sword, and rush yet once again on the miscreant Ghazees, which the poor

* His lower jaw was shattered by a shot, and he had previously received two sword cuts in the face.

fellow did, and, after maiming several of them, himself received a mortal wound.

"I trust I have said enough to satisfy you and all who may read this letter, that your poor brother was not unworthy of his name and nation.

"The same defence I have made for him may be applied to his colleague, Captain Bellew, our assistant quartermaster-general, who stands associated with him in Lady Sale's censure. Of this officer it stands on record that he twice volunteered his services on occasions of great danger. He was in truth one of the most zealous and indefatigable officers we had, being in this respect a shining example to all around him. He may have had his share of 'doubts and suggestions;' but in that he was not singular, and had we but been blessed with an efficient General at our head, I cannot recall to mind any one officer who bid fairer to gain for himself an honourable renown. I knew Bellew intimately, and a more worthy and high-principled man, and gallant devoted soldier, could not exist.

"In conclusion, no one can feel more desirous than myself to shield the memory of poor Elphinstone from undue reproach; but no private partiality shall deter me from speaking the truth when called upon to do so, as in the present instance. His infirmities were the main cause of our ruin at Kabul, but he is far less deserving of blame than of pity. Had not Brigadier Shelton incurred his dislike or distrust, I believe Elphinstone would have gladly resigned the entire command into that officer's hands; but having retained it to the last, it is quite clear that he, and he alone, was the responsible man, and that the staff officers, over whom he exercised control, ought not, in common justice, to be blamed for the disasters consequent on his inexpressible want of decision and unprecedented bad generalship. *'Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.'*

"Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

"VINCENT EYRE."

From Capt. H. Johnson to Capt. P. Grant, Ass. Adjt. Gen. Simla.

"Kussowlee, 16th July, 1843.

"My dear Grant,—I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 12th instant, in which you ask my opinion on the following passage in Lady Sale's Journal:—'Captain Grant, with cold caution, obstructed every enterprise, and threw all possible difficulties in the way.'

"I can readily believe how painful must have been to you the perusal of a passage which cast so great a slur on the memory of your lamented brother, and of as brave and noble-hearted a soldier as ever lived; and I can assure you that I felt no less hurt than astonished when I read the passage you have quoted, as your brother was one of my most intimate friends, and a man whom I had known and esteemed for eighteen years. I am not aware where Lady Sale can have gained her information, or to what particular period of the investment of the cantonment of Kabul allusion is made: but this I can safely and conscientiously say, that although I was in daily intercourse with your brother, from the breaking out of the insurrection on the 2nd November, 1841, till our arrival at Jugdulluck on the 11th January, 1842, and within a few hours of his death, I always found him to be the very reverse of what is stated in the passage you quote.

"I am aware that people may be apt to blame your brother in the supposition that, from his official capacity, his advice may always, or generally, have swayed General Elphinstone, and that, judging from results, that advice must have been

bad. From my knowledge of the General, and from no little experience, I can affirm that he was swayed by the advice of no one individual, but readily listened to that of every one that chose to proffer it.

"On the evening of the 4th November, when Captain Boyd and myself went over to General Elphinstone's bungalow, to entreat of him to strengthen, instead of abandoning, the godown fort, your brother and other officers were either then present, or dropt in during the consultation. As the General took each officer that happened to make his appearance at the time into an inner room to ask his advice, I of course know not what each individual *then* said. I can only judge by what occurred in my presence, and your brother did not utter one word that could lead me to suppose he was averse to the measure we proposed. There were some gentlemen who did give advice, which caused vacillation, and this led to the loss of all our provisions. I was present with your brother at another consultation at General Elphinstone's, on the evening of the 8th December, 1841, to which Eyre in his book makes some slight allusion, and at which both Boyd and myself had been desired to attend. This consultation had reference to the advisability or otherwise of sending a detachment during the night to surprise the village of Khoja Ruwash. I perfectly well recollect all that took place. Your brother did not utter a word that could be possibly construed into a wish to throw impediments in the way of the expedition, but on the contrary, so soon as it was determined upon, he shewed every alacrity to carry the General's orders into effect. The expedition did not take place, but the blame, if any, attached elsewhere.

"It was principally by the advice of your brother that, on the 8th November, 1841, General Elphinstone consented to lay himself up, and make over the whole and sole control of cantonments to Brigadier Shelton, who was then in the Bala Hissar. Brigadier Shelton came into cantonments the next morning, and we all fondly anticipated things would mend. Such was not our good fortune; but I do not wish it to be understood that I consider the blame was the Brigadier's.

"On the evening of the 5th January, 1842, the night before our fatal retreat, I recollect, as well as if I only heard it yesterday, your brother coming up to me and saying, 'Thank God, I have got the General to push on at all hazards to-morrow through the Khoord Kabul pass.' Had this advice been followed, and nothing was more easy by sacrificing our baggage, and had proper arrangements been made, with which your brother had, however, no concern, it would have saved the Kabul army.

"On the 7th January, 1842, as the advance was approaching Boodkhak, at about 1 P.M., I was riding near the General with your brother, when, at the suggestion of a certain officer, the former, to the astonishment of us all, ordered a halt for the day, instead of going at once, as he had intended not five minutes before, through the Khoord Kabul pass. Your brother immediately rode up to him, and entreated he would push on to Khoord Kabul, pointing out the ill effects of their halting. His advice was again unheeded, as, to my knowledge, it had repeatedly been. What was the consequence? We gave our enemies time to make their preparations for our annihilation, and fearful was the slaughter the next morning through the pass.

"During the whole of the retreat, your brother was always first and foremost to aid by advice and by example in saving the force from destruction; and it was in his readiness to assist by the latter that he was so seriously wounded in my presence on the 11th January, 1842.

"In the few instances I have given, you will observe my opinion of the conduct of your brother during the fatal disasters at Kabul is not formed from what other people may have said of him, but from what I myself saw him do or heard him say. We are all liable to error, and as Lady Sale could not, to the best of my recollection, have formed her opinion of your brother from much personal knowledge of him, but from what other people, who knew little of him, chose to say, I am sure her ladyship will be much grieved at having been the means of propagating so erroneous an impression of an officer who, in every point of view, was an honour to his profession.

"Yours, &c.

(Signed)

"H. JOHNSON."

From Lady Sale to Capt. Grant, Ass. Adjt. Gen. Simla.

"Kussowlee, 25th July, 1843.

"My dear Sir,—I received your note and the copies of Captain Johnson's and Mr. Eyre's letters too late yesterday to reply to them by that day's dāk, but I lose no time in writing to express my regret that I should have been misled as I was regarding your brother's conduct. My Journal was sent away in parts during the time I was in captivity, as occasion offered, and never was seen again by me or corrected in England. I believed what I wrote at the time, and am very happy to find, from the able testimony you have sent me, that I was in error; I however greatly deplore having been the medium through which a slur has been so undeservedly cast on his name. It is not likely that this Journal should go through another edition, but if it should do so, I will remedy the error as far as in me lies, by sending, by the next overland, a copy of this note, with copies of this and of the letters you kindly sent me. You will, I conclude, publish them in the papers in this country.

"Believe me, yours, &c.

(Signed)

"FLORENTIA SALE."

IDENTITY OF THE CANARESE AND GOND LANGUAGES.

Mr. D. F. McLeod of the Bengal Civil Service, writes to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society: "I have long purposed intimating to you a remarkable philological fact. It was clearly ascertained by a German missionary, named Loesch, that the language spoken by our Gonds is fundamentally the same with the Canarese. Mr. Loesch had become familiar with the latter formerly at Mangalore, and other places under the Bombay Presidency, and found himself able almost to converse with the Gonds, or at all events to make himself in a great measure understood by them by using this language; and being a gentleman of great acquirements and philological acuteness, had he lived, I have no doubt he would have been able to throw much light on the interesting question of the origin of this people. It has been decreed otherwise; but were the fact generally known, Canarese scholars might be induced to turn their attention to the subject."

Correspondence.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS RESIDE IN
INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—At a time when education is making such rapid strides, it is most singular that the Anglo-Indian community—a body which, for certain evident reasons, must take the most lively interest in the subject—should remain quiescent. I need scarcely point out to you the amount of mental disquiet connected with their children, suffered by parents resident in our Indian empire. Left at the most tender and care-wanting age to the guardianship of those who often receive their charge with doubtful willingness, or sent home under the guidance of mothers, they are, in either case, placed probably at the first respectable school which may present itself—their education thus becoming a matter of chance. Our public schools are of so expensive a character, that a father must be wealthy to maintain his son in comfort there, whilst their foundational advantages are only to be enjoyed by those who are resident upon or near the spot, who can make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the mode in which to obtain them, and actively exert themselves for the furtherance of their object. Within the last ten years, much has been done by the formation of proprietary schools to afford the best education at a moderate expense.

My mind has been lately impressed with the admirable results of union in such undertakings, both as regards economy and education, in contemplating the college recently formed at Marlborough, for the children of clergymen and others, in which the former enjoy the best instruction, equal, indeed, to that afforded in our public schools, at a sum not exceeding thirty pounds per annum, whilst those of laymen are charged fifty. Why should not the Indian community found a similar establishment, which might answer the twofold purpose of a first-rate collegiate institution, and a responsible home for the comparatively unprotected children of Indian officers? Carried out with proper spirit and judgment, it would form one of the noblest seminaries in the kingdom, and prove a source of comfort to absent parents, which none but those similarly situated can appreciate. I would have it consist of two departments—a preparatory, and a more advanced; in the former should reside all children beneath a certain age. There can be little doubt that forty guineas per annum would pay for boys in the senior department, whilst the juniors would cost less. The college, if required, should take upon itself the guardianship of boys resident in England, and would form a most admirable aid to the working of the military funds, in their guardianship of orphans.

This, Sir, is a rough sketch of what may be moulded into a most admirable and useful instrument, its great points being the formation of a first-rate educational institution, to which every Indian parent may at once send his child with the confidence of his obtaining an affectionate and thorough education, upon moderate terms, instead of despatching him from his side, and trusting his mind and morals to the veriest chance.

There are many minor points of interest in the plan, which I will not trespass further on you now by going into; but I may observe the advantage which would be derived from some systematic monthly communication to

India of the health and progress of the inmates, which would do much to approximate the parent and child, and tend to prevent the coldness which often now arises between them.

We might hope the Hon. Company would give its countenance, and stimulate the pupils by the occasional gift of appointments. But if a few influential men would take the scheme in hand, I am satisfied its success would be rapid and complete.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A BENGAL MEDICAL OFFICER.

Monthly Commentary.

BY AN OBSERVER.

January.—As every eye in the United Kingdom, that has any speculation for political questions, is fixed upon, and every tongue, that can talk upon them, is employed in talking about, the state-trials at Dublin, it will be useless for me to write of any thing else. As an Observer, I should be neglecting my proper function if I were to be indifferent to a subject which is pregnant, in my opinion, with important consequences. For, whether the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell and his fellow-traversers be successful, or whether they convince a jury that agitation for a repeal of the Union, to the extent to which they have carried it, be lawful, the results must be serious. In the former case, there would be some hope that Ireland may subside into a state of comparative quiet; that her population, instead of being kept up to the fever-point by constant appeals to their passions and purses, will be directed to the tranquillizing pursuits of industry and commerce; that religious antipathies, when denied the fuel of political excitement, will be mitigated; and that the word "Union," applied to the relations of the two countries, instead of being a term of mockery or irony, will denote at least a harmony of objects, a community of interests, a fellowship of policy, giving the strength of combination to both. Further; if the repeal agitation prove, in the judgment of a tribunal, illegal, there will be some hope that other agitations, which tend to convulse the nation, to disunite classes, to loosen the universal tie which knits societies together, will either cease or be conducted upon less objectionable principles. On the other hand, if the prosecution fail—if the species of agitation which has been notoriously kept up in Ireland for some time past, the objects of which are avowed, be legal, I know no reason why we should not have agitation upon every subject—why individuals or classes inconvenienced by any law, ancient or modern, which the Legislature has refused to repeal or modify, should not endeavour to force its repeal by agitation. Then what are the limits within which legal agitation may be legitimately exercised? The precedent of the Irish Repealers will authorize the employment of every thing short of force. Therefore, again, I say (without attempting to

prejudge the question, or to influence the minds of the jury now sitting (one member of it having sat already longer than he ever did before), the results of this trial will be of immense importance.

I have already adverted to the other agitations prevailing in this country,—I do not mean that in Wales, which has happily been put down,—but I mean, for example, that of the anti-corn-law and free trade party, who have not yet proceeded to equal lengths with the Irish Repealers, but who are, I suspect, prepared to do so. If an Anti-Corn-Law League may have recourse to a species of political organization, raise money to be employed in procuring the return of members to parliament bound to advocate their views, and, by their “demonstrations,” keep the nation in a state of excitement, surely, Dissenters may in the same manner agitate against the Church, non-freemen against corporations,—nay, poachers may agitate against the game laws, and pickpockets against transportation. The whole community will be fuming and frothing under a perpetual tempest of universal agitation, till, after long boiling, it is to be feared that (as it happens always in culinary operations) the *scum* will be found on the *top*. Perhaps it will be urged that the repeal agitation has a selfish purpose,—that *repeal* is the pretext, but *rent* the object. But what is the real aim of the Anti-Corn-Law League? To procure a reduction of the price of bread is the answer. But is that the ultimate object? Is not the reduction of the price of bread sought with the view of relieving the master-manufacturers by enabling them to reduce the wages of their workmen? It is, in fact, an agitation by the master-manufacturers to put money into their own pockets, the artisans being made to believe, or believing, that they shall benefit in the proportion of the reduction in the price of corn, and the unthinking part of the public being made to believe, or believing, that bread and manufactures will be both cheap.

Depression of trade and want of employment tend to promote these quackeries, which would not pass in a healthy condition of the society; it is, therefore, with great satisfaction I observe the decided indications of prosperity in all the branches of our staple manufactures of late. “The unexpected large business done in Liverpool the whole of this week,” says a Manchester paper, “namely, 70,000 bags of cotton sold in five days, at an advance of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., has caused our manufacturers to demand even higher prices than last week for their goods, and power-loom printers in all widths have been sold freely at an advance of 3d. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per piece, and nearly all the makers refuse to sell more than one or two weeks’ make, so confident do they appear that goods will not recede for some months to come. Stocks of cloth still continue light; both here, in London, and in the country, stocks were never known to be lighter, and the people, being better employed, will have more money to spend.” Again, in another Manchester paper, of a later date: “Instead of any abatement of the activity in our market that we have noticed for two or three weeks (which is so unusual at this season

of the year), things have been even more buoyant since our last." The *Times*, in an article upon the state and prospects of manufactures, asserts, that "employment in the great manufacturing business of this country is becoming more the staple employment of her people, and the prosperity of her manufactures more and more the staple prosperity of the empire;" and that at present "the return of the state of manufactures is not simply favourable, but highly encouraging."

This flourishing state of our own manufactures contrasts strongly with that of the French trade, of which a deplorable picture is given in the Chambers and in the Journals. One of the latter states :

Never since 1815 were commercial affairs in a worse position. The trade in cambrics is completely null. A crisis exists amongst the cotton and woollen manufacturers. The operative weavers can only earn from 10 to 15 sous a day. The value of house property has fallen 40 per cent., and what is worse, landed property has fallen 33 per cent. There is in fact but one trade in a prosperous condition, and that is the trade of a banker, who discounts at 7 and 8 per cent.

The Dutch seem to devote their attention less to manufactures than to their colonial profits, which appear to shew what is technically called a "Flemish account." In all their colonies there is an excess of expenditure over receipts, except in those in India. From the budget of the Dutch East Indies for the year 1843, it appears that the expenditure in India has been estimated at (in copper) fl. 60,319,381, and the revenue in India (copper) fl. 50,760,767. So that in India there is a deficit of fl. 9,558,614. The Indian income in the mother country, by the sale of produce, &c., amounts to (in silver) fl. 28,933,700, and the Indian expense in the mother country, fl. 18,126,988. Surplus fl. 10,806,712. From this must be deducted the above deficit of fl. 9,558,614 in copper, being in silver fl. 8,445,253. So that the surplus will probably be fl. 2,361,459. A small profit, out of which to pay so many demands !

College Examination.

EAST-INDIA COLLEGE, HAILEYBURY.

ON Friday, the 15th of December, being the day for closing the second Term of 1843, a deputation from the Court of Directors of the East-India Company visited the College, for the purpose of distributing the medals and prizes to those students who had been successful competitors in the various branches of Oriental, classical, and European literature. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen:—Chairman, John Cotton, Esq.; Deputy-Chairman, John Shepherd, Esq.; Wm. Wigram, Esq.; Henry St. George Tucker, Esq.; Henry Shank, Esq.; W. C. Plowden, Esq.; E. Macnaghten, Esq.; Major-Gen. Sir J. L. Lushington; W. B. Bayley, Esq.; F. Warden, Esq.; and Sir Henry Willock.

Amongst the visitors present were,—Right Hon. F. Shaw, M. P.; Right Hon.

Sir Edward Ryan; Rev. Dr. Dealtry; Major Willock; Capt. Berford; Bromley Foord, Esq.; Binny I. Colvin, Esq.; H. F. Sandeman, Esq.; H. S. Child, Esq.; Capt. Lochner; Chas. Roberts, Esq.; John R. Carnac, Esq.; W. Ainslie, Esq.; Col. Low; Rev. T. Lloyd; &c. &c.

On their arrival, the deputation proceeded to the principal's lodge, and held a conference with the principal and professors. The principal's report to the deputation was of the most gratifying character. It stated that the whole of the twenty students, forming the fourth Term, had qualified themselves for leaving College finally, and that sixteen of that number had obtained the mark of "highly distinguished," and three of them that of "passed with great credit." The principal also remarked that, out of eighty-five students, there were eighteen prizemen; that forty were "highly distinguished," and that seventeen had "passed with great credit;" so that "no less than fifty-seven students had contributed by their literary attainments to make the Term an honourably memorable one." It was also, he said, "but just to add, that the attainments of those more especially who were at or near the head of their respective classes had been eminently meritorious and gratifying." The principal then referred to the first Term, which he said was one of "no ordinary promise." The report concluded by remarking on the fact, that "the practice of English composition had been cultivated to an unusual extent, no less than twenty essays having been sent in (a number hitherto unprecedented), and some of them were of great merit, and others worthy of very favourable notice."

The deputation, visitors, principal, professors, and students, having assembled in the hall, the prize essay, on the "Moral Uses of History," was read by Mr. Christian.

Mr. Innes then read out the concluding lines of the third book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, beginning at "Fair angel," faithfully translated by himself into Telooogo prose.

Mr. Manson then read a passage from Goldsmith's *Bee*, beginning with the words, "Lysippus is a man," translated by himself into Persian. We hear that this is one of the best Persian translations that has ever been read on these occasions.

Mr. Buckland then read out the same passage of Milton as Mr. Innes, translated by himself into Sanscrit slokes or verses. This very difficult passage, which bears some analogy to the account of the creation of the world by Brahma, in the first book of the Laws of Manu, was very accurately and poetically rendered by Mr. Buckland.

The following distribution of prizes was then made by the Chairman:—

*Medals, Prizes, and other honourable distinctions of Students leaving College,
December, 1843.*

Mr. Christian, highly distinguished, with medal in mathematics, medal in law, and prize for the best English essay. Mr. L. H. Tucker, highly distinguished, with medal in history and political economy. Mr. Buckland, highly distinguished, with medal in classics, and medal in Sanscrit. Mr. Innes, highly distinguished, with medal in Telooogo. Mr. Manson, highly distinguished, with medal in Persian, and prize in Hindustani. Messrs. Child, Minchin, Wedderburn, Thornton, Watson, Scott, R. H. Davies, R. Spankie, Hardy, Sullivan, and H. Sandeman, highly distinguished. Messrs. Hobhouse, Smith, and D. Ogilvy, passed with great credit.

*Prizes and other honourable distinctions of Students remaining in College,
December, 1843.*

Third Term.

Mr. Roberts, highly distinguished, with prize in classics. Mr. McLeod, highly distinguished, with prize in Persian, and prize in Hindustani. Mr. Hodgson, highly distinguished, with prize in Sanscrit, and prize in Teloo-goo. Mr. W. R. Best, highly distinguished, with prize in law. Mr. Ellis, highly distinguished, with prize in history and political economy. Mr. Lloyd, highly distinguished. Mr. Hooper, passed with great credit.

Second Term.

Mr. Collett, highly distinguished, with prize in mathematics, prize in law, prize in Sanscrit, and prize in Teloo-goo. Mr. Glover, highly distinguished, with prize in classics. Mr. Campbell, highly distinguished, with prize in Persian. Mr. Belli, highly distinguished, with prize in classics. Mr. Shaw, highly distinguished, with prize in political economy. Messrs. Ballard, A. Sandeman, Master, and Hudleston, highly distinguished. Messrs. Heywood and Grant, passed with great credit.

First Term.

Mr. W. T. Tucker, highly distinguished, with prize in classics, and prize in Sanscrit. Mr. Ainslie, highly distinguished, with prize in mathematics. Mr. Sherer, passed with great credit, with prize in English composition. Messrs. Harrison, Rogers, C. J. Davies, Cockburn, Reid, J. R. Best, and Phillipps, highly distinguished. Messrs. Hammond, Denison, Russell, and Henderson, Lord Wm. Hay, Messrs. Nesbitt, A. Ogilvie, Dodgson, Hope, and McKillop, passed with great credit.

Rank of Students leaving College, December, 1843.

Bengal.

First Class.—1. Mr. Christian. 2. Mr. Buckland. 3. Mr. Wedderburn. 4. Mr. Watson. *Second Class.*—5. Mr. R. H. Davies. 6. Mr. R. Spankie. 7. Mr. H. D. Sandeman. 8. Mr. Hobhouse. 9. Mr. D. Ogilvy. 10. Mr. Thornton. 11. Mr. Scott. *Third Class.*—12. Mr. Lance.

Madras.

First Class.—1. Mr. Innes. 2. Mr. Child. 3. Mr. Minchin. *Second Class.*—4. Mr. Sullivan. *Third Class.*—5. Mr. Smith.

Bombay.

First Class.—1. Mr. L. H. Tucker. 2. Mr. Manson. *Second Class.*—3. Mr. Hardy.

The distribution of the prizes having been concluded, the Chairman delivered the following address:—

“Gentlemen Students,—In congratulating, as I do most sincerely and affectionately, those of you to whom prizes and other honorary distinctions have just been awarded, I rejoice to be able to add, that the report which my colleagues and myself have received of the general result of the recent examination is of a very gratifying character, and that the instances of failure to attain the prescribed standard of qualification are confined to two only of your body; but let me earnestly impress upon those students, whose college career has not yet terminated, the indispensable necessity of constant and vigorous exertion.

In the next Term, the test requiring greater proficiency in your studies, especially in the Oriental languages, than has hitherto been insisted upon, will come into operation. That test has been determined upon at the instance of your instructors, who are best able to judge of your power of attaining it by ordinary application and by regular habits of study from the commencement of the Term; and I feel assured that, by proper attention and assiduity, every difficulty will be overcome, and that you yourselves will be, on your arrival in India, the first to acknowledge the great benefit resulting from an increased knowledge of the Oriental languages. I wish that the gratification I have expressed, arising from your progress in literature, were wholly unmixed with feelings of a different description; but on turning to the report which we have received of the state of discipline during the Term, I find myself compelled to speak in terms of deep regret and disappointment. I forbear entering into the details of the proceedings on the part of some among you, by which the late Term has been unhappily distinguished. It will be sufficient to state, that the discipline of the College has been violated, the respect due to authority forgotten, and the credit of the institution, for the time, seriously compromised. I hope that I am doing you no more than justice in assuming that you *all* now look back with much regret on those interruptions to the peace and good order of the College. By several of your fellow-students, the consequences of this disturbance have been severely felt, and will no doubt prove most distressing to their relations and friends. Of the justice of the punishment inflicted by the governing body here, there can be no question; and you may rest assured that the firm and proper exercise of the power vested in that body will never fail to meet with support. But I am unwilling to anticipate the possibility of a recurrence of such scenes; and I am anxious to direct your attention to topics of a more pleasing nature, with reference to your future destinations. It will, I think, be readily admitted that there are few (if any) positions which invest the individual with so much power to make himself the benefactor of his fellow-men, as an appointment in the Civil Service of our Eastern empire. There is no position which rewards him with so close and immediate a consciousness of the success of his labours. Some of you, gentlemen, are about to leave this College, and to enter at once on your career. Do not, then, allow the spirit of emulation—the hope of distinction—which has so laudably animated you here, to die away on quitting this country. Let me, on the other hand, recommend you to continue to cultivate those branches of literature and science upon which your education has been founded; and, while studying to become better acquainted with the Mahomedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, endeavour to acquire a just knowledge and appreciation of the native character; above all, let diligence, prudence, integrity, and religion, mark your conduct. Those qualities are essential in every situation of life and in every clime, but nowhere more important than in India. Following this course, your career cannot be doubtful; and whilst you advance your own interests, you will not fail to receive the blessings of the people amongst whom your lot may be cast. And now, gentlemen, I desire to advert to an event which is to deprive this institution of one who, for upwards of thirty years, has taken a prominent part in the discipline and instruction, and who possesses those qualities which cannot fail to secure the esteem and affection of all with whom he may be associated,—I need hardly say that I allude to the retirement of the worthy and excellent principal. [The chairman was here interrupted by a burst

of applause from the assembled students.] It is a source both of pride and pleasure to me to be the organ of expressing the very high sense which the Court of Directors entertain of the zeal and ability which have uniformly characterized his services during the long period of his connection with this College; and to this tribute I beg to add the expression of an ardent hope that, in his retirement, he may be blessed with health and happiness to enjoy the reward of his long and faithful services. [The cheering was here renewed by the students, and joined in by every one present, and kept up for a considerable time.] To all of you, gentlemen, without exception, I now offer my fervent good wishes, and a most cordial farewell."

The deputation and visitors, the principal and the professors, shortly afterwards adjourned to the library, and partook of a collation, provided by the College purveyor.

The meeting was one of unusual interest, in consequence of this being the last occasion upon which the Rev. C. W. Le Bas would perform his duties as principal of the College, he having resigned that office. It gives us much pleasure to be able to subjoin the eloquent address delivered by him, upon his health being proposed and allusion made to his retirement by the Chairman.

Towards the conclusion of the repast, the Chairman rose and said:—

"Gentlemen,—Time is advancing; but before we separate, I desire—indeed, I should not do justice to my own feelings, and I am sure I may add to those of my colleagues present, were I to omit—to offer to your acceptance one toast—one that I am convinced will be most cordially received by the whole company. It cannot be necessary for me here to repeat what I have so recently said in an adjoining room, as to the sentiments entertained by the Court of Directors respecting the long and eminent services of my excellent and respected friend on my left; I will, therefore, at once propose to you the health of the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, principal of this College, with many years of happiness in the honourable retirement which he now seeks." (Drunk with three times three.)

The Rev. C. W. Le Bas then rose and spoke as follows:—

"I trust, Sir, that neither you nor any one now present will suspect me of using the language of insincerity, or of mere formality, when I say that I rise to acknowledge the honour you have been pleased to confer on me under an almost overpowering conflict of feelings, for I have to address you under circumstances, in some respects perhaps the most gratifying, but in others certainly the most painful, of my whole life. Sir, it was in the autumn of 1813 that, by the choice of your honourable Court, I first joined this institution, the unworthy successor of one whose name is never to be mentioned without reverence and honour. I need scarcely say that I allude to Dr. Dealtry, who now sits near me, and who himself was among those originally selected for the noble office of laying, broad and deep, the foundations of the future character and usefulness of this College. With this College I have myself remained connected during the whole intervening period—a long space of more than thirty years—and now I am about to separate myself from it for ever! Sir, it would be needless, and even impertinent, for me to trouble you or this company with a statement of the motives which have impelled me to this step: those motives have already been fully and distinctly expressed in my public letter to your honourable Court. At this time, therefore, and in this place, it may suffice for me to say that, after mature deliberation (for I pondered

often and I lingered long before I could collect courage to face the thought), the result was, a firm persuasion on my part that it had become my duty, as an honest man, to render up my trust into younger and more able hands. But still, imperative as I felt the necessity to be, I also felt the step to be a most intensely painful one—painful not only to myself, but to all who are most closely and intimately connected with me. Indeed, we should have reason to hate and to despise ourselves, if we could have felt it to be otherwise than painful. The step was one which involved the disruption of many ties, and consequently the laceration of many feelings. In the first place, Sir (if I may venture for a moment to allude to matters of mere private and domestic interest), it was in this place that I first set up my household gods, and became the father of a family. Within the walls of this quadrangle all my children, without exception, were born; and several of them have known no other home. Another home, however, we now must all of us have to seek. Again, Sir; in this place we have been, during a long series of years, surrounded with all the blameless delights that spring from intelligent, cheerful, and confidential society. It is here that I have enjoyed the inestimable privilege of familiar intercourse with many eminent, accomplished, and high-minded men; and, in some instances at least, the consciousness of having been fortunate enough to succeed in winning and securing their friendship and esteem; and unspeakably delightful have been the hours and the days which I have passed in that companionship. Such hours and such days I scarcely must hope ever to look upon again! The memory of those times, however, will always be among the most precious and most refreshing consolations of my retirement. But further; it is here that I have had the happiness of witnessing a very long succession of high-spirited young men, going forth from these walls in the pride of opening manhood, and many of them armed and adorned with the noblest accomplishments, to fulfil their great and arduous mission (for in truth it is no less than this) in the administration of your vast and magnificent dependency. From these walls I have seen two of my own sons (one of them, alas! as God's providence has willed it, prematurely snatched away) also going forth to join that same gallant band of brethren; and to my position here, and to my long continuance in it, I owe the ability to say, that I have been known—perhaps I might presume to add, that I am not entirely unremembered—among all the individuals, with no very considerable exceptions, who now form the body of your Civil Service, throughout the whole length and breadth of your Eastern empire. Now these, Sir, it must surely be allowed, to say the least, are deeply interesting recollections—they are recollections eminently fitted to inspire a sentiment of warm and lasting attachment to this place; and they would be proud and animating recollections, too, but that every sentiment of pride is effectually checked—nay, sternly rebuked and painfully chastised—by the consciousness of many failings, by the oppressive sense of faculties and powers but very poorly adequate to the responsibilities which, perhaps too rashly, I have ventured to undertake. In all the cares and difficulties, however, incident to the positions I have occupied in this establishment, in the very darkest seasons of perplexity and self-distrust, I have gladly fallen back on the reflection that I was serving a body of intelligent and honourable men, always ready to put a high and generous estimate on public services, however imperfect those services may have been, when once they were persuaded of a full integrity of purpose on the part of the individual in whom they had reposed their confidence.

And I gratefully seize this opportunity of expressing the deep and indelible sense which I entertain of all the benignity, all the friendliness, and all the liberality which I have experienced from that body during the whole period of my connection with this College, and more especially now, at the termination of it.

"Such, Sir, as I have described, are the scenes and interests from which I am about to separate; but still, I cannot reconcile myself to the thought of being regarded henceforth merely as an alien and an outcast from this community. I would willingly indulge more cheerful thoughts, both on my own behalf and on the behalf of those with whom I am most closely identified; and, speaking more especially for myself, I cannot describe how much it would brighten the hours of my retirement if I might still be allowed to consider myself an ancient brother of this society—a sort of honorary member of that body among whom nearly half my days have been passed, and with whom the best of my poor faculties have been devoted to the highest interests of your Civil Service; for I can honestly affirm that, to the latest hour of my life, I should esteem it as a most signal privilege and honour to be spoken of and thought of, and remembered here and elsewhere, and always, chiefly as an *Old Haileybury Man*! Finally, Sir, I cannot quit these scenes without giving utterance to a fervent prayer for the continued usefulness, efficiency, and honour of this institution; for a long and successful administration of it by that individual—be he who he may—who is destined to occupy my office; and lastly, for all the happiness and blessing which can possibly befall both him and all my honoured brethren and colleagues whom I shall leave behind me, still in connection with this place. It now, Sir, only remains for me to offer my most respectful acknowledgments to yourself for the very gratifying manner in which you have been pleased to grace my humble name in this the trying season of my approaching departure from these walls."

This address reached the hearts of all, and the principal resumed his seat amidst continued cheering.

Our readers will be interested in the following brief sketch of one whose "setting sun is thus crowned with glory:"—

The Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, the late principal, is a member of the University of Cambridge. After a distinguished career as an under-graduate—having gained the Craven scholarship and other distinctions—he took his degree in the year 1800, when he was fourth wrangler and senior medallist: thus uniting the acuteness of the mathematician with the elegant scholarship of the classic. Subsequently, he obtained the members' prize, and was also elected Fellow of Trinity College, being already a member of that body. In 1813, he succeeded Dr. Dealtry (the present Chancellor and Prebendary of Winchester) as mathematical professor and dean of the East-India College, and filled the principal's chair upon the retirement of the late Dr. Batten, in 1837. During his residence at the College, he has become known to the theological world as the author of the *Life of Bishop Middleton*, a spirited and faithful picture of the labours and trials of our first Anglo-Indian Bishop; of the *Life of Cranmer*, *Life of Wickliff*, *Life of Jewell*, and *Life of Laud*—each forming a valuable number of the Theological Library. He is also the author of various volumes of sermons, abounding with eloquence, and full of sound and practical divinity. Besides this, many of the most brilliant articles in the *British Critic*, from the first establishment until it passed into the hands of the peculiar Oxford school, are from his pen.

We feel it a privilege and honour to record that, throughout all the Civil Service of India, Mr. Le Bas's name awakens feelings of veneration and esteem, owing to his long connection with the College, and to his being so universally beloved.

We rejoice to hear that the principal retires upon the highest pension the Court of Directors have the power to award—the most substantial tribute they can offer of their respect and esteem.

We cannot conclude these brief remarks without expressing one fervent wish—a prayer that will echo throughout our Indian possessions—that by one so respected and esteemed, one who has devoted the best energies of his life to the discharge of his arduous duties to the good of his fellow-man—that by him the retirement which has been earned in honour may be for many years enjoyed in tranquillity and peace.

At a Court of Directors held on Tuesday, the 19th of December, the Rev. Henry Melvill, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, was appointed to succeed the Rev. C. W. Le Bas, as Principal of the East-India College.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(From the Indian Mail.)

ARRIVALS REPORTED.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.*—Brev. capt. Walter Caddell, 36th N.I.
 Brev. capt. Maxwell Hyslop, 59th N.I.
 Lieut. Frederick B. Bosanquet, 16th N.I.
 Lieut. John C. Hardisty, 62nd N.I.
 Lieut. James Young, artillery.
- Madras.*—Brev. major Thomas T. Pears, c.b., engineers.
 Lieut. George Cumine, 8th lt. cav.
 Lieut. Charles J. Allardyce, 1st Eur. reg.
 Lieut. John G. Brown, 6th N.I.
 Lieut. Benjamin W. Vaughan, 32nd N.I.
 Lieut. Alaric Robertson, 48th N.I.
 Ensign Richard Hughes, 16th N.I.
 Ensign John W. Stokes, 31st lt. inf.
 Cornet Archibald H. Hope, 3rd lt. cav.
 Assist. surg. David Foulis, m.d.
- Bengal.*—Lieut. Frederick F. Taylor, 3rd lt. cav.
 Lieut. John A. Wood, 20th N.I.
 Lieut. James Shrigley, 24th N.I.
 Lieut. Philip L. Hart, engineers.

ADMITTED TO FURLOUGH ON SICK CERTIFICATE.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal.*—Captain Frederick J. Harriott, 9th lt. cav., from date of quitting presidency.
 Brev. capt. Walter Caddell, 36th N.I., from date of quitting Bombay.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY.**MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.**

- Bengal*.—Captain Colin C. J. Scott, 32nd N.I., per *Walmer Castle*.
 Lieut. John C. Haughton, 54th N.I., overland, Jan.
Madras.—Major Thomas Duke, 1st Eur. reg., left wing, do., March.
 Capt. Edward Servanté, 29th N.I. do. Jan.
 Capt. Conway Stafford, 51st N.I. do. March.
 Surg. Henry C. Ludlow, M.D. do. do.
Bombay.—Lieut. Thomas G. Ricketts, 10th N.I., overland, Jan.

Elphinstone Institution, Bombay.

Mr. Arthur Bedford Orlebar, professor of mathematics and astronomy, overland, Feb.

RESIGNATION OF THE SERVICE ACCEPTED.**CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.**

- Bengal*.—Mr. Frederick Somerville Head.
Madras.—Mr. John Corse Scott.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.**MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.**

- Bengal*.—Brevet Captain B. W. R. Jenner, 64th N. I.
 Veterinary surgeon Francis Rogers.
Madras.—Lieut. Thomas L. Patch, Invalids.

MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal*.—Captain Edward Smith Ellis, who held the office of Marine paymaster, and naval storekeeper, at Calcutta.
Bombay.—Captain George Barnes Brucks, of the Indian navy, has been transferred to the senior list of that service, on the vacancy occasioned by the decease of Captain John Crawford, on the 10th November last.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE.**CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.**

- Bengal*.—Mr. Alexander Reid, six months.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

- Bengal*.—Surgeon James F. Stewart, M. D., three months.
 Assist. surgeon Robert W. Wrightson, six ditto.
Madras.—Captain John C. McNair, artillery, six ditto.
 Lieut. William James, 5th N. I., six ditto.
 Lieut. Henry R. Nuthall, 23rd Lt. I., six ditto.
 Lieut. Frederick H. Chitty, 40th N. I., six ditto.

APPOINTMENTS.**COUNCIL OF INDIA.**

The Court of Directors have confirmed the appointment, provisionally made by the Government of India, of Charles Hay Cameron, Esq., as fourth ordinary member of the Council of India, in the room of Andrew Amos, Esq.; and her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of Mr. Cameron's appointment.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

The undermentioned students, who quitted the East-India College at the close of the term on the 15th ult., have been appointed members of the civil service for the presidencies specified, and with the rank expressed in the certifi-

cates which they have respectively received from the Principal of that Institution : viz. :—

Bengal.—Mr. George Jackson Christian.
Mr. Charles Thomas Buckland.
Mr. John Wedderburn.
Mr. William Christian Watson.
Mr. Robert Henry Davies.
Mr. Robert Spankie.
Mr. Hugh David Sandeman.
Mr. Charles Parry Hobhouse.
Mr. Donald Ogilvy.
Mr. Reginald Thornton.
Mr. Hercules Scott.
Mr. George Edwin Lance.

Madras.—Mr. Lewis Charles Innes.
Mr. Frederick Samuel Child.
Mr. James Innes Minchin.
Mr. Augustus William Sullivan.
Mr. Henry George Smith.

Bombay.—Mr. Leighton Hamerton Baker Tucker.
Mr. Charles James Manson.
Mr. Robert Hardy.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The undermentioned Engineer Cadets, who passed their public examination at the Military Seminary, on the 9th December, 1842, and have since been doing duty at the establishment for field instruction under the command of Lieut. col. Sir Frederick Smith, K.H., of the Royal Engineers, at Chatham, have been stationed in the following order.

Madras.—Mr. George Warren Walker.
Mr. Edward Hemery.
Mr. John Cumming Anderson.
Mr. Charles Edward Dawson Hill.
Mr. Charles Vaughan Wilkieson.
Mr. Edward Archibald Ford.

Of the thirty gentlemen cadets who passed their public examination on the 8th ult., six have been appointed for the eng. serv., to whom her Majesty has been pleased to grant temporary commissions and local rank as ensigns in her Majesty's army, while doing duty at the establishment for field instruction at Chatham, viz.

Mr. Joseph Henry Dyas.
Mr. Alexander Fraser.
Mr. Charles Stewart Paton.
Mr. Henry Drummond.
Mr. John Charles Harris.
Mr. Peter Pierce Lyons O'Connell.

The remaining Cadets who passed on that occasion have been appointed, twelve to the artillery, and twelve to the infantry, and have been stationed to those branches of the service in the following order, viz. :

Bengal Artillery.—Mr. David John Falconer Newall.

Mr. James Fairlie Gilmore.
Mr. John Edmund Watson.
Mr. Arthur Bunny.
Mr. William Morton Gowan.
Mr. William John Gray.
Mr. John Stewart Tulloh.
Mr. Joseph Oldfield.

Madras Artillery.—Mr. Robert Morton.
Mr. Charles Wade Crump.

Mr. John Jefferis.

Mr. Napier George Campbell.

Bengal Infantry.—Mr. George Crommelin Hankin.

Mr. Henry Waddington.

Mr. James Owen Penson.

Mr. George Hunter Thompson.

Mr. Plunket Bouchier.

Madras Infantry.—Mr. Edward Winterton Dun.

Mr. Llewellyn Paxton.

Mr. Alexander Campbell M'Neill.

Bombay Infantry.—Mr. Leonard Turquand.

Mr. James Sinclair.

Mr. Henry Thomas Walker.

Mr. John Campbell Douglas.

The following gentlemen, now abroad, have been appointed cadets, viz.

Bengal.—Mr. Alexander Shepherd, cav.

Mr. William Fraser Stephens, do.

Mr. William Glasgow, inf.

Mr. John Robert A. S. Lowe, do.

Mr. Abraham Charles Bunbury, do.

Mr. Archibald Dunbar Warden, do.

Mr. Theodore De Momet, do.

Madras.—Mr. Frederick Morris Minchin, infantry.

Mr. Henry Ambrose Hare, do.

Mr. Frederick Algernon Locker, do.

Bombay.—Mr. Wm. Maxwell McAudie Campbell, cavalry.

Mr. Wm. Abercrombie Dick, do.

Mr. Alexander Duncan Campbell, infantry.

Mr. William Caldwell Faure, do.

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

TO BE ASSISTANT CHAPLAINS.

Bengal.—Rev. James Boustead, M.A., Queen's Coll., Oxford.

Madras.—Rev. Meade Nisbett Stone, M.A., Trinity Coll., Dublin.

Bombay.—The Rev. John Griffiths, B.A., Christ Church Coll., Oxford.

At a Court of Directors held on the 6th December, the resignation, by the Rev. Charles Webb LeBas, A.M., of the office of Principal of the East-India College, was accepted by the Court, who, in testimony of their very high sense of the zeal and ability which have uniformly characterized his services during the long period of his connection with that institution—upwards of thirty years,—have awarded him a retiring allowance to the full extent authorized by the Act of the 53 Geo. 3, cap. 155, sec. 93.

At a Court of Directors, held on the 19th December, the Rev. Henry Melvill, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, was appointed to the office of Principal of the East-India College, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Charles Webb LeBas, A.M. This appointment has been approved by the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, in conformity with the 108th sec. of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, January 26th, 1844.

THE ANNEXATION OF SINDE.

A special general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day at the Company's house in Leadenhall-street, to consider certain resolutions on the subject of the recent annexation of Sind to the British territories.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The *Chairman* (Mr. J. Cotton) said, this Court had been specially summoned at the desire of nine proprietors, to consider certain resolutions regarding the recent proceedings in Sind. Before the requisition was read, he wished that a letter, which had been received from Lord Ripon, should be laid before the proprietors.

The letter was then read by the clerk, as follows :—

“ India Board, Jan. 25, 1844.

“ Gentlemen,—With reference to the last paragraph of my letter of the 15th ult., I have now the honour to acquaint you that I have every reason to believe that the further papers relating to Sind will be ready for communication to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company by the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) “ RIPON.

“ To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman
of the East-India Company.”

The *Chairman* then said, it would be for the Court to determine and consider, and particularly for the requisitionists to consider, the propriety of postponing the opening of this important question until the papers alluded to in Lord Ripon's communication were before them. (*Hear, hear!*) In order to avoid any unnecessary delay, he had made an arrangement for purchasing from the Government press a sufficient number of the Government papers, in order that the proprietors might have the documents as soon as possible before them. (*Hear, hear!*) Parliament would meet on the 1st of February, on which day those papers would be ready; and it remained for the Court to say whether the question should be opened now, or whether its consideration should be put off until the additional information was produced. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Hume* objected to the postponement of the question. (*Hear, hear!*) He had signed the requisition with reference to the papers now before the Court, and he was perfectly prepared to proceed with the subject. (*Hear, hear!*) It was a matter of justice to the Government abroad, and to themselves as proprietors, that no time should be lost in bringing this question under discussion.

Mr. *Weeding* was of opinion, that the subject should not be discussed until all the information that could be procured was laid before them. (*Hear, hear!*) He was surprised to hear the hon. proprietor (Mr. Hume) object to that course. At the former Court, the hon. proprietor had spoken in favour of postponing discussion until all possible information was laid before them; and now, when fresh information was offered, he opposed delay. (*Hear, hear!*) He did not

wish unnecessarily to postpone this discussion ; but assuredly they ought not to proceed to the consideration of such resolutions as were to be proposed—which censured in the strongest terms the justice and policy of the course pursued by the Indian Government—without the fullest information. He would therefore say, that if they meant to proceed regularly and properly, as they had heretofore done, they ought to postpone the discussion until these papers were before them. (*Hear, hear !*)

Mr. *Fielder* was astonished, after the statement made by the hon. chairman, that further information would be laid before them on this subject, to hear any gentleman press the Court of Proprietors to an immediate discussion. It was impossible that they could have a fair inquiry on this subject unless all practicable information was previously before them. When they were told, that they should have these additional papers immediately—that they would, the moment they were printed, be laid before the Court, he could not conceive how any gentleman could object to a short delay. Look at the nature of the resolution. Did they not charge the British Government with taking the most unfair and unjust advantage of the Amcercs of Sinde, as well as with having acted in a manner the most impolitic ? When the charges were so serious, and when farther papers to elucidate the question were promised, was it not fair that they should pause before they proceeded ? Were they to come forward before the public with a decided opinion on so important a subject, in the absence of necessary information ? (*Cries of " Order !"*)

The *Chairman*.—There is no motion before the Court. I have only thrown out a suggestion for the consideration of the proprietors. (*Hear, hear !*)

Mr. *Fielder* would only put it to the fair and honourable feeling of every gentleman in the Court, to say whether it was proper or not to bring on a motion, with reference to so important a subject, in the absence of papers which they were told would, in a very short time, be laid before them ? Those papers might fully justify the conduct of the British Government, which they were now called on to impugn. (*Cries of " Order !"*)

Mr. *Laurie*.—The hon. proprietor is going into the whole question, which he has no right to do. The question, whether they should proceed or not, depended on the Court, and, above all, on the requisitionists—and in their hands it ought to be left.

The *Chairman*.—The question for the Court to determine is, whether they will proceed now with the discussion, or adjourn it to another day, when additional papers will be before them ? That is the question, and the only one. The Court of Directors have no desire to put off the discussion. As I have already stated, papers will be laid before you as soon as Parliament meets ; and it is in the discretion of the Court to proceed now with the discussion or to wait for a few days.

Mr. *Sullivan* could not see the necessity of waiting for additional papers. (*Hear, hear !*) He did not think that they were wanting for the elucidation of this question. (*Hear, hear !*) The papers before the Court were, he conceived, quite sufficient to guide them to a just conclusion. (*Hear.*)

Mr. *Clarke* said, some very good grounds ought to be laid, to induce the proprietors to proceed with a discussion of this subject in the absence of the proffered information. He did not wish to come to any *ex parte* decision—and, therefore, he would not compromise his consistency by proceeding with the discussion until the additional papers were produced. (*Hear, hear !*) Whatever additional evidence could be adduced ought to be received by the

Court before they proceeded farther; and they would themselves be acting against every principle of fairness, if they discussed this question without availing themselves of all necessary information. There was another reason which induced him to desire a postponement. If any gentleman could say that the Court of Directors shewed an unwillingness to proceed—if he could accuse them with delaying the discussion wantonly and unnecessarily—that would form a good ground for proceeding. But the contrary was the fact. The Court of Directors had done all they could to bring forward the question in a proper form. He should, therefore, move the adjournment of the Court.

Mr. Fielder.—I second that motion.

Mr. Sullivan expressed his determination to proceed with the discussion. The hon. proprietor was proceeding—when

Mr. Clarke asked, whether, in point of order, a motion of adjournment having been made and seconded, the hon. proprietor could proceed to enter on the merits of the case?

Mr. Sullivan contended that he could. A great deal of discussion took place at a former Court on the point of order. An attempt was made to establish the principle, that when a motion of adjournment was made the original motion intended to be discussed could not be entertained; but that attempt was put down by the general feeling of the Court. He had, he conceived, a perfect right to speak on the question to which the requisition related.

Mr. Hume strongly expressed his opinion that, under the Act of Parliament, which gave nine proprietors a right to demand a special Court to consider of any particular question, it was not in the power of any person to put a stop to the discussion of that question by intervening a motion of adjournment. After the original motion to which the requisition referred was moved and seconded, then, and not before, was the time for a motion of adjournment. (*Hear.*) If this were not so, then the privilege given by the Act of Parliament was of no use whatever. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Sullivan.—The Court was called at the request of nine proprietors to discuss a certain subject, and it would be a monstrous absurdity if any gentleman could get up and, by a motion of adjournment, prevent the discussion.

Mr. Weeding said that it was at the former Court decided, that any gentleman might move an adjournment for the purpose, for instance, of allowing time for the production of additional information.—(*Loud cries of "Go on!"*)

Mr. Serjeant Gaselee strongly protested against the interference, by a motion of adjournment, with the discussion of any question which, on requisition, they were formally assembled to consider. (*Hear, hear!*) He advised the hon. proprietor (*Mr. Sullivan*) to bring forward his motion as an amendment to the question of adjournment, but to do so under protest to the legality of the proceeding.

The clerk (at the command of the Chairman) then read the following requisition:—

“To the Honourable the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

“Honourable Sir,—We the undersigned proprietors of East-India Stock request that a Special General Court may be convened at the earliest period, to take into consideration the following resolutions, proposed to be submitted to them:—

“1st. That from the printed papers recently laid before the proprietors on

the subject of Scinde, it is the opinion of this Court, that the proceedings of the Government of India, which ended in the dethronement, exile, and imprisonment of the Ameers, and the seizure of their country and private property, were uncalled for, impolitic, and unjust.

“ 2nd. That this Court does therefore most earnestly recommend to the Court of Directors the immediate adoption of such steps, by representation to her Majesty's government, or otherwise, as may cause all practicable reparation to be made for the injustice already committed, and enforce the abandonment of a line of policy inconsistent with good faith, and subversive of the interests of the British rule in India.”

“ We have the honour to be, Honourable Sir,

“ Your obedient Servants,

“(Signed) J. Sullivan, W. J. Eastwick, Joseph Hume, Charles Forbes, Harford Jones Brydges, John Poynder, Arthur J. Lewis, A. Hogg, Thomas Marriott.

“ London, Jan. 16, 1844.”

Mr. *Sullivan* then rose to bring forward the question. He said, that within the last few months, the public mind had been startled by the intelligence, that the Ameers of Scinde, who had been previously in amity with us, had been dethroned and banished, their country wrested from them, and their persons imprisoned. It was the duty of every responsible person, and much responsibility rested on that Court, to inquire into these events, and to examine how the British Government had exercised their power. If they found that those powers were exercised in an unjust manner, they ought to use their best endeavours to procure redress for the injured. He had deeply considered the subject, and the result of his inquiry was embodied in the motion which he should submit to the Court. In order rightly to understand the subject, it was necessary to keep in mind that these unfortunate Ameers had uniformly evinced the greatest repugnance to entering into such relations with us, as would compel them to receive a body of British troops and a British resident into their territory, though they were anxious for our protection, if it could be retained without the sacrifice of their independence. Very different were the feelings of the late Governor-General of India. It was essential to the success of his political plans that we should establish a paramount influence in Scinde. With a view to carry out his plans, he instructed our political agent at Lahore to remonstrate with Runjeet Sing against his invasion of Scinde, and to offer to the Ameers our mediation in their quarrel. They treated the mission which was sent to them with marked respect. Colonel Pottinger at length reported that he had brought his negotiations to a successful issue. The Ameers agreed to our having an agency at Shirkarpore. The Governor-General, however, persisted in having an agency at Hyderabad, to which the Ameers finally consented. They signed a treaty, conceding that point; but the Governor-General refused to redeem the pledge of Col. Pottinger, that Runjeet Sing should evacuate the Scinde territory. Thus our transactions commenced with a breach of faith. On the 20th of April, 1838, a treaty was concluded between the Ameers and the Governor-General, in which the latter engaged “to use his good offices to adjust the differences between the Ameers and Runjeet Sing,” and the Ameers admitted an “accredited British minister to reside at the Court of Hyderabad.” (Throughout his speech, the hon. proprietor quoted *at length* from the Scinde Papers, printed for the use of Parliament; we can merely *refer* to them.) A few months afterwards, on

the 13th of August, Col. Pottinger transmitted a letter, addressed by the Ameers to the King of Persia, which had afterwards been made a matter of charge. On the 25th of the same month, he reported to the Governor-General a conversation of the head Ameer with his native agent, and on the 6th of September he transmitted what was called the insulting answer of the Ameers to Shah Soojah, both of which were viewed in an offensive light by our Government. On the 25th of October, Col. Pottinger reported that he had detected the Ameers in an intrigue with the chiefs of Candahar, and, under the same date, he summed up the charges against the Ameers in the following paragraph: "The communications made verbally by Noor Mahommed Khan to the native agent, as shewn in my letter of 25th August; his insolent and uncalled-for reply to Shah Soojah, written after he had acknowledged that he knew the settlement of Khorasan was to be made under our auspices; his direct intimation to me that he meant to oppose the king; his refusal to allow me to select a site for the residency; his hesitation to the last about allowing our troops to come by the river; his communications through Meer Shadad, after he was told that they were considered to be official; and the general tone of distrust and utter absence of good feeling which are conspicuous in his intercourse with me, form altogether, in my humble judgment, a concatenation of circumstances, that, laying all the secret intelligence aside, and supposing that no one steps forward to make further disclosures, places Noor Mahommed at the mercy of the Governor-General." As a punishment for these supposed offences, Col. Pottinger, on the 5th of February, 1839, dictated, at the point of the bayonet, at Hyderabad, a new treaty of twenty-three articles, by which British supremacy was "completely established in Sindé," to use the words of Col. Pottinger himself. This the Governor-General refused to ratify in forty days, and imposed one of a more stringent character, in fourteen articles, which reduced the Ameers to a state of abject submission to the British Government. This was the state to which, in a few short months, we had reduced the Ameers in Lower Sindé. What was the course pursued in Upper Sindé? The object of Sir A. Burnes, our political agent, was to lay Sindé prostrate at the feet of the British Government. He concluded a treaty with Meer Roostum, chief of Upper Sindé, by the 6th article of which he pledged the faith of his government never to take an inch of the Sindé territory; and by a separate article, he demanded the cession of Bukkur (*Sindé Papers*, pp. 108 and 103). As might be expected, this demand created great consternation. The Governor-General, however, struck out the separate article from the treaty, and gave a written pledge (p. 117) that Bukkur should be restored after the war. Possession was taken of Bukkur, and the British flag was hoisted, where, notwithstanding the previous promises, it remained to the present day (p. 138). What, then, were the fruits of British connection to Sindé, in less than a year?—They were—1st, that the Ameers were compelled to receive a British resident; 2nd, that they should receive an unlimited number of our troops; 3rd, that they should pay tribute equal to one-third of their revenue; 4th, that they should be subjected to heavy military contributions on account of Shah Soojah; 5th, a blow struck at their revenue by the abolition of tolls on the Indus; 6th, being compelled to cede Bukkur; 7th, having Kurachee wrested from them; and 8th, having their ancient constitution subverted. What had the Ameers done that they should have been thus reduced from a state of independence to one of abject and entire submission?

No just reasons were given for the measures that were put in force against them. Confident allegations of guilt were made against the Ameers, but the proof in support of them was extremely slender; and it should be observed, that whatsoever they really did was done under the apprehension that the British Government was about to subjugate them. They were charged with having tendered allegiance to Persia—with unfriendly language to the Resident's agent—with insulting language to Shah Soojah—with intrigues in Candahar—with repugnance to the admission of our troops, and with general unfriendliness to the British Government. He should here look to the foundation upon which those charges rested. Col. Pottinger himself gave it as his opinion, that the slavish letter, as it was called, to the King of Persia, was of no political importance (p. 11). The copy was obtained by a native agent, and seen by many persons. The bearer of it was detained on the road for want of money, and turned out to be an impostor. Now, it was very improbable that these circumstances could have occurred, if the Ameers had attached any importance to that document. In all probability they considered it a letter of complaint; and indeed the contents shewed that it was so. As to the report of the conversation with the native agent, it should be observed, that it was derived from the agent himself; that agent had been detected in extorting money from the Ameers, under threats of preferring charges against them to the resident, and he was formally dismissed for malpractices. With respect to the answer of the Ameers to Shah Soojah, the insulting language was, that he was warned as to his being powerfully supported at home, by the Russians and Persians. That was the language considered to be insulting to the British Government. This, which had been made the ground of the Afghan war, was now turned into a criminal charge against the Ameers. Looking to the alleged intrigue, with respect to Candahar, it was found, on examination, to be no intrigue at all (pp. 164-194). The next charge, was the repugnance of the Ameers to admit British troops, and that repugnance was justified by Col. Pottinger's declaration, "that it would be next to a miracle if they were not suspicious of our designs and motives" (pp. 201-205). As to any general unfriendliness of feeling towards the British Government, they were exonerated from blame, in consequence of the conduct of that government towards them. It was not surprising, that, with such very slender proofs of guilt, the Governor-General and his agent should express themselves thus:—"The degree of treachery (said Col. Pottinger) of Noor Mahomed and his party remains to be proved. He admits that he wrote to Mahomed Shah, but denies that his *urza* is to the purport I have told him. He one moment protests that he did nothing of the kind. He says, that had he known that Shah Soojah was going to Khorasan, assisted by us, he never would have written to him as he did." "Much will depend," says the Governor-General, "on the amount of evidence which may be attainable, as to the extreme duplicity of these Ameers in their intercourse with Persia; of which, although there is no doubt in the mind of his Lordship, some difficulty may be found in obtaining positive proof." But, admitting, for the sake of argument, that all the charges were completely proved, then, he would ask, did they arise out of gratuitous hostility to the British Government? The answer must be, "No, they proceeded from our treaty with Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah of June, 1838." The fourth article of that treaty said—"Regarding Shikarpore, and the territory of Sind lying on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper, in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting between the British Govern-

ment and the Maharajah, through Capt. Wade." That article formed part and parcel of a treaty, which was concluded in 1833, between Shah Soojah and Runjeet Sing, to which the British Government were not then parties, though they subsequently became so. What, then, was the meaning of this article? It meant that Shah Soojah and Runjeet Sing agreed to leave it, to the British Government to determine what portion of Shikarpore should be given to Runjeet Sing for his assistance in seating Shah Soojah upon the throne;—that the British Government, after it had acceded to the treaty, would determine what part of Shikarpore should belong to Runjeet Sing, in the event of the Shah's success in his new attempt. Thus was Shikarpore to be dealt with. It was a valuable possession of the Ameers, which they had wrested from the Affghans, in 1817. It had been in their possession, with one short interval, ever since, and was the object of Runjeet Sing's invasion of Sind, in 1836. This article, as it stood, was one of unqualified hostility against the Ameers; but it was qualified by another article, namely, the 16th, by which Shah Soojah agreed, "to relinquish for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Ameers of Sind, on condition of the payment to him by the Ameers of such a sum as may be determined, under the mediation of the British Government; fifteen lacs of such payment being made over by him to Maharajah Runjeet Sing. On these payments being completed, article 4 of the treaty of the 12th of March, 1833, will be considered cancelled, and the customary interchange of letters and suitable presents between the Maharajah and the Ameers of Sind shall be maintained as heretofore." What, then, was the meaning of the two articles taken together? The British Government undertook to exact, from the friendly Ameers of Sind, large sums of money for the benefit of Shah Soojah and Runjeet Sing, upon condition of the latter foregoing all future demands for tribute, and the forfeiture of Shikarpore was to be the penalty of non-payment. The Governor-General's reasons for entering into these stipulations were thus set forth in the Secretary's letter of the 27th July, 1840:—"The claims of tribute by the Affghan monarchy upon the territory of Sind had been formerly regularly enforced, and would, of course, have been revived by the Shah, after the consolidation of his new power, if, through the intervention of the British Government, the Ameers had not been secured against demands which they would probably have been without the means of effectually resisting. It became of manifest importance, therefore, to the interests of the Ameers, that this irritating and difficult question should not be left open." The Governor-General did not pretend that these stipulations were necessary to the furtherance of his political plans. When he proposed to confer what he conceived to be a benefit upon the Ameers, he should have been sure that they did not consider it to be an injury. The Ameers could have produced releases from Shah Soojah of all further demands on them; and the consequence of not having personally consulted them on the subject was, that they were offended at the demand—that suspicions were infused into their minds as to our intentions—and that they considered the demand as a breach of treaty (p. 13). Col. Pottinger himself expressed a strong opinion, that releases possessed by the Ameers formed a barrier to the demand (pp. 48, 49). The Governor-General, however, refused to inquire into the validity of those releases (p. 85). But the Ameers were not to be blinded by the cloak which we threw over the demand. That demand they looked upon as our own, and they viewed Shah Soojah as our puppet (pp. 14 and 15). The demand was obsolete, by our own admission. On what ground

was it that the Ameers were called on to pay largely? Why, because they had not paid for so many years (pp. 10, 15, and 62). Now, it appeared to him, that not having paid tribute for a long time, the probability was, that they were not in a condition to pay it then. Tribute had not been paid since 1809—and the country was not in a situation to bear it, even if the demand had been just. The ground on which tribute was demanded was, that Sindé was tributary to Afghanistan; while the ground put forward for imposing stringent terms on the Ameers was that, on the contrary, Sindé was an integral portion of our own empire, and that we could not allow any other power to intermeddle with it (p. 120). The Ameers considered the tribute-arrangement, not as a benefit, but as a fine inflicted by the British Government (pp. 163 and 184). It was no wonder that they could not appreciate the benefit of our connection, when our conduct towards them could only be looked on as a severe punishment. But the Governor-General claimed a great deal more. He, at the same time, came to a resolution, to march an army through Sindé, and to set aside the article of treaty, by which he pledged himself not to transport military stores by the Indus. This was an article of great importance to the Ameers, as Runjeet Sing had endeavoured to obtain military supplies by that river (pp. 9 and 10). The Ameers of Sindé were deeply interested in these measures. Why, then, were they not informed of them before they were matured? Why were they not invited to become parties to the treaty, by which they were agreed upon? It could not be urged as a plea, that they were a dependent power, for we had treated them as independent for thirty years. The first intimation of our measures was a demand for tribute; second, a demand for the passage of our army, and a threat that, if necessary, we would force it, and take military occupation of the country, if refused; third, an intimation that the article of treaty, regarding the transport of military stores, should be suspended. Such was the extraordinary mode which the Governor-General took to conciliate the Ameers, an object which he so strongly professed. The whole course of the British Government appeared to be marked by blundering policy and bad faith. That this bad faith was the cause of the Ameers' suspicions was proved by the fact that they were perfectly aware of the Shah of Persia's expedition against Herat in 1836, and under those circumstances they did not withdraw their friendly feelings from us. But the case was altered after our treaty with Runjeet Sing. The native agent reported—"that since Noor Mahomed Khan had heard of our new treaty with Runjeet Sing, he had almost made up his mind to invite Mahomed Shah to his aid." Noor Mahomed, in the course of his conversation with the native agent, said, "I have heard from Shikarpore that the British Government has made a treaty with Runjeet Sing, not only confirming him in all the territories appertaining to Khorassan, which he now holds, but giving him an addition to them equal to two lacs and a half of rupees annually; also that he has been promised Shikarpore for his assistance against Mahomed Shah. Is this true? I (the native agent) replied that I had heard nothing of it. His highness proceeded to observe that he now wished Colonel Pottinger would come as quickly as possible to Sindé, that he might be fully informed of our intentions; that they (the Sindese) were neither Hindoos, to pray in *dhurrumsalla* all day, nor traders, but soldiers, and that they could arrange themselves and act accordingly." This, surely, was not the language of treason or disaffection to the British Government; but the expressions of a man smarting under the sense of a deep injury. It proved that the treaty under which we apparently promised to wrest Shikarpore from the Ameers was the cause of all the mis-

chief that followed. He earnestly besought the Court to recollect that we treated with Sindé as an independent power, at intervals, covering a space of thirty years, never hinting at their being a tributary state. The professed object of our policy, in 1836, was to uphold their independence. In that very year, the Governor-General wrote to the secret committee "that he would not become a party to any arrangement that might subvert the independence of Sindé." How was our adherence to that declaration afterwards proved? By a breach of faith in not compelling Runjeet Sing to evacuate Sindé; in entering into a treaty with Shah Soojah and Runjeet Sing, with reference to matters deeply affecting the interests of Sindé, from which the Ameers were excluded, the first knowledge they had of it being a demand for tribute; in demanding a passage for our troops, with a threat that it would be enforced; and in breaking the article of the treaty concerning the transport of military stores by the Indus. The Ameers saw us linked with their enemies, and preparing to enter Sindé at the head of a large force. Under such circumstances, the Court would determine whether they were not perfectly warranted in looking out for assistance from abroad. The Ameers had more cause of complaint against the Governor-General than the Governor-General had against the Ameers. What would have been the conduct of a magnanimous Government under the circumstances? Why, they would have told the Ameers that they could make allowances for their position; that they must have a passage for their troops; but that they solemnly pledged their faith that, when their operations had terminated, the Ameers should stand in precisely the same position as they had done before; that if it was offensive to them to receive a British Resident, he should not be forced upon them, but that they might rely upon the assistance of the British power whenever they apprehended danger from other governments. Our Government, however, took a very different course—a course which necessity did not call for, and which could not be supported on any plea of justice. Our Government goaded the Ameers into unfriendly feelings, and then punished them for manifesting those feelings. The terms imposed at Hyderabad were not necessary: there was no warrant in justice, and no plea from necessity, for imposing them. Mr. Macnaghten was of opinion, that much less stringent terms would have been sufficiently humiliating (p. 143). The Governor-General was evidently guilty of a breach of faith, in refusing to ratify the treaty concluded by Col. Pottinger, whom he had armed with full authority to conclude such treaty, but left a wide latitude of discretion with him (p. 179). The Governor-General said, "I determined to leave Col. Pottinger unshackled by any rigid line of instruction, and empowered him to arrange any terms with the Ameers, by which, with security from serious embarrassment from Lower Sindé, the satisfactory upward march of the force could be rendered certain." The plea for revising the treaty, and imposing one more stringent, was "that the possession of the harbour and fort of Kurrachee precluded all necessity for negotiating with the Ameers the terms on which we were to enter that port." "I have answered their appeal against the dispossession of the port of Kurrachee, by pointing out that no dispossession has either occurred, or is in contemplation" (p. 225). What course was afterwards taken? Was it more lenient? Was it more kind? No, it was a thousand times worse. Col. Pottinger made an attempt to prevail on the Governor-General to reduce the demand from *Company's* to *Hyderabad rupees*, and that the claim of the British Government to the sea-port of Kurrachee might be relinquished (p. 212). Our reckless proceedings in Sindé were strongly instanced by the

manner in which we fixed the tribute, and took Kurrachee. Col. Pottinger recommended that the tribute should be fixed in Hyderabad rupees, on account of the poverty of the Ameers. He stated (p. 212) "that the Hyderabad family certainly do not realize above 24 lacs of Hyderabad rupees in the best year—and two-thirds of that is in kind. Out of this they had to support their numerous blood relations—so that, making all necessary deductions, the private income of each Ameer amounted to a little more than 3½ lacs of rupees per annum." The Governor-General refused Col. Pottinger's request (p. 220). He said: "Calculating the amount of contribution to the maintenance of a protective military force of British troops in proportion to the gross revenue, and not to the private income of the chiefs, for it is on the first that the aggregate burden will of course ultimately fall, and taking the sum of Company's rupees, three lacs to be about equivalent to four lacs of Hyderabad rupees, the contribution amounts to no more than one-sixth of the revenue of the country; or falling, as it will do, on the shares of three only out of the four Ameers, who partitioned the country and its revenues among them, it amounts to two-ninths of their incomes, a proportion which cannot be deemed excessive when the advantage which the Ameers permanently secure by the treaties is taken into consideration; and certainly not greater than that which is contributed by many of the princes of India out of their revenue for the same kind of military protection." The Ameers thus fairly remarked on the annual amount to be paid:—"We know you to be powerful. You say you are just and moderate; now is the time to prove it, not only to all Sind, but to the whole world. Who is to be the judge of what is fair and reasonable? If you leave it to us to decide, we will say that three lacs of Hyderabad rupees is such, and to that payment the Ameers have already agreed." The significant expressions of the Ameers, with respect to Kurrachee, were also worthy of notice. They said—"Two years ago, you wrote, as a friend, to allow the harbour of Kurrachee to be surveyed, declaring it to be an object of curiosity, and also worthy of a great Government like the English. You have now sent an army, and attacked and taken it." Major Outram now appeared on the stage. He (p. 266) was represented by the Governor-General, in a despatch of the 16th of November, 1840, as reporting that the Ameers were acting in the firmest spirit of good faith under their engagements, and were rendering valuable assistance to our troops in their passage through Lower to Upper Sind; but he afterwards, on the 8th of May, 1842 (p. 316), wrote thus:—"I shall have it in my power shortly, I believe, to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers to such an extent as may be deemed by his lordship sufficient to authorize the dictation of his own terms to the chiefs of Sind, and to call for such measures as he deems necessary to place British power on a secure footing in these countries." And, on the 23rd of May (p. 319), he again says,—"There is, I consider, sufficient to convict Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, and his namesake of Khyrpoor, whenever it may please his lordship to take notice of their inimical proceedings." Such was the unqualified and totally unwarrantable language of Major Outram, which gave the first impulse to those measures that ended in the overthrow of the Ameers. It appeared that the Governor-General and Major Outram were both anxious to obtain places on the Indus. The Governor-General was desirous to reward the Khan of Bhawalpore, to compel the native princes to concede territory for tribute, and he was most anxious to have one system of currency, one system of commercial legislation, and one system of political arrangement, from the Himalaya to the sea.

Unfortunately, a pretext was soon found for carrying those plans into effect. On the 22nd of May the Governor-General intimated his intention to retain possession of many of the important places on the lower Indus, and he thus instructs Major Outram on the subject:—"In any future negotiation with the Ameers of Khyrpore, you will therefore bear in mind that it is the wish of the Governor-General to possess the island of Bukkur, and the town of Sukkur, with such an ample arrondissement as may give every facility for the maintenance of a good police within the town, and for the formation of commercial establishments therein; regard being had likewise to the changing character of the Indus, and the necessity of providing for every variation in the course of that river which the localities make it possible to foresee." This determination on the part of the Governor-General was said to be in consequence of alleged intrigues of the Ameers. The nature of those alleged intrigues is thus referred to in the preamble to the supplementary treaty with the Ameers, drawn up by Major Outram for the consideration of the Governor-General, on the 21st of June, 1842:—"Whereas it has become known to the Governor-General of India that certain of the princes of Sind had entered into treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the British Government, with the view to the expulsion of the British troops from Sind and closing up the river Indus." The Court would observe that Major Outram, with respect to those allegations, jumped at once from suspicion to conviction. In his letter forwarding this treaty he said, "The evidence which I have already submitted, even if deficient of legal proof, gives, I consider sufficient data for suspecting that intrigues were in progress for subverting our power." Those *data*, however bad, he (Mr. Sullivan) would contend, existed only in the imagination of the gallant major. Yet, slight as was this testimony, and short as it fell of any proof against the Ameers, it was considered sufficient for the Governor-General, who on the 26th of August, 1842, sounded the general note of preparation to carry into effect his intention of keeping possession of Kurrachee, and of demanding the cession of other important places, and also of the privilege of cutting wood on the hunting-grounds of the Ameers. All this, he repeated, was done on the assumption that the Ameers had violated some of their engagements with the Company. They, however, denied that they had violated any part of the treaty into which they had entered, and he (Mr. Sullivan) would challenge any hon. proprietor to shew from the papers before the Court, or from any other source, that they had in any one instance violated the treaty. It was quite true that they had put a different construction upon one clause of it from that of the Governor-General, but he (Mr. Sullivan) would contend, and he should shew it from the admissions of Major Outram himself, that the construction put by the Ameers on that part of the treaty was quite in keeping with the spirit and tenour of all the other parts. One result of all these arrangements was this, and it was an object which the Governor-General did not affect to conceal, that the Government was enabled to change the tribute agreed to by the Ameers into cessions of territory, and in this way the Government was enabled to procure cessions of territory of the value of eight lacs, in lieu of tribute which did exceed three-and-a-half lacs in value. By this arrangement, some of the Ameers were losers to the amount of many thousands of rupees. The Ameers did not object to the extent of the tribute imposed on them, though it was large in amount, nor did they refuse to pay the amount in hard rupees; but they solemnly declared that they would not give up an inch of territory but with their lives. On this becoming known to the Governor-General, Sir C. Napier

was ordered to attack the Ameers, which he did by destroying some of their towns and forts, and was preparing to march on Hyderabad, when the Ameers, knowing that their wives, and children, and treasure were kept there for safety, and that in case of attack the whole of them might fall into the hands of the British force, sent in their submission, and agreed to sign and observe the treaty; but having done this, they gave a solemn caution to the British commanders, that if the territory of Meer Roostum and Meer Nusseer Khans were not restored, the Ameers would not be answerable for—as they might not be able to control—the Beloochee chiefs, who would, they feared, attack the camp of Major Outram, and also that of Sir C. Napier. These cautions were disregarded, and soon after that, the battle of Meeanee was fought, which completed the revolution of Sinde and subverted the power of the Ameers. Now he (Mr. Sullivan) contended, that the Ameers had done nothing to deserve this punishment. The case against them was brought to a point in the letter of the Governor-General addressed to Sir Charles Napier, and in the letter of Sir Charles Napier in reply. “The treaty,” said the Governor-General, “proposed to be imposed upon Meer Roostum and Meer Nusseer Khans, rests for its justification upon the assumption that the letters, said to be addressed by Meer Roostum to the Maharaja Shere Sing and by Meer Nusseer Khan to Beebruck Boogtie, were really written by those chiefs respectively, and that the confidential minister of Meer Roostum did, as is alleged, contrive the escape of the Syud Mahomed Shurreef. “The whole proceedings,” said the General in reply, “now depend, as I construe your decision, upon three things:—1st, Is the letter of Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, to Beebruck Boogtie, an authentic letter or a forgery? 2nd, Is the letter of Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, to the Maharaja Shere Sing an authentic letter or a forgery? 3rd, Did Futtah Mahomed Ghoree, confidential agent of Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, assist in the escape of Mahomed Shurreef?” These points were, he might say, the chief counts in the indictment preferred by the Governor-General, and also found by him as a true bill against the two principal Ameers. Of his demands on the other Ameers, the Governor-General entered into no justification. He (Mr. Sullivan) would crave the indulgence of the Court while he entered into a minute examination of all the points connected with these charges, and he trusted that he should be able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of every impartial man, that the whole of the allegations against the Ameers were based on the grossest calumnies and forgeries. The honourable proprietor then proceeded, at considerable length, to read and comment on a great variety of documents contained in the papers laid before Parliament on the affairs of Sinde, and he contended that they were conclusive as to the forgeries on which the charges against the Ameers were founded. He also contended, that this treatment of the Ameers was disgraceful to the British nation, and would send down that name with ignominy to posterity, unless prompt means were adopted for doing justice to those whom we had so grossly injured. He next came to the charge against the confidential minister of Meer Nusseer Khan (Futtah Mahomed Ghoree), of having assisted in the escape of Mahomed Shurreef, who was confined as a state prisoner, and begged the attention of the Court while he read a few extracts from the statement made by Joonah in the presence of Major Outram. [The hon. proprietor then read the extracts from the printed papers.] From this statement, the hon. proprietor contended that there was no evidence to prove that the minister or agent of Meer Roostum Khan had had any thing to do with

the escape of Mahomed Shurreef. On the general question of the forgeries, Mr. Sullivan read the letter from the Political Agent in Sind to Mr. Clerk, Envoy at Lahore, dated Sukkur, May 1, 1842, and Lieut. Postans' opinion, in a letter addressed by him to the Political Agent in Sind, dated April 20, 1842. He would now advert to the circumstances which more immediately led to the revolution. Unfortunately for the Ameers, it did so happen that their notions of the proper form of government did not exactly square with those entertained by the Governor-General of India, and he resolved to compel them to adopt his own opinions on that subject. The decrees which he published came upon the Ameers like a clap of thunder. It was not, however, the demand made by the Governor-General that led to the revolution, but the conduct of the gallant general. Between the execution of the treaty and the period when the revolution commenced, three days elapsed; and during the whole of the time the Ameers perseveringly endeavoured to obtain a promise from the government that certain wrongs, of which they justly complained, should be redressed. But their representations on this subject were unattended to, upon which the Ameers warned the government that it was out of their power to prevent the reduced *Sirdars* from commencing hostilities. Had the government listened to the representations of the Ameers upon this subject, a considerable shedding of blood would have been prevented. By refusing to give the pledge required, the government was guilty of an act of gross injustice. The attack subsequently made upon the British troops by the Ameers was not in violation of the treaty into which they had entered, but as a matter of self-defence, and one in which they were fully warranted; and there was nothing whatever of treachery about it. The Governor-General, in justification of the proceedings which he had adopted towards the Ameers, said that they had begun to collect their troops before the British Government had declared the negotiation going on between the parties to be at an end; but he would ask, what proof was there of that? There were several important omissions in the documents then before the Court, for none of them shewed whether the conduct pursued with reference to Sind was based on instructions issued by the government at home, or on those of the Governor-General of India, acting upon his own responsibility. Major Outram, in one of his letters, said, "I fear that a severe blow must be struck;" and it appeared that there was a determination to shed blood, although there was not the slightest ground to apprehend any resistance on the part of the Ameers. The whole proceedings adopted with reference to Sind were a stain on the national honour, and exceeded, in atrocity and iniquity, any of the excesses that were committed during the French Revolution. If the Government of India had let the Ameers alone, they would, and in fact must, have fallen into their plans; but it appeared that nothing short of their political annihilation was intended. If the government attempted to keep possession of Sind, he was sure that they would produce a cancer which would eat into the very vitals of the empire.

Capt. *Eastwick* said, he rose with feelings of diffidence to address that Hon. Court, as he was not in the habit of addressing public assemblies and he felt the difficulty he should have in expressing his sentiments. He felt, also, what was of far greater consequence, how perfectly incapable he was of doing justice to the cause he had undertaken. He could assure the Court the effort was a very painful one to him; but holding, as he did, such strong opinions on the impolicy and injustice of our late proceedings in Sind, and having had an especial interest in marking the progress of our relations with the native states on the banks of the Indus, he deemed it his imperative duty, as a friend to the

natives of India, as an enemy of oppression, and as a Christian, to protest most solemnly against those proceedings, and to lend his humble aid to any attempt that might be made to draw the attention of that Court, and the public at large, to a line of policy so repugnant to his notions of justice, and so discreditable to the British name. (*Hear, hear!*) In the discussion of this question, in the discharge of what he conceived to be a public duty, he should wish to avoid every expression that might tend to excite angry feelings; and especially to keep clear of that party spirit, which, losing sight of fixed and immutable principles, looked only to criminate persons; and at the same time he should wish to speak unreservedly, and state the conclusions he had come to, derived from personal experience, and from a careful and attentive perusal of the documents recently laid before the proprietors. After the able and eloquent address of his hon. friend, it would not be necessary for him to occupy the time of the Court by entering minutely into the whole case. It would be sufficient if he stated his reasons for giving his support to his hon. friend, and at the same time adverted to any particular points that might appear to him not to have been sufficiently noticed. Agreeing, as he did generally, in the observations which had fallen from his hon. friend, recognizing most fully and cordially the necessity of bringing this question before the Court, in order that the facts might be given to the public in a tangible and authentic form; there were yet marked points of difference in their views of the case, and to some of these he would take the liberty of alluding. They differed especially in their view of the circumstances which led to the treaty entered into by the British Government with the Sind state on the 20th April, 1838, and they differed also in their view of the policy rendered imperative by the conduct of the Ameers immediately subsequent to that treaty. He would take a brief review of the events of this period. The Parliamentary papers commence earlier, but it would not be necessary to do more than allude to the treaties of 1809, 1820, 1832, and 1834—the last a commercial treaty with Meer Morad Ali Khan, the sole surviving brother of the founder of the Talpoor Dynasty. They had then, that was in 1834, the British and Indian Governments on terms of amicable relation, and it would be his endeavour to prove that overtures to a closer alliance were made by the British Government, with a view to preserve the Sind state from a great and impending danger,—the danger of Sikh aggression, at the same time looking to the strengthening our political relations on the Indus, and the throwing open that river to the commercial world. The Ameers themselves sought the protection of the British Government, and were anxious and willing to form a new treaty, based upon mutual advantage. With reference to their subsequent conduct, this was an important point to bear in mind. (*Hear.*) It was well known that the aggressions of Runjeet Sing on all the neighbouring states, except those under British protection, were unceasing. Year after year, he had seized portions of territory, bordering on Sind, and in 1836, by making a demand on the Ameers for twelve lacs of rupees, by taking possession of one of their fortresses, and advancing a claim to Shikarpore, he shewed too plainly his desire of fastening a quarrel on the Ameers, which could only end in the subjugation of their country. His propositions to Lord William Bentinck, at the meeting at Roopur in 1831, and his conversations with Sir Alexander Burnes in 1832, proved that he had long entertained the project of annexing Sind to his dominions; and no one, he (Captain Eastwick) imagined, acquainted with the relative power of the two states, would dispute his being able to do so, if the Ameers had been left to themselves. But

the British Government interfered, and hence the treaty of the 20th April, 1838. A reference to the printed official papers of 1836 and 1837 will shew that the British Government had no wish to force the connection; that "Noor Mahomed himself invited the British representative," and not only agreed to all the stipulations, but "offered to cede a portion of Shikarpore to pay the expenses," and expressed his hope that a British force might be sent to Sindé to protect him from Sikh aggression, and strengthen his rule against internal enemies. It would be useless to take up the time of the Court by reading numerous extracts; but let Noor Mahomed speak for himself in an interview with Sir Henry Pottinger, recorded in the 30th paragraph of the letter of December the 10th, 1836. It must be recollected that at this period Noor Mahomed was the acknowledged head of the Sindé state, and spoke the collective voice of the government. Sir H. Pottinger wrote: "Noor Mahomed told me he had agreed to all I had proposed, and would religiously abide by his stipulations; that should it be found necessary to send an army to Sindé, he would pay whatever portion of expense the Governor-General chose to name:"—and, a little further on, it would be found that "he felt assured our interposition and power would soon tranquillize the countries to the northward; that it would be an act of grace that would redound to the fame of the Governor-General, and bring blessings on his administration." Surely no language could be more clear and unequivocal. (*Hear!*) Had Noor Mahomed acted up to these professions; had he fulfilled, as he was bound to do, the stipulations of this treaty, he might have sat down under the protection of British power, secure from foreign and domestic enemies. It was quite evident from the whole tenor of the instructions of the then Governor-General, that at that period there was no desire of territorial aggrandizement, no sinister designs against the Sindé state. But, by the characteristic delay of Asiatics, these negotiations had been protracted from 1836 to 1838. Noor Mahomed had been relieved from the impending danger of Sikh aggression, and was in no hurry to ratify his engagements. In the mean time, the aspect of political affairs on the north-western frontier had changed. A combination of Mussulman powers, hostile to British interests, had been entered into, and a counter-movement was deemed imperative to arrest the course of intrigue, and provide for the security of the British Empire in India. He (Capt. Eastwick) was not called upon to discuss the wisdom of the measures adopted. He only stated the fact, as evincing the belief of those intrusted with the responsibility of governing India, that a great crisis had arrived. He thought no one would dispute that, believing in such a crisis, believing in the paramount necessity of the proposed counter-movement, it was the duty of the Governor-General to look to all the subordinate arrangements requisite to ensure the success of that movement. It was to be expected, also, of all the states in amicable relation with the British Government, that they should afford their aid in such a crisis. The Rao of Kutch, the Ameer of Bhawulpore, and other chieftains, came forward to the utmost extent of their ability. But even if active co-operation should be deemed too much to expect of native states, surely the British Government had a right to insist that those in friendly relations with them should at all events remain passive, and not choose this crisis to open a correspondence with the hostile powers, to profess allegiance to the head of the hostile combination; thus throwing their weight into the scale against them, and encouraging the advance of the enemy, by the belief that they would be received with open arms even by states bound to the British by treaties. But to invite the enemies of

the British power was not the only indication of the hostile feelings of a government, for whose preservation the British authorities in India had so recently interfered, and who had expressed so deep a sense of the obligation. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of the advance of the British army: letters were written forbidding their assisting them. They refused to fulfil the engagements of the treaty they had just concluded; our ally, Shah Shooja, was menaced and insulted; the British representative was treated with the grossest indignity, and even threatened with assassination; his assistant, the bearer of a treaty, was driven from their capital; our stores of grain were plundered, and every step taken, short of actual hostilities, to obstruct and counteract the objects of the British Government. In confirmation of the intrigue with Persia, be begged to direct the attention of the Court to letter No. 10 of the resident in Sinde, dated August 13th, 1839. It would there be found, that when the ratified treaty of the 25th April, 1838, reached Hyderabad, the Ameers were on the point of despatching letters to the King of Persia; that Meer Sobdar immediately withdrew from his share in the transaction, stating that "British friendship was enough for him." Nothing could mark the character of this measure more strongly; and from the concluding paragraph of the same despatch it was quite clear that the Ameers were aware that the powers to the north-west had assumed an attitude of hostility towards the British Government. At the next page would be found the letter to the King of Persia. There could be no doubt of the authenticity of this letter. Noor Mahomed admitted the fact of writing, and a copy was obtained from the very man who wrote it, and considering, as he (Capt. Eastwick) said before, that the King of Persia was at the head of a hostile combination against the British, but one construction could be placed upon such a proceeding. But the evidence of the letter was not required. Noor Mahomed openly threatened to invite the King of Persia to his aid, having at that very moment in his palace an emissary from the Persian camp, said to be related to the Royal family of Persia. Nor was this the only proof of his hostile disposition. He wrote to the Khyrpore Ameers to deter them from befriending the British, and said that he was ready for peace or war. With such unequivocal proofs of the hostile feelings of the Ameers, it appeared to him (Capt. Eastwick) but one course was open to the Governor-General—to impose such conditions on these princes as would secure British interests from present injury, and afford a reasonable prospect of future tranquillity. Hence the treaty of the 11th March, 1839. Up to this period, Sinde was tributary to Cabul, but henceforth it was released from all claims for tribute, and guaranteed from foreign aggression, on the fulfilment of certain conditions. Objections had been made to many points of this treaty, as pressing too hard upon the Ameers; but that they were not greatly dissatisfied might be judged by the results. The tone of hostility was dropped, the line of demarcation between the two states was broken down, and even the Belooche chieftains bore witness to our moderation and good faith. He would take the liberty of quoting a few passages from Sir Henry Pottinger's despatch of March 7th, 1839. Speaking of Meer Noor Mahomed, Sir H. Pottinger wrote—"The tone of his highness's conversation was most friendly and becoming; he assured me he had seen his mistake in his demeanour towards the British government; that he trusted his future conduct would prove the faithfulness with which he unequivocally professed his submission to the Governor-General; he had now cause to comprehend our power, as well as our good faith and forbearance." In another paragraph it would be found that the Belooche chiefs candidly

avowed, "that our procedure has been guided by the strictest adherence to good faith." Adverting to Major Outram's affecting narrative of the closing scene of Noor Mahomed's life, when the dying prince could have no motives for concealing or misrepresenting his sentiments, it was quite clear that that chieftain was sensible of his former folly, and acknowledged the benefits of the British alliance. The fact of his intrusting the interests of his younger son to the care of the British envoy was a remarkable proof of his sincerity. He would add one more reference to Meer Nusseer Khan's letter to Sir Charles Napier in 1842. It was a remarkable passage, and completely confirmed the view he (Capt. Eastwick) had taken of the whole of these transactions. Both Meer Noor Mahomed and Meer Nusseer Khan had expressed the same sentiments in his private interviews with them. Meer Nusseer Khan wrote, "subsequently he and Meer Noor Mahomed Khan saw the advantage of seeking the protection of the wisest and most powerful nation on the face of the earth, and therefore urged Sir H. Pottinger during two whole years to come into the country, after which we finally succeeded in introducing a British force. Our sole object in all this was to secure to ourselves peace and quiet, and in furtherance of it, we cheerfully gave up money for the construction of cantonments, and even consented to the payment of tribute; we were then perfectly happy and contented." This was the construction of the party principally concerned. What better evidence could be obtained? he could add much more on this part of the case, but he would not trespass on the time of the Court. During the three years that succeeded the ratification of the treaty of 1839, all the authorities united in praising the conduct of the Sindie chieftains. Throughout that eventful period, which was characterised by disasters to our arms unparalleled in our Indian annals, the Ameers remained faithful to their engagements at a season when, if they had nourished any hostile designs, they might have cut off all the support of our troops to the north-west, and placed in jeopardy the very existence of the British force in Candahar. Capt. Postans, who held responsible employment in Upper Sind, bore unequivocal testimony to their good faith, and to the ameliorated condition of the country. He wrote, "a most satisfactory state of tranquillity pervaded the country. Our steamers were allowed to navigate the river, not only uninterruptedly, but with every assistance." Again he stated, "during the violence of the Brahoos at Kelat, large bodies of our troops were pushed through the Sindian territories in every direction, without the slightest interruption on the part of the Ameers, who on the contrary rendered us all the cordial assistance in their power by furnishing guides and supplies. Had the conduct of these chiefs been otherwise, our interests would have suffered severely; but in justice to them it must be recorded, that they fully made up on this occasion for their former hollow professions and want of faith, by a cordial co-operation." One would have imagined that such conduct, during a most critical state of affairs, would have earned the Ameers some consideration. (*Hear, hear!*) One would have imagined that such real services would have weighed something in the balance against alleged intrigues. (*Hear, hear!*) But the curse of India was the constant succession of rulers: measures adopted by one Governor-General were overturned by the next; services rendered under one administration were forgotten or overlooked by the succeeding one. (*Hear, hear!*) Such was the state of Sind during the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, and it would be as well here to take a review of the political question, whether it was more desirable that that country should remain under its former rulers, or be subjected

to our control? It was his decided opinion that the annexation of Sind to our already overgrown Eastern empire was a great error, politically and financially. (*Hear, hear!*) By the treaty of 1839, we gained every object we could desire. We prevented Sind from falling into the hands of any power hostile to British interests: we obtained the right of locating troops in any position we might deem most eligible: we opened the Indus to the commercial world. By our command of steam, if any emergency should occur, we could pour into the country, at the shortest warning, any amount of military stores, and any number of troops; and having secured the good offices of the chiefs by a firm but conciliatory line of conduct, we could confidently reckon on all the resources of their territories being placed at our disposal, as was proved during the Brahooe and Affghan operations. Having withdrawn from the countries beyond the Indus, in course of time, we might have so reduced the number of our troops in Sind, that they would have proved no burden to the finances of India, while, at the same time, our political relations and responsibilities would have been contracted to a narrow sphere, an object of paramount importance in the opinions of those who have paid great attention to the subject. How stood the case at present? By an act of gross oppression the British had become the sovereigns of Sind, and on them devolved all the responsibility of governing the country—a country inhabited by wild and warlike tribes, who had little to lose, and whose motto was like that of the Affghans, “We are content with discord,—we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master.” (*Hear, hear!*) As in Affghanistan, the British must maintain their rule by their cannon and bayonets. It was true that they had not the same difficulties to contend with. They were nearer their communications, and Sind presented no natural obstacles to the march of armies. There would be no fear of a scarcity of supplies: there would be no intense cold to destroy hundreds in one fatal night. But there was an enemy not less to be dreaded—a pestilential climate, which had already laid many a gallant soldier low, and would, he feared, continue to do so. When he was in Hyderabad in 1839, scarcely a single individual attacked to the residency escaped fever. The regiments at Tatta were totally disorganized from the same cause. They had all learned a few months ago, that fifty European soldiers perished in a few days from the intense heat. He had witnessed similar fatal results to a detachment of Europeans in Upper Sind. It was said that the British rule would be acceptable to the people. He felt convinced that this was a grievous error. Seven-tenths of the population were bigotted Mussulmans, who hated the British with an intensity not to be described. There was no country where the Syeds exercised such influence; and the coming of the British must completely destroy their immunities and privileges. They would never cease to excite the tribes against the British, and these tribes, inured from their infancy to scenes of rapine, would merge their private animosities to unite against the common foe, while the hosts of idle retainers of the late chieftains, deprived of their means of subsistence, would naturally swell the ranks of the dissaffected. Amongst the dispossessed sons and brothers of the late Ameers, a leader would never be wanting. Although unable to withstand a disciplined army in the field, these tribes were yet formidable for desultory mischief. To keep them in check and collect the revenue, it would require our military force to be always on such a footing that the burden on our finances would be enormous. It must be recollected, also, that service in these distant countries was most distasteful to our native troops, and it behoved us to beware how we pushed too far the patience of our gallant and devoted native army. He found

that Capt. Postans estimated the revenues of Sindé at forty lacs of rupees. Speaking from his own experience, he (Capt. Eastwick) should consider his estimate too high; but granting the fact, it must not be forgotten that the greater part was always paid in kind, and moreover that the British Government had made over a large portion to that arch-traitor, Ali Morad. Now Capt. Postans also estimated the military expenditure of the current year at eighty lacs of rupees, and he (Capt. Eastwick), felt assured a long period must elapse before our military force could be much reduced. These two facts required no comment. But it would be said, there were the commercial advantages;—the markets of central Asia would be thrown open to British enterprise. Our proceedings during the last few years had destroyed British influence throughout Central Asia. Where we had friends, we have now bitter enemies. By overturning the existing governments, we had let loose all the bad passions of these turbulent tribes, and caused scenes of horror and desolation fearful to contemplate. There was formerly security to the merchant; there was now none. It would be long ere things subsided into their usual channel. As to compelling trade by the sword and bayonet, the idea was absurd, not to mention its wickedness. One word on the capabilities of the river Indus. He believed them to have been greatly exaggerated. He believed there never was a greater fallacy than the expected advantages from what was called opening the Indus. It was a known fact, that the delays in the upward navigation were so great, that merchandize was transported on camels in preference, from Kurrachee into the interior. But he was told that steam was to be employed. He could only say that he should be very sorry to embark his money in any such speculation. The goods must be very light and very valuable, the market sure, and the return rapid, to pay for the expenses of a trade carried on by steam. But the British had already possessed the free navigation of the Indus, and the power of selecting emporia for their merchandize, so that in this respect they gained nothing by their late acquisition. It was merely a pretence to enlist the mercantile community on the side of injustice. (*Hear !*) These boasted commercial advantages were based upon as shallow a foundation as the prospects of peace in Sindé. Sir Charles Napier might proclaim to the world that “not another shot would be fired in Sindé,” and his want of local experience might excuse this and many other of his equally mistaken opinions,—he (Capt. Eastwick) alluded particularly to his character of the Ameers; but let the government beware how they acted upon such a belief. There might be a temporary appearance of tranquillity, but there were too many elements of discord to hope for permanent peace. There might be a lull for a season, but “it is the torrent’s smoothness ere it dash below.” He had now arrived at the point where he might investigate the grounds that had led to the transfer of Sindé to British authority. He was not one of those who wished to establish a claim for impartiality, by condemning the policy of his own country. He had no desire to exalt the character of the Ameers. He was not blind to their faults or to the faults of their government; but it was right that he should state that his impressions were far more unfavourable towards them on his first going to Sindé, than those he entertained afterwards on a longer residence in that country. And here he might distinctly state his opinion that, if it were proved that the Ameers of Sindé were guilty of wilful infractions of the treaty, the British had a right to enforce that treaty. They had a right to impose more stringent and strictly defined conditions, to prevent such violations for the future. But a careful and delibe-

rate inquiry ought to have preceded any stringent measures. The various cases of infraction of treaty ought to have been brought to the notice of the Ameers. If no satisfactory explanation was afforded, the Ameers ought to have been distinctly warned; the innocent separated from the guilty; and then, if any one persisted in breaking his engagements, the British Government would have been justified in exacting the penalty. There could be no pretence here that great national interests would be injured by a little delay. There was no immediate pressing danger to the state; no possible reason why political expediency should supersede the common course of justice. (*Hear!*) Again, if the Ameers were guilty of treasonable intrigues against the British Government, they deserved to be punished; but it was due to them and due to ourselves to proceed with deliberation. (*Hear!*) Charges were not crimes: proof was required. The Ameers ought to have had the opportunity of answering these charges. (*Hear!*) The treasonable letters ought to have been shewn them; they ought not to have been condemned unheard; he would not say on *ex parte* evidence, because there was no evidence at all. (*Hear!*) He repeated that there was no political necessity to justify a departure from rules held sacred by every Englishman. (*Hear!*) But to proceed. A perusal of the Blue Book, which he might remark was completely *ex parte*, put them in possession of the best case that could be made out for the government. If the Ameers had a Blue Book of their own, it would tell a different tale. (*Hear, hear!*) He could from his own knowledge help them to many a palliating circumstance—to many an infraction of the treaty on the part of British functionaries. The Blue Book contained a mass of assertions and vague accounts of intrigues in various quarters, to which all who know any thing of the manner in which reports were raised in India would attach but little weight. (*Hear, hear!*) The manufacture of these stories for gullible political officers was a regular trade. (*Hear, hear!*) If such absurd rumours were listened to, no native prince would be safe; the British Government would be involved in continual warfare, until every native state was overturned. He spoke advisedly on these points. As political agent in Upper Sind, he had repeated opportunities of testing the value of the Bazaar reports of the Shikarpore. In the voluminous items of intelligence given in the Blue Book, he could recognize the names of many worthless characters; and from a careful analysis of the whole affair, he felt persuaded that the greatest part of these informants were in the pay of Ali Morad, who fabricated these stories, in order to effect the ruin of his elder brother, Meer Roostum. How admirably he succeeded was unhappily too well known. But they were saved the trouble of entering upon these intrigues, as the justification of the Governor-General's measures was brought within a small compass by his own letters. It seemed, however, that Major Outram attached a certain weight to these intrigues, and taking also into consideration the alleged infractions of the treaty, and the altered state of our political relations to the North-west, Major Outram proposed a revision of the treaty of 1839, relinquishing the money payments in exchange for territory; which arrangement, he wrote, might be carried into effect without much difficulty. It must be confessed that Major Outram's language regarding these intrigues was very strong, and calculated to create an unfavourable impression against the Ameers in the mind of Lord Ellenborough. But this was no justification of Lord Ellenborough's measures. Placed in the responsible situation of Governor-General of India, invested with the solemn functions of a judge, it was the duty of Lord Ellenborough to have waited

calmly, until the charges against the Ameers, and the evidence in support of those charges, were laid before him. He would then have seen on what foundation Major Outram's strong language was based. The charges and the evidence were stated at length in the two memorandums, with their accompaniments, submitted for the information of Sir Charles Napier. His hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan) had sufficiently exposed the puerile absurdity of these charges, and he should come to them presently; but let them first see what answer Lord Ellenborough returned to Major Outram's proposition: "he does not see any necessity for precipitate negotiations." This was on the 10th of July, 1842. In August, the Governor-General wrote to the Secret Committee "that he had no intention to press on the Ameers any hasty change in their present relations." But a few days afterwards, the appointment of Sir Charles Napier took place, and the sentiments of the Governor-General appeared to undergo a material alteration. In speaking of that distinguished officer, Sir C. Napier, whose very name was interwoven with recollections of England's glory, he should wish to disclaim any intention of disrespect. He was not one to speak lightly of constituted authorities. He appealed to all those under whom he had served during his residence in India; he appealed to the testimonials he had received. He entertained the highest admiration of Sir Charles Napier's military talent; he appreciated his great services to his country: he believed him to be quite incapable of committing a wilful injustice. But, as an independent man, giving an independent opinion, to the best of his humble judgment, he was bound to say, that he considered Sir C. Napier's ignorance of the languages, manners, and habits of the people with whom he had to deal, his want of experience in native character and political life in India; and, above all, his total want of sympathy with the unfortunate Ameers, were the main causes of the fatal result of these negotiations. He (Capt. Eastwick) thought that no one act of the present Governor-General was more to be condemned than, on the eve of difficult and complicated negotiations, thus sweeping away all the machinery by which the intercourse between the two states had been carried on for a lengthened period. This was not only unwise, but most unjust to the Ameers, and calculated to instil into their minds the greatest distrust and suspicion. The Governor-General gave to Sir C. Napier unlimited powers, and thus took away the only check on his proceedings. He would commence with Sir C. Napier's first letter to the Ameers, dated Sept. 25, 1842. It must be remembered that, in a subsequent letter of the 17th of October, he distinctly recorded his opinion, that "only a fair pretext was wanting to coerce the Ameers." He (Capt. Eastwick) asked any candid man to read that letter, and state whether a pretext was likely to be long wanting. He had no hesitation in avowing his conviction, that if the principles expressed there were acted upon, not only every native government in India might be subverted, but every government on the face of the earth. (*Hear, hear!*) He begged to direct attention for one moment to the document appended. It purported to be an equitable exchange between tribute and territory, and wound up the account, by bringing in the Ameers gainers of 33,856 rupees. On inspecting the items of this account, it seemed most extraordinary that sums should be put down against the Ameers which had been already excused them. But let the Court turn its attention to the causes of offence and breach of treaty alleged against the Ameers, as put forward by Sir C. Napier, in his first letter to these princes, dated 25th Sept. 1842. The

first complaint was, "Your highnesses have prohibited the inhabitants of Kurrachee to settle in the bazaar." Now, he (Capt. Eastwick) contended that the Ameers had a perfect right so to do. By the fifth article of the treaty of the 11th March, 1839, they were absolute rulers in their respective principalities, and the British Government was precluded from interfering with their subjects. It was never intended that our cantonments should thrive at the expense of their towns, and draw away all the inhabitants, who would naturally flock to where they would be relieved of all taxes. If such were the case, how could the Ameers, as they very justly asked, realize their revenues? We first imposed a tribute, we then took away from them the means of paying it, and then we punished them for not paying. (*Hear, hear!*) It was distinctly stated by Sir Henry Pottinger, in his instructions to him (Capt. Eastwick) that the cantonments were to be nothing more than the bazaar; to which the Ameer had consented in the agreements of 1836. The second complaint of Sir Charles Napier was "that your highnesses had ordered every thing landed at the Bunder, in the first instance, to be taken to the custom-house and taxed." Here again he contended that their highnesses were perfectly right. By adverting to the notification of Sir Henry Pottinger, alluded to in his letter of the 25th Nov. 1839, it would be found "that duties will be levied on all goods landed at Kurrachee, save *bonâ fide* government stores and supplies." It appeared that the order of the Ameers applied to goods sold by Nasmull, a merchant of Kurrachee, and could have nothing to do with government stores and supplies, and if any previous permission had been granted to Nasmull, the Ameers had a right to revoke it. It was quite clear that neither Sir C. Napier nor the political agent understood the treaty in this limited sense. But one fact spoke clearly to Sir H. Pottinger's version of this article. He (Capt. Eastwick) knew that Sir H. Pottinger directed duties to be paid on all his own goods and supplies that came from Bombay to Kurrachee. This completely justified the Ameers to his mind. The third complaint of Sir C. Napier was, that "Your highnesses levy tolls on the boats belonging to the subjects of Sind." In this instance the Ameers were wrong, in his opinion. But the subject had been often mooted, and the Ameers had been at one time supported in their own view by the native agent at Hyderabad. A reference to the correspondence would shew that even Major Outram considered the point doubtful, and notwithstanding the decision of the late Governor-General so late as June 21, 1842, he found that, in Major Outram's sketch of a new treaty he inserted an article providing for the abolition of tolls on the Indus, which he wrote in the margin, were "assumed to have been previously relinquished," thereby implying that a misapprehension existed, and that there were grounds for discussion. Now this was the very point to which he (Capt. Eastwick) was anxious to draw particular attention.

[*The conclusion next month.*]

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Major Oliphant was, on the 24th January, elected to the seat in the direction of the East-India Company, vacant by the decease of W. S. Clarke, Esq., without opposition, Mr. Whiteman having withdrawn in his favour. Besides Mr. Whiteman, the following gentlemen have signified their intention of coming forward on the next vacancy:—H. T. Prinsep, Esq.; R. D. Mangles, Esq.; Major-General Caulfield; Hon. W. L. Melville; C. W. Smith, Esq.; W. F. Dick, Esq.; Capt. W. J. Eastwick; W. Dent, Esq., and J. A. Moore, Esq.

It is understood that J. F. Davis, Esq., who for a short time was Chief Superintendent in China, as successor to the late Lord Napier, has been appointed to relieve Sir Henry Pottinger, as Governor of Hong-kong.

Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin has been appointed treasurer to the British colony of Hong-kong.

Temple Helward Layton, Esq., has been appointed a vice-consul in China.

The share of patronage lately assigned to each Director of the East-India Company was,—one civil service, one assistant-surgeon, one cavalry, three Addiscombe, and five direct cadetships.

Three of the five young gentlemen, lately rusticated from the college at Haileybury, have been restored.

The East-India and China Associations of London and Glasgow have forwarded memorials to the Treasury, praying for a reduction of the duty on tea.

Mr. Bailey, R. A., has completed the model for a statue of Sir Charles Metcalfe, nine feet high and in military costume, to be erected at Spanish Town, Jamaica, and is employed upon a bust of the same individual, commissioned for Calcutta. The execution of the Greenlaw Testimonial has been entrusted to Mr. Weeks, a pupil of the late Sir F. Chantry.

It is said that an account of the transactions at Cabul, from the pen of Lady Macnaghten, which was in the course of transmission from India, for publication in England, was lost by the wreck of the *Memnon*.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company have purchased the steamer *Precursor*, conditionally on obtaining a mail contract from Suez *via* Ceylon and Madras to Calcutta. They have also determined to build another vessel, of similar size and power to the *Bentinck*, adopting some important improvements, as to accommodation, which practical experience has suggested. The directors are at present collecting information in various quarters, in order to determine whether the new vessel shall be constructed of wood or iron.

Capt. Farrer, E. I. C. S., late of the *Orwell*, has succeeded to the vacancy at the Trinity House, caused by the decease of Capt. Broadfoot.

Amount of bills drawn by the East-India Company in the month ending 5th of January, 1844:—On Bengal, £141,630; Madras, £17,686; Bombay, £7,375. Total, £166,692.

The announcement of Sir Robert Sale's appointment to the colonelcy of the 13th regt., or Prince Albert's Light Infantry, was conveyed to that distinguished officer in an autograph letter from the Queen.

The Russian government has lately despatched a diplomatic commission to the frontiers of China, with so much privacy, too, that the parties composing it were ignorant of their destination till the time of departure had arrived. The mission is headed by a person of high consideration, who will probably be sta-

tioned at Kiakhta, or on the Chinese side of the Amoor, or perhaps at Pekin. From the number of secretaries attached (twenty), it is probable that, wherever the head-quarters may be fixed, the members of the mission will, if possible, be distributed throughout various parts of the Celestial Empire.

The East-India Company having paid over to Chelsea Hospital the amount of the unclaimed share of prize-money, on account of her Majesty's troops on the Bengal establishment, which served with the army under command of Major-Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell at the captures made in the Burmese territories—viz. the 13th, 38th, 44th, 47th, 54th, and 87th regts.—the same is now in the course of payment at the secretary's office at the Royal College.

A narrative of the voyage and services of the steamer *Nemesis* in China is preparing for publication.

The *Morning Chronicle* has published a letter, purporting to be written by Sir Henry Pottinger to a friend at Bombay, in which he says :—"Your letter brought our happy and merry days in Scinde vividly to my mind, and I lamented, on reading it, if possible more deeply than I had done, over the 'fallen estate' of my old friends, the Ameers, whose case I have all along said, and ever shall say, under all circumstances, and in all society and places where I may hear it alluded to, is the most unprincipled and disgraceful that has ever stamped the annals of our empire in India." "No explanation or reasoning can, in my opinion, remove the foul stain it has left on our good faith and honour; and, as I know more than any other man living of previous events and measures connected with that devoted country, I feel that I have a full right to exercise my judgment and express my sentiments on the subject." Major-Gen. Napier, brother to Sir C. Napier, the hero of Mecanee, declares it to be his opinion that this letter is a forgery, got up for the purpose of influencing the debates which are likely to come on in Parliament.

Mr. W. Hollis, formerly of the 36th regt. Madras N.I., has submitted his case to the consideration of the proprietors of India Stock, in the hope that it may be brought before a quarterly meeting at the India House. He was dismissed the service by sentence of a court-martial held at Bombay in June, 1840, under a warrant from Sir T. McMahon, which, in the opinion of Major-Gen. Vans Kennedy, formerly judge advocate general, was illegal, Sir Thomas being commander-in-chief at Bombay only, and the accused an officer of the Madras presidency. Mr. Hollis has appended a testimonial as to character from Major-Gen. Wilson, and a letter from the same officer to the President of the India Board, in which he says that, "though the occurrence for which Mr. Hollis was dismissed was no doubt a serious violation of military discipline, he never heard of an officer being subjected to such oppression, and such a system of irritation purposely kept up, apparently by a commanding officer and others under his influence, so calculated to drive a man to commit himself."

Accounts have been received from the Torres Straits expedition, stating that the greater part of the Barrier Reef had been surveyed.

Capt. Sir T. Bouchier, R.N., has denied that he is the author of a letter, lately published, on the distribution of the medal for services in China.

The Bengal Government has reported, for the information of the home authorities, in answer to their long-pending inquiry, that no pledge whatever was originally given for the annual money-payment of £6,000 to the temple of Juggernaut, and consequently that there is no pretence for its continuance. If this be so, all the expenses of the idol, beyond what its land revenue yields, must be supplied by its votaries and patrons.

Capt. J. Vitch, h.p. Royal Engineers, has published a pamphlet on the best mode of establishing a ship-navigation between the Mediterranean and Red Seas. He recommends a canal from Suez to Tineh, 21 feet deep, 96 feet wide at the bottom, and 160 feet wide at the surface, the estimated expense of which is £2,012,160.

The scarcity of pilots available for the navigation of the Hooghly has become matter of very serious complaint, and properly so too, as it appears that vessels of heavy burden sometimes proceed from the Sand-heads to Calcutta under the charge of youths of very limited experience.

At a late meeting, the shareholders of the Union Bank of Australia agreed to a dividend at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum. The report read gave a favourable view of the business of the establishment, though the profits have diminished in consequence of the unsettled state of the affairs of the colonies.

Lieut. F. W. Horton, R.N., has been promoted to the rank of commander, for his gallant conduct in the boats of H. M. S. *Dido* against pirates on the coast of Borneo.

The Rev. Dr. Wolff reached Trebizond on 27th November, *en route* to Bokhara, and left on the following day for Erzeroum, accompanied by Hajji Mahomed Shercef, the Sheikh of Bokhara, an old acquaintance, who has promised to use all his influence to obtain the release of Col. Stoddart and Capt. Conolly, if alive. At Trebizond, a subscription was opened by the English consul in aid of the funds for defraying the expenses of Dr. Wolff's mission, which realized 4,400 piasters, of which the Russian consul contributed 1,000 and the French consul 400 piasters. Dr. Wolff states that his passage from Constantinople was paid by Sir Stratford Canning, and he enumerates numerous acts of kindness conferred by Lady Canning and the gentlemen attached to the embassy. Since our last, intelligence has reached London to the effect that Col. Stoddart is still alive, and at large, though strictly watched by order of the Khan of Bokhara, who employs him in drilling his troops; but the fate of Capt. Conolly seems to be more uncertain. Lieut. V. Eyre, of the Bengal artillery, also writes that the man Baranstein, who asserted that he had witnessed the execution of these officers, has been proved to be an impostor.

The committee of the "Stoddart and Conolly Fund" have published their first report, wherein they shortly detail the proceedings of Dr. Wolff, up to his arrival at Constantinople. Dr. Wolff, in his letters, expresses his grateful sense of the attention which he has received from all persons in authority under her Majesty's government; and the Committee acknowledge the valuable assistance they have already received from the Earl of Aberdeen, as well as the kind interest which his lordship takes in the successful result of this enterprise. The sum subscribed is 788*l*.

The following is an abstract of the appropriation of the sum contributed for the relief of the sufferers at Sugat in 1838:—672 Mahomedans received Rs. 11,037; 2,569 Hindus, Rs. 40,811; 366 Parsees, Rs. 10,168. Total, 3,607 sufferers, who received Rs. 62,016.

The *Observer* says:—"We understand that the chief justiceship of our newly-acquired settlement, Hong-kong, has been offered to no less than seven members of the English bar, and been declined by them all, although the salary attached to the office is to be £3,000 per year. Some attribute these refusals to fear of the healthiness of the climate, while others say that more than one refusal has originated in diffidence, the fact being that the judge would be called on to administer laws which, though based on those of England, must in some

measure be modified so as to be practically reconcilable with the customs and laws of the mixed population whose complicated commercial transactions may often become the subject of litigation in his court."

A Government notification, containing rules to be observed in drawing up ships' manifests, to be presented at the British consulate at Canton and the other ports, has been forwarded to Lloyd's, for the perusal of merchants, captains, and others interested in the trade with China.

Accounts from Bombay to the 1st December reached London on the 4th January; letters and papers marked *via* Southampton were delivered in town on the 15th January.

Newspapers directed to Hong-kong are transmitted postage free, if marked "*via* Southampton;" to any other part of China they are charged 2d. each. Newspapers, no matter where proceeding, if marked *via* Marseilles, are subject to a postage of 3d. each.

The monthly mail for Sydney will be made up at the General Post-Office, London, on the evening of the last day of each month; and all letters and newspapers addressed to New South Wales, not marked "by private ship," will be forwarded, the latter free, the former at a charge of 1s. if not exceeding half an ounce, 2s. if exceeding an ounce, &c., which must be paid in advance. Newspapers forwarded by private ship are liable to a postage of 1d. each.

Military.—Capt. W. H. Ford, Royal Engineers, proceeds to Ceylon.—Capt. Bell, of the 4th, and Lieut. Aplin, of the 22nd regts., accompany the next drafts to India.—Lieut. Lovett, of the 50th regt., has joined at Chatham.—Capt. Souter commands the *depôt* of the 22nd regt.—Detachments of artillery, and for the 27th, 45th, and 91st regts., are on board the *Zenobia*, for the Cape.—Detachments of the 58th and 80th regts. are on board the *Equestrian*, convict ship, for New South Wales, under command of Lieut. Cookson, of the latter corps, and Ens. Mansfield, of the 51st.—A detachment of the 7th Dragoon Guards, consisting of two officers and ten men, are on board the *Maidstone*, for the Cape.

PROMOTIONS, &c.

War-Office, Dec. 29.—10th Foot. Major C. L. Wingfield, from h.p., major, v. W. M. Wetenhall, *exch.*; Capt. T. H. Franks, major, p., v. Wingfield; Lieut. J. J. Bull, capt. p., v. Franks; Ens. M. C. Singleton, lieut. p., v. Bull.

22nd. Capt. R. Williams, from h.p., capt., v. Brev. Maj. A. Myers, who *exch.*; Lieut. M. W. Goldie, capt. p., v. Williams; Ens. I. S. B. P. Boileau, lieut. p., v. Goldie; J. Baldwin, ens. p., v. Boileau.

29th. Lieut. J. Power, capt. p., v. Nicolay; Ens. Johnston, lieut. p., v. Power; G. St. J. Henderson, ens. p., v. Johnston.

45th. Capt. G. B. Moultrie, from 75th, capt., v. Simeon, who *exch.*

78th. Lieut. J. R. Lamert, capt., v. Brev. Maj. T. H. Hemmans, *ret.* on f.p.; Ens. J. M. Hewson, lieut., v. Lamert; W. H. Maclean, ens., v. Hewson.

84th. Ens. A. M. Cassan, lieut., v. Swayne, *super.*; G. V. Arbuckle, ens., v. Cassan.

Cape Riflemen. Serg. Maj. W. Hartshorn, from 24th, ens., v. O'Connell, *app. can.*

Brevet. To be major in the army: Capt. R. Williams, 22nd Foot.

War-Office, Jan. 5.—9th Lt. Drags. Paymaster F. E. Leech, from 13th Lt. Drags., paymaster, v. H. Knight, *ret.* on h.p.

10th Foot. E. Dashwood, ens., p., v. Singleton, *prom.*

War-Office, Jan. 12.—98th Foot. Lieut. T. G. Knox, from 65th, lieut., v. M'Coy, *exch.*

War-Office, Jan. 19.—3rd Lt.Drags. Assist. Surg. F. Laing, from 21st, assist. surg., v. Dartnell, prom. in 4th.

4th Foot. Assist. Surg. N. Dartnell, from 3rd Lt.Drags., surg., v. W. Parry, who ret. on h.p.

57th. Ens. G. D. Pitt, from 48th, lieut., v. L. Smith, cash.; Ens. S. Grant, from 76th, lieut., v. F. C. W. Fitzpatrick, cash.

80th. Lieut. Gen. Sir M. C. O'Connell, from 81st, colonel, v. Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Taylor, dec.

84th. Capt. T. F. Richardson, from h.p. unatt., capt., v. W. Johnston, exch.

95th. Lieut. H. Hume, capt. p., v. Ford; Ens. W. Bridges, lieut. p., v. Hume; J. N. Sargent, ens. p., v. Bridges.

Brevet. Lieut. Col. J. G. Bonner, Hon. E. I. Co.'s service, to be colonel in the army in the East Indies.

War-Office, Jan. 26.—3rd Lt.Drags. Lieut. J. B. Hawkes, from 1st Drag. Grds., lieut., v. Moore; Corn. T. Penton, lieut. p., v. Montgomery; G. W. K. Bruce, corn. p., v. Penton.

10th Foot. Assist. Surg. J. Macbeth, from Staff, assist. surg., v. Tongue, dec.

18th. Lieut. J. W. Graves, capt., v. Brev. Major Sargent, who ret. on f.p.; Ens. F. Lillie, lieut., v. Venour, dec.; R. Doran, ens., v. Lillie.

21st. Assist. Surg. C. Hart, from 47th, assist. surg., v. Laing, app. to 3rd Lt.Drags.

40th. C. Roberts, ens., v. Woodward, dec.

50th. Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Gardiner, from 61st, col., v. Lieut. Gen. Sir H. Lowe, dec.

63rd. Capt. T. Hamilton, h.p. 27th, capt., v. J. Foulston, exch.; Lieut. T. Harries, capt. p., v. Hamilton; Ens. R. P. Ford, lieut. p., v. Harries; G. Woodyatt, ens. p., v. Ford.

78th. Assist. Surg. D. R. M'Kinnon, 2nd W.I. Regt., assist. surg., v. Mitchell, prom. in 7th.

Ceylon Rifle Regt. Major S. Braybrooke, lieut. col., v. Anderson, who ret. on f.p.; Brev. Major G. A. Tranchell, major, v. Braybrooke; Lieut. C. Warburton, capt., v. Tranchell; 2nd-Lieut. W. Werge, 1st-lieut., v. Warburton; F. A. Walter, 2nd-lieut., v. Werge.

Brevet. Capt. T. Hamilton, 63rd, to be major in the army; Capt. J. P. Ripley, 1st Eur. Regt. of Bengal Lt.Inf., major in the army in East Indies.

OBITUARY.

The Hon. J. R. Morrison.—Mr. John Robert Morrison, who died at Macao, on the 29th August, at the early age of 29, was the eldest surviving son of the late Dr. Morrison, by his first wife. He was born at Macao, on the 17th April, 1814. In January of the following year, he was taken by Mrs. Morrison to England, and returned with her to China in August, 1820; so that the education he obtained at home was elementary only, the rest being completed in China by his father, who, in June, 1821, was deprived of a valuable coadjutor by the death of Mrs. Morrison. It is not wonderful that, under the tuition of his parent, he should have speedily acquired a proficiency in the Chinese language, to which his attention was attracted at an early age. So great was this proficiency, that, on the death of Dr. Morrison, in August, 1834, his office of Chinese secretary and interpreter to the superintendents of trade was conferred upon Mr. Morrison, then only twenty. The ability with which he discharged the duties of these difficult and responsible offices, during the entire period of the disputes with the Chinese government—managing most of the conferences and preparing the draughts of public papers—pointed him out as one of the fittest persons to form part of the government of the Anglo-Chinese settlement at Hong-kong. He was accordingly appointed (only a few days before his death) a member of the Legislative and Executive Council of the Settlement, or colony, with the prefix of "Honourable" to his name.

On Sunday, the 20th of August, when returning from divine service, he was seized with a severe chill. This was followed by a burning fever, which, with frequent intermissions, hung about him till the 24th, when a very sharp attack of it demanded prompt treatment and an immediate change of situation. He was, accordingly, removed from the house of the Morrison Education Society, at Hong-kong, where he had been lying from the first hour of his sickness, and carried on board the steamer *Proserpine*, which was under orders to proceed instantly to Macao. Attended by Dr. Woosnam, secretary to H.M.'s Plenipotentiary, he landed at Macao on the 25th, and entered the residence of his friend Dr. Anderson, where he enjoyed not only his medical advice, but all the tenderness of a brother. But the fever increased in an aggravated form, and, on the 28th, the symptoms precluded all hopes of recovery. During the night, he seemed aware of his approaching end, and, on the morning of the 29th, the anniversary of the signing the Treaty of Peace at Nanking, having with his own hands adjusted his pillows around him, and raised himself upon his couch, he gently breathed his last. On the evening of the 30th, a large assembly of foreigners met at the Protestant burial-ground, where he was interred by the side of his father and mother: Sir H. Pottinger was one of the chief mourners.

In the official announcement of the event, Sir Henry declares, that the deceased gentleman was truly beloved, esteemed, and respected by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance and friendship, and that his (Sir Henry's) own sincere grief "is only a type of that universal sentiment in which the memory and worth of Mr. Morrison will be for ever embalmed." He adds: "In a public point of view, Sir Henry Pottinger considers the death of Mr. Morrison to be an irreparable national calamity, and he doubts not but as such it will be received and viewed by his sovereign and country."

Mr. Morrison was to have been the bearer to England of the Supplementary Treaty with the Chinese, to be signed at Anunghae.

In 1834, Mr. Morrison published the *Chinese Commercial Guide*, and he is the author of several papers on Chinese subjects, printed in the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society and elsewhere.

Howqua, the senior Hong Merchant at Canton.—This remarkable individual expired at Canton on the 4th September, aged 75. His biography would include all the important events connected with the foreign trade during the last thirty years; hence we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on his character and conduct.

Howqua was descended from a respectable Füh-kéen family long resident in the principal black-tea district; his grandfather was one of the Amoy hong, who, with the progenitors of the Canton hong merchants Poon-ke-quá, Chun-ke-quá, and Min-quá, were ordered to remove to Canton, when all intercourse was forbidden with the English and Dutch at Amoy. Howqua for a long time had been in a feeble state of health, with an extremely attenuated frame, but unimpaired intellectual vigour, up to his last illness. His fortune is variously estimated, but it is believed he has large investments in the British and foreign funds, and, a twelvemonth since, one of his most intimate foreign friends expressed his belief that Howqua was then worth at least twenty-five millions of dollars; except a small portion, the whole is the result of his own industry and enterprise. He has left two sons (the eldest only 16) and several grandsons.

Our attack on Canton inflicted considerable injury on Howqua; the value of

the pack-houses and their contents, which were then destroyed, amounted alone to one million of dollars, and Howqua used to affirm that the war had inflicted on him a loss of two millions of dollars. His proportion of the Canton ransom was £800,000. It was after this event that he prayed the emperor to be permitted to retire from his position as a hong merchant, respectfully tendering at the same time what he called all his wealth, viz. 2,500,000 taels, which he said all accrued to him from the emperor's bounty, and supplicated the imperial will to accord him such portion thereof as its heavenly benevolence deemed fit to maintain him during the wretched remnant of his life. This petition was refused. It must, however, be observed, that the Chinese government had the greatest confidence in Howqua, who to the last retained an inveterate aversion to new customs and modern fashions, whilst he clung with the most conservative tenacity to the old corrupt system, by which his vast wealth was mainly accumulated.

Howqua was the guardian and comptroller of the Consou fond, and the organ of communication between the government and the foreign merchants. He possessed vast power and influence among his countrymen, was a large landed proprietor, and had founded and endowed a temple to Buddha in the suburbs of Canton. It was supposed that the refusal of Howqua's prayer to retire into private life was owing to the late war, and the claims which the government might have on his services at such a crisis; we believe the truth was, that, besides the undeniable influence Howqua possessed, his notorious wealth was the cause of his detention. The local mandarins, and perhaps also some at Peking, were well aware that Howqua was made of *squeezable materials*.

As a merchant, we believe the deceased could be favourably contrasted with the most eminent that Europe has produced. It seems almost incredible, but not less true, that to the last he directed his vast and complicated trade, which almost encircled the globe, alone. His knowledge, and even familiarity with mercantile details connected with the trade of foreign ports, was truly astonishing; sound judgment, true prudence, wary circumspection, and a wise economy, were distinguishing traits of his mercantile character. By our countrymen Howqua was not liked; his predilections were American, and justly so, seeing that he was indebted in an early stage of his career to a citizen of that country for information he sought in vain from the English; and, moreover, the monopoly of the East-India Company rendered an American association preferable, in a pecuniary sense, to any English connection.

It is alleged by his friends that Howqua would never consent to evade the duties, or smuggle any kind of goods; we doubt this, as he had branch houses at Soochow, Ningpo, Shanghai, and other opulent cities in China. It is hardly credible that he could successfully carry on his business there with competitors who did smuggle whenever they had the opportunity, and which the notorious venality of the authorities rendered quite the rule, rather than the exception. We are glad to record a gratifying fact, which will embalm the memory of old Howqua. Since the difficulties about the opium trade, he has wholly abstained from touching the "unclean thing." Directly or indirectly, he has uniformly refused again engaging in this traffic, although he might have added millions upon millions to his treasure. This is no mean testimony to his patriotism, and his respect for the laws and regulations of his country. As a type of the old regime—as a Chinese conservative of the "purest ray serene"—the death of Howqua will perhaps be deemed by his sovereign and country a positive national calamity.—*Friend of China*.

Captain Hobson, late Governor of New Zealand.—Captain William Hobson, R.N., governor of New Zealand, died at the Government House, Auckland, 10th September, 1842, after a protracted illness, at the premature age of forty-nine. For some months previously, it had been evident to his family and medical attendants that his health was irreparably broken, though the strength of his constitution still seemed to resist the attacks upon it. He had been accustomed to take extract of senna, and some other medicine having been, on one occasion, inadvertently administered to him in lieu of the extract, his health received a shock from which it never recovered.

Captain Hobson entered the royal navy at an early age; he passed in 1811, and obtained a lieutenant's commission in 1813. Whilst he was serving as lieutenant at Jamaica, in 1823, Sir Charles Rowley, the commander-in-chief of the station, in consequence of the annoyance which the trade suffered from pirates in those seas, fitted out two schooners to go in search of them. Lieutenant Hobson volunteered his services, and was put in command of one of them, the *Lion*, in which he captured several piratical vessels, commanded by notorious freebooters, who were brought to punishment. Subsequently, however, he fell into the hands of pirates; but his reputation for generosity as well as courage saved him and his comrades from a violent death, and he was released. Some of the incidents of this transaction, it is said, furnished materials for a remarkable passage in that amusing narrative, *Tom Cringle's Log*. A short time after this occurrence, on the 18th March, 1824, he was made commander, and appointed to the *Ferret*, which vessel was employed on the same service; whence he was removed to the *Scylla*. On this latter vessel being paid off, he was, on the 9th July, 1828, made post-captain, and afterwards commanded the *Rattlesnake*, which was detached from the East-India station to New Zealand. He was considered an excellent officer, and was much beloved by his officers and men. Mild in temper, kind in disposition, strict in discipline, and urbane in manners, he was peculiarly fitted for command.

On the settlement of New Zealand, Captain Hobson was, in December, 1839, appointed by Sir George Gipps to be its lieutenant-governor, and in November, 1840, this appointment was changed by the Home Government to that of governor. He arrived in the colony in January, 1840, and almost immediately after experienced an attack of paralysis. He partially recovered, but a further attack rendered his ultimate recovery hopeless.

The unpalatable measures which it was his duty to carry into execution rendered Governor Hobson unpopular amongst the settlers; but his death extinguished all feelings of hostility, and the acts of the obnoxious chief were forgotten in respect for his private excellence. The most sincere tokens of affectionate regard were manifested at his funeral, which was attended by all the official functionaries and by nearly all the respectable inhabitants of Auckland; every person in the town appeared in deep mourning. The conduct of the aborigines on this occasion is thus described in the *New Zealand Colonist*: "They crowded into the town in great numbers early in the morning, and the ceremony of *Uhunga* (or funeral dirge) was performed in every quarter, as if for one of their most valued chiefs. This is a long-continued public demonstration of grief, during which they sit upon the ground and howl in chorus. In consequence of their numerous attendance, a *Maori Gazette* was issued to them, directing their presence in the rear of the procession, which was accordingly very numerously given. Almost every male carried a musket; but with intuitive politeness they abstained from their explosions till the military salute had

been fired. Their demonstrations after this were rather noisy: there is scarcely any sound so dear to the New Zealander as the crack of his musket or fowling-piece. Most of the females had their hair fantastically ornamented with wreaths of the supple-jack—a very pretty native wild climbing plant, just then in full blossom."

Captain Hobson has left a young family.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

- Dec.* 17. At Rome, the lady of Alfred Batson, Esq., jun., son.
 23. At Notting-hill, the lady of J. E. Eardley Wilmot, Esq., son.
 — At Walton Rectory, Glastonbury, Lady John Thynne, son.
 24. At Sussex-gardens, Lady Mary Hope, son.
 27. At Hackney-terrace, the wife of C. S. Haddow, Esq., daughter.
 28. At Ham, the lady of Capt. A. C. Rainey, Bengal army, daughter.
 29. At Torquay, the lady of Major-General H. T. Roberts, C. B., daughter.
 — In Harley-street, the lady of Sir D. Le Marchant, Bart., son.
 — At Upnor Castle, the lady of C. M. Creagh, Esq., lieut. 9th regt., son.
 31. At Glasgow College, the lady of Professor Lushington, son.
Jan. 2. At Leytonstone, the lady of John Marmaduke Teesdale, Esq., son.
 3. In Arlington-street, Lady Mary Stephenson, son.
 4. In Langham-place, the wife of C. B. Young, Esq., daughter.
 5. The lady of Capt. Holbrow, Bengal army, son.
 6. At Hampstead, the lady of Capt. Sir William Edward Parry, R.N., of twin daughters.
 — In Dublin, the lady of Capt. Cooper, 45th regt., daughter.
 7. At Portman-square, the lady of Sir Allan F. Bellingham, Bart., daughter.
 — At Heir's House, near Colne, the lady of Capt. Atherton, late 6th regt., daughter.
 — At Notting-hill-square, the wife of J. Lock, Esq., daughter.
 8. At Plumstead-common, Kent, the wife of Capt. Payne, Royal Artil., son.
 9. At St. George's-terrace, Mrs. George Arbutnot, son.
 — At Wootton Rectory, the wife of the Rev. J. P. Lightfoot, son.
 10. At Bath, the lady of Capt. J. Evans, late 15th regt. Bengal N.I., son.
 15. At Devonshire-terrace, Mrs. Charles Dickens, son.
 16. At Upper Seymour-street, the Hon. Lady Dallas, daughter.
 — At Forest House, Hartfield, the lady of Frederick Moor, Esq., late 2nd Queen's Royals, daughter, still-born.
 20. At St. Leonard's-hill, Mrs. Harcourt, daughter.
 24. At Wimbledon, the lady of Col. P. E. Craigie, C.B., 55th regt., and aide-de-camp to her Majesty, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

- Dec.* 21. At St. Marylebone, James Grierson, Esq., late Hon. East-India Company's service, to Harriet, daughter of Major-Gen. James Alexander, Bengal army.
Jan. 1. At St. George's, F. E. Walther, Esq., of Dreyden, to Lydia, daughter of late M. F. Smith, Esq., of Calcutta.
 2. At Cambridge, the Rev. S. N. Kingdon to Eliza Anne, daughter of Major-Gen. J. Napier, Madras army.
 — At Paddington, T. E. Wilmot, Esq., eldest son of Sir T. W. Blomefield, Bart., to Georgiana Louisa, daughter of Lieut. Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland.
 3. At Stratford-on-Avon, the Rev. J. R. Crawford, head-master Grammar-school, Brompton, eldest son of late John Crawford, Esq., capt. I.N., to Harriett Wurford, daughter of late R. Hobbes, Esq.
 4. At Cheltenham, John Middleton, Esq., late of Macao, to Mary, daughter of Henry Wright, Esq., of Lansdowne-place, Cheltenham.
 8. At Christ Church, the Rev. William George Nott, son of Major-Gen. Sir William Nott, G.C.B., &c., to Adela Elizabeth Helgar, daughter of Major-Gen. Farrer.

Jan. 11. At St. Marylebone, G. Shute Barrington Godbold, Esq., late 87th Fusileers, to Mary Isabella, daughter of Thomas Jackson, Esq., of Baker-st.

— At Putney, Thomas Willmott, Esq., of Upper Eaton-street, to Sarah, daughter of William Webb Chapman, Esq.

13. At Trinity Church, Richard, eldest son of R Jennings, Esq., of Portland-place, to Agnes Catharine Annabella, daughter of Vice-Adm. Sir Edward Hamilton, Bart., K. C. B., of Cumberland-terrace.

— At Hampstead, James Cosmo, son of T. C. Melvill, Esq., secretary to the Hon. East-India Company, to Eliza June, daughter of the late Alfred Hardcastle, Esq., of Hatcham-house, Surrey.

17. At Inkpen, Berks, John Stewart, Esq., Madras army, to Anne, third daughter of John Butler, Esq., of Kirby-house.

18. At Buckhurst-park, Francis George Hastings Russell, Esq., to the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth West, eldest daughter of the Earl and Countess Delawarr.

23. At St. George's, James Stirling, Esq., of Holme-hill, to Christian, daughter of late David Erskine, Esq., of Elambagar, Bengal.

— At Allerton Park, Richard Peter Carrington Smythe, Esq., lieut., 8th regt. Hussars, son of Sir E. J. Smythe, of Acton Burnell, to the Hon. Eleanor Mary Stourton, daughter of William Lord Stourton.

24. At Barnes, Lord Aberdour, son of the late Earl of Morton, to Helen, daughter of the late James Watson, Esq., of Saughton.

25. The Rev. John Griffiths, chaplain Bombay establishment, to Frances, daughter of Capt. Mortlock, late capt. E. I. C.'s naval service.

Lately. At St. Pancras, Robert Rodgers, Esq., of Glasgow, to Sophia, daughter of John Pickersgill, Esq.

— At St. John's, Edward Jacob, Esq., H. C. S., to Mary Sandford, daughter of the late C. Hill, Esq., of Dartmouth.

— At St. George's, Mr. J. Geere, commander of the *Minerva*, to Caroline Amelia, daughter of Capt. Chase, formerly East-India service.

— At St. George's, Col. Sir Duncan Mac Dougall, K. C. F., late commanding 79th regt. of Highlanders, to Hannah, widow of late Col. Nicholson, of the Lancashire Militia.

DEATHS.

In *Nov.* On his passage from Bombay to England, Capt. Rattray, 86th regt., son of the late Lieut. Col. Rattray, of the 63rd.

Dec. 24. At Edinburgh, John W. Norie, Esq., author of "A Complete Epitome of Practical Navigation," &c.

25. At Moorgate-street, Lieut. B. W. Vaughan, 32nd regt., M. N. I.

26. At Sheerness, Vice-Adm. Sir E. Brace, K. C. B., Commander-in-Chief at the Nore.

27. At Sidney-lodge, Urania Ann, Dowager Marchioness of Clanricarde.

— At Newton-house, Major-Gen. John Cunningham, of Newton, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

29. At Foley-place, Mary Ann, widow of the late Benjamin Preston, Esq., of Calcutta.

— At Hastings, the Right Hon. Lady Kensington.

30. William Stanley Clarke, Esq., Director of the E. I. Company.

Jan. 1. At Calke Abbey, Sir G. Crewc, Bart.

2. At Lynington, Henry Worsley, son of Major-Gen. H. T. Roberts, C. B., of Milford Lodge, Hants.

3. At Walthamstow, Richenda, relict of T. H. Musterman, Esq.

— At Abbott's-hill, Derby, Elizabeth Ann, relict of late Miles Munday French, Esq.

— At Bath-house, Ardrossan, Mrs. Mary Fisher, relict of Charles Macintosh, Esq., of Campsie and Dunchattan, F. R. S.

5. Major-Gen. F. J. T. Johnston, C. B., brother of the Right Hon. Sir A. Johnston, of Carnsalloch.

7. At his residence, No. 26, Dalston-terrace, I. A. A. Barnes, Esq., formerly of Calcutta, aged 70.

- Jan. 7. Maria, daughter of late Gideon Acland, Esq., of Camberwell.
 — At Studland, Dorsetshire, Sir Charles Edmund Nugent, G. C. H., Admiral of the Fleet.
 — At Barbour Cottage, Worcester, Robert Haliburton, Esq., son of late Gen. Haliburton, of the Madras establishment.
 8. In Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square, Charles John Middleton, Esq., late Bengal civil service.
 9. At Bolton Row, Julia, the infant daughter of H. C. Angelo, Esq.
 10. Sir Hudson Lowe.
 — At Caldecote, Mr. Jeremiah Bryant.
 — At Dunany-house, Frances Lady Bellingham.
 11. At Glynde, Sussex, Pyne, wife of the Hon. Gen. Trevor.
 — At Alphington, near Exeter, Lady Catharine C. Parker.
 12. At St. James's-place, Lady Burdett.
 13. In Belgrave-square, the Countess Dowager of Clare.
 — At Cheltenham, Marianne, daughter of late Lieut. Col. Aubrey.
 14. At Wargrave-hill, Berks, Lieut. Col. Raymond White, late Inniskilling Dragoons.
 15. At Southampton, Lewis Sheddon, of Eastonton, Esq., late captain 15th Hussars, eldest son of late Col. John Sheddon, of Lymington.
 16. At Richmond, Mary Charlotte, wife of Arthur Saunders, Esq., and daughter of late Col. James Morgan, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.
 — At Thorncroft, near Leatherhead, Col. Drinkwater Bethune.
 17. Capt. John Howard Kyan, E. I. C.'s Bengal Cavalry.
 21. At Muddiford, Hants, the Hon. Charles Robert St. John, son of the late Viscount Bolingbroke.
 — Elizabeth, wife of Peter Barlow, Esq., F. R. S., Woolwich.
 22. At Lambeth, Ann, wife of Charles Nairne, Esq.
 23. Mrs. Sarah Herman, formerly of Calcutta.
 — In Great Portland-street, Capt. George Robertson Aikman, senior commander in the E. I. C.'s late maritime service.
 26. At Brixton, Amey, wife of Henry Ager, late E. I. C.'s maritime service.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

JAN. 1. *Lady Bute*, Bengal, Clyde; *Flora*, Batavia, Torbay; *William*, Batavia, Penzance.—2. *Chelydra*, Sydney, Downs; *Parland*, Bengal, Margate; *Cuthbert*, Bengal, Downs.—3. *James*, Port Philip, Downs; *McLeod*, Batavia, Portsmouth.—4. *Maria Somes*, Bengal, Downs.—6. *Parsee*, Ceylon; *Lady Rowena*, Singapore, Downs.—9. *George Fyfe*, China, Downs.—13. *Eudora*, Van Diemen's Land, Portsmouth; *Eliza Ann*, Batavia, Brighton.—15. *Esther*, Bengal, Milford.—16. *Thomas Metcalf*, Bengal, Romney.—18. *Earl Durham*, Bengal, Downs; *Fleetwood*, Mauritius, Falmouth.—22. *Fatima*, Madras, Downs; *Blenheim*, Singapore, Downs; *John Hullett*, Mauritius, Downs; *Alert*, New South Wales, Dover.—23. *Winseale*, Batavia, Downs.—24. *Fortfield*, Singapore, Wight.—26. *Bahamian*, China; *Currency* and *Princess Royal*, Bengal; *Ellen*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Mary Ann*, Algoa Bay, Downs; *Forhound*, South Seas, Downs; *Nelson*, New Zealand, Dover; *Adriana*, Mauritius, Liverpool.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—JAN. 1. *Sussex*, Java.—2. *Renown*, Hobart Town; *Lady Kinnaird*, Bengal; *Symmetry*, Ceylon; *Albatross*, Bombay; *Volunteer*, Mauritius.—8. *Louisa* and *Arab*, Launceston; *John Scott*, Cape; *Diadem*, Cape and Trincomalee.—11. *Australia*, Bombay.—*West Indian*, Cape; *Gemini*, Bengal.—14. *Pathfinder*, Bengal; *Curlew*, Algoa Bay; *Shepherdess*, Batavia and Singapore; *Conservative*, St. Helena; *Horwood*, Algoa Bay.—15. *Stork*, Ceylon.—16. *John Graham*, Cape.—18. *Rebecca*, Cape.—20. *Pearl*, Ceylon.—21. *Esperance*, Cape; *Isabella*, Bombay.—22. *Hindoo*, Sydney; *Thalia*, Cape.—21. *Earl Durham*, Madras and Bengal.—22. *Isabella*, Mauritius.—23. *Darius*, Bombay; *Sydney*, Wellington, Nelson, and Auckland.—26. *Bella Marina*, New Zealand; *Offley*, South Seas.—28. *Culdee*, Campbell.

From Portsmouth.—DEC. 20. *Ganges*, Sydney.—Jan. 8. *Sursex*, Java; *Duke of Bedford*, Cape, Madras and Bengal.—*Lady Kinnaird*, Bengal.—9. *Malacca*, Madras and Bengal.—10. *Mary Bannatyne*, Hong Kong.—9. *Zenobia*, Cape.—22. *Sophia*, Madras and Bengal.

From Plymouth, JAN. 8.—*New Zealand*, Ceylon.—9. *Justina*, Bengal.

From Liverpool.—DEC. 30; *Eagle*, Bombay.—Jan. 3. *Devon* and *Patriot King*, Bengal.—8. *Livingstone*, Bengal; *Thistle*, Bombay.—9. *Dryad*, Singapore; *Syria*, China.—11. *Canada* and *Hannah*, Bengal; *Derby*, Ceylon and Madras.—13. *Symmetry*, Bombay.—17. *Queen*, Bengal.—22. *Alexandrina* and *Lady Flora Hastings*, Bengal; *Helvellyn*, Batavia and Singapore.—23. *Tamerlane*, Bengal; *Maggie*, Cape and Mauritius.—24. *Tory*, Bombay.

From Shields.—JAN. 24. *Beccles*, Cape.

From the Clyde.—DEC. 31. *Mungo Park*, Singapore.—Jan. 2. *Young Queen*, Madras, Penang, and Moulmein.—6. *Peruvian*, Bengal.—16. *Bowling*, Bengal.

From Bristol.—JAN. 9. *Anna Watson*, Bengal.

From Cowes, JAN. 9.—*Symmetry*, Ceylon; *Volunteer*, Mauritius.

From Dartmouth, JAN. 25.—*Pomona*, St. Helena and Ascension.

From Cork.—JAN. 4. *Sea Queen*, Port Philip.

From Waterford.—JAN. 13. *President*, Bengal.

From Stromness. JAN. 7. *Urania*, Cape.

From Falmouth.—JAN. 10. *Black Nymph*, Ascension and Cape.

PASSENGERS.

Per ship *Zenobia*, to the Cape of Good Hope:—His Excellency Lieut. Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of the Cape, Lady Sarah Maitland and family, Lieut. Lord Mandeville, A.D.C., Lieut. Maitland, A.D.C., Rev. Mr. Maitland, Rev. Mr. Hind, Mr. Montague, Mr. Mostyn Owen, Mr. Jerrum, Mr. Ross, Mr. Thorne.

Per *Duke of Bedford*, Thornhill, to Madras and Bengal touching at Cape:—Miss Cameron, Col. and Mrs. Morris, Dr. and Mrs. Warnford, Mr. Norgate, Mr. Netherwood, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Webster, Mr. Burns, Mr. Brodie, Mr. Forlong, Mr. Cape, Mr. Bloomfield, Capt. Scott, Mr. Houchen, Mr. Fendle, Mr. Hallett.

Per *Symmetry*, Mackwood, to Ceylon:—Miss Caroline Templer, Miss Ingram, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Mackwood, Mr. Darley, Mr. Cushny, Mr. Keir, Mr. Lewis, Lieut. L. Frazer, 94th regt., Lieut. Frazer, Ceylon Rifles, Dr. J. H. Agar. Steerage: Messrs. Trivett, Gordon, Elliott, Mrs. Spinks.

Per steamer *Oriental*, from Southampton, for Malta and Alexandria, &c.:—

For Alexandria:—Mr. McKenzie, Lieut. Col. Steinback, Mr. West, Mr. Scott, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Ashburner, Mr. Huzzard, Miss Begbie, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. Wyllie, Mr. Molyneux, Mr. Frankland, Mr. Bird, and Lieut. Ricketts.

For Bombay:—Mrs. Mayor, Mr. Tanner, Mr. Pouley, Mr. Dobree, Mr. McGregor, Mr. Ranken, Mr. Ballantine, Mr. Mules, Col. Aplin and Miss Aplin, Miss Combe, Miss Richardson, Mrs. Col. Soppett, Miss Soppett and servant, Mr. Procter, Mr. Higgs, Mr. Sillar, and Mr. Baxter's servant.

For Ceylon:—Capt. and Mrs. Dalrymple and servant, Mrs. Brotherton, Mr. Rees, Mr. Albert, Mr. Mackilligan, Mr. Maxwell, and Mr. Cowen.

For Madras:—Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie, nurse and infant, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Whinyates, Major Sherrieff, Mr. Minchin, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Frank, Mr. Elliott, Mr. N. Campbell, and the Rev. R. Bland.

For Calcutta:—Capt. and Mrs. Servante, Capt. Hyde, Mrs. Hyde and two servants, Lieut. Jones, Mr. Beresford, Mr. Gilmore, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Peel, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Brown, Mr. Bonawry, Mr. Fearon, Mrs. and Misses Simpson, Mrs. Orman, servant and child, Mrs. Norton and servant, Mr. and Mrs. Fowler, Mr. Haughton, Mr. Lane, Mr. Wriford, Mr. Le Gallais, Mr. Weidman, Lieut. Lumbley, Mr. Cahill, Mr. Johnston, and Lieut. Yule.

For Malta:—Sir C. Bishopp, lady, nurse and infant, Miss Plummond, and Mrs. Reason.

Per *Sophia* and *Saxon*, to Madras and Bengal:—Mrs. McCullum and sister, Miss Thompson, Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Gray, Mr. Lane, Mr. Spilsberg, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Hay, Dr. Graham, Mr. Frances, Messrs. Dow, Mrs. Bolton and

daughter, Mrs. McCullum, Mr. Doun, Mr. Houlton, Mr. Wallace, Mrs. Smith and daughter, Sergeant Dodd, Mrs. Dodd, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Royal.

Per *Mary Bannatyne*, Picken, to Hong Kong:—Mr. Jackson, lady, 2 children and servant, Mr. Robertson, Mr. H. C. Sirr, lady and servant, Mr. Backhouse, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Hertslet, Mr. Parish, Mr. Haync, Mr. Giles, Mr. Voucher, Mr. Bugnam, Mr. Pouvrehomme.

Per *London*, Johnston, to Bombay:—Assist. Surg. Pitman, Mr. Hobart, Ensign Collingwood, H.M.'s 78th regt.

Per *Shepherdess*, to Batavia and Singapore:—Mr. Johnstone.

Per *Gazelle*, to Hobart Town:—Mr. T. Watson and Lady.

Per *Hindoo*, to Sydney:—Mr. Owen and family, Mr. and Mrs. Coy, Messrs. Frankland, C. King, H. Noora, A. Gray, Garratt and Thomas.

Per *Culdee*, Campbell to Bengal:—Mr. I. J. Inglis, Surgeon.

Per *Australia*, Cumming to Bombay:—Mrs. Armstrong and niece, Mr. Bourk, Mr. Poett, Messrs. Hubbard, Newton, Scott, and Farquhar.

Per *Token*, Cheyne to Bombay:—Mr. Tolfrey, Mr. Shand, Miss Dinniss, Robert Maitland Beath, 2nd class engineer.

The *Elizabeth*, Scholefield, for China, sailed from the Downs 11th Jan., put into Dover 14th, leaky, and returned to London 22nd.

The *Minerva*, Brown, from the Clyde to Bombay, struck on the Blackwater bank, became unmanageable, and drove on the shore at Cahore point. Crew saved.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1842-43.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>via</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>via</i> Marseilles.)						
Aug. 4	Sept. 6..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	33	Sept. 13..	40	Sept. 17.....	44
Sept. 6	Oct. 12..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	37	Oct. 18 ..	43	Oct. 20	41
Oct. 4	Nov. 14..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	41	Nov. 20 ..	47	Nov. 26	53
Nov. 4	Dec. 13..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	40	Dec. 21 ..	46	Dec. 23	50
Dec. 6	Jan. 14..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	39	Jan. 20 ..	45	Jan. 24	49
Jan. 6, 1843 ..	Feb. 14..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	39	Feb. 19 ..	44	Feb. 23	49
Feb. 6	March 15..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	37	March 18 ..	40	March 23	45
March 4	April 14..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	41	April 20 ..	47	April 23	50
April 6	May 13..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	37	May 20 ..	44	May 23	47
May 6	June 6..... (per <i>Sesostris</i>)	31	June 12 ..	37	June 14	39
June 6	July 7..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	31	July 14 ..	38	July 17	41
July 6	Aug. 7..... (per <i>Sesostris</i>)	32	Aug. 15 ..	40	Aug. 18	43
Aug. 5	Sept. 9..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	35	Sept. 16 ..	42	Sept. 20	47
Sept. 6	Oct. 11..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	35	Oct. 13* ..	37	Oct. 17*	41
Oct. 6	Nov. 15..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	40				

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *via* Southampton, at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 1st, and *via* Marseilles on the evening of the 5th Feb.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1843 ..	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Feb. 7.....	38	Feb. 15..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	44
Feb. 3	<i>Atalanta</i>	March 13	38	March 16.. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
March 2	<i>Victoria</i>	April 7	36	April 11..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	40
April 1.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	May 8.....	37	May 13..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	42
May 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	June 5	35	June 10..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	40
May 20	<i>Victoria</i>	July 3	44	July 10..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	51
June 19	<i>Semiramis</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 7	47
July 20	<i>Memnon</i>	Lost			
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46	Nov. 13 .. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	67
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 .. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	46
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	47
Dec. 1	<i>Sesostris</i>	Jan. 5	35	Jan. 15..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	45

* These Mails were conveyed by the steamer *Hindustan*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>George</i>	414 tons.	Anderson...	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 3.
<i>Lady Rowena</i>	399	Miller	Lond. Docks ..	Feb. 15.
<i>George Fyfe</i>	460	Pike	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 25.
<i>Scindian</i>	650	Terry	—	March 9.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Lord Hungerford</i>	736	Pigott	E. I. Docks ...	Feb. 1.
<i>Pekin</i>	562	Laing	—	Feb. 24.
<i>Poictiers</i>	800	Denny	—	Feb. 26.
<i>Mellish</i>	500	Fawcett ...	St. Kat. Docks	April 1.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Worcester</i>	636	Bickford ...	E. I. Docks ...	Feb. 1.
<i>British Empire</i>	616	Young	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 10.
<i>Anna Robertson</i>	448	Hamilton...	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 20.
<i>Orestes</i>	529	Fenwick ...	E. I. Docks ...	March 10.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Rosberry</i>	312	Young	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 2.
<i>Inchinnan</i>	565	MacArthur	—	Feb. 7.
<i>Earl Durham</i>	453	Cabel	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 10.
<i>Colombo</i>	422	Thomson...	E. I. Docks ...	Feb. 15.
<i>Dowthorp</i>	450	Marwood...	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 15.
<i>Oriental</i>	507	Wilson ...	W. I. Docks ...	March 10.
<i>Chance</i>	551	Cood	St. Kat. Docks	March.

FOR CHINA.

<i>City of Derry</i>	474	Were	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 1.
<i>Lady</i>	315	Marshall ...	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 15.
<i>Surge</i>	560	Burnett ...	W. I. Docks ...	March 1.
<i>Marquis of Bute</i>	542	Miller	Lond. Docks...	April 1.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Africa</i>	277	Baxter	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 15.
<i>Sumatra</i>	353	Duncan ...	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 20.
<i>N. S.</i>	360	—	—	April 1.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>John Hullett</i>	299	Austen ...	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 3.
<i>Thomas Blyth</i>	372	Hay	—	Feb. 10.
<i>Derwent</i>	220	Steele	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 15.
<i>Sea Nymph</i>	178	Bar	Lond. Docks...	Feb.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Eliza Scott</i>	150	Beale	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 7.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. V.

THERE is, happily, little in the last news from India to sustain that painful kind of interest which has latterly, in a very considerable degree, overcome the habitual distaste of Englishmen towards Eastern topics. If it were not for the Scinde question, which still keeps the public attention from stagnating, notwithstanding all the excitement produced by the Affghan expedition, the disastrous retreat from Cabul, the murders at Lahore, and the agitation at Gwalior, our politicians would lapse into their former indifference about the concerns of our very insignificant empire in Asia.

We have spoken of the absence of interest in the news from India as a subject of congratulation ; and every one who sincerely desires the welfare of the two countries, must, in the present position of Indian affairs, earnestly hope that peace and domestic tranquillity may long continue in that remote dependency. It would be well if, for many years to come, the readers of Indian newspapers in Europe were condemned to vent complaints of their dullness. Every political event of the slightest moment, either in our own territories or in the native states, has a tendency to impair the foundations of our power—directly, by weakening the hold we possess upon our own subjects, or incidentally and remotely, by forcing our unwilling interference in the affairs of other states, which is a sure step to conquest, and to the increase of a dominion already too large and unwieldy.

The intelligence from the Punjab is not calculated to afford much hope that the affairs of that country can be adjusted without foreign interference. There appears to be no individual who is qualified by talents, or influence, or weight of character, to take a commanding lead, and to control the elements of disorder. The arrival of Rajah Golab Sing, with his 20,000 hill-men, at Lahore (which we noticed last month), seems, for some unassigned reason, to have been attended with no good effect. Some accounts (for we are still at the mercy of the native news-writers) represent that Golab Sing had quarrelled with his nephew, Heera Sing, and that the latter had been compelled to resign his post of prime minister to the former. Other reports state, with more probability, that the resignation of Heera Sing was a part of the arrangement between the two rajahs prior to the Jumbho chief marching to Lahore ; but both those accounts are inconsistent with the latest advices, from whence it appears that Golab Sing, either disgusted with the condition of

the Sikh state, or recalled by disorders in his own, has departed from the capital, leaving affairs there more embroiled than ever. "There is evidently no authority but that of Rajah Golab Sing," says a political writer,* "which can maintain a strong government in the Punjab; and his departure will doubtless be the beginning of anarchy, which, by endangering the peace of neighbouring states, will render it necessary for the paramount power to seize the reins of government, on the simple principle of self-defence." Reports prevail of battles between the partizans of the different chiefs, in one of which three regiments of Heera Sing had been destroyed.

There is now no reason to doubt that the young maharajah, Dhuleep Sing, did make an attempt to quit the capital; or rather that a scheme was formed by one of the parties to carry him away, which failed, owing to the refusal of the troops to co-operate in its execution. The story is, that, on the 24th November, Jowahir Sing, one of the uncles of the maharajah, conveyed him from the fort to the lines of the troops lately commanded by General Avitabile, alleging that the rajahs Golab Sing and Heera Sing were about to murder him and place an illegitimate son of Runjeet Sing on the throne. These troops shewing an indifference, Jowahir Sing was about to take his charge to Ferozepore; but Heera Sing pursued the party, and bringing back the maharajah, replaced him in his harem, and sent his uncle to prison. This incident alone sufficiently shows in what a state of disorder the whole kingdom is plunged.

Some extracts of the Lahore intelligence are subjoined:—

On his arrival, Rajah Golab Sing received Sirdars Lena Sing, Khoosh-yal Sing, and Sham Sing, with tokens of respect at the durbar, and expressed his determination of paying a visit to Maharajah Dulheep Sing, to congratulate him on his accession. The conduct of Rajah Heera Sing is said to have greatly annoyed the mother and uncle of the maharajah, especially in reference to the offer of an alliance made to his highness by the Sirdar of Roopur; she proclaims openly that Heera Sing has placed her son on the guddee to serve his own purposes, and that, as soon as she has an opportunity, she will expose the whole of his conduct to Rajah Golab Sing. It is also confidently asserted that she is in communication with Sirdar Lena Sing, Majecteea, and many other officers of the army, on the subject of her being proclaimed regent during the minority of her son, the only condition, she says, on which she will allow him to remain on the guddee. The regiments of General Dhoulkul Sing having quietly taken the two months' pay offered to them, the Akalees reproached them for having done so, and endeavoured to persuade them to return the money, and insist upon

receiving the four months which had been promised. Rajah Golab Sing, having desired the presence of all the sirdars on the general parade, addressed them to the following effect: "Sirdars, I have served the Maharajah Runjeet Sing since I was sixteen, and from that day forward, I have endeavoured to discharge the duties imposed upon me with honesty and fidelity. It is my desire that the name of that ruler should be maintained in this kingdom, and to effect this purpose, it is necessary that we should all, notwithstanding the late disturbances, unite together and faithfully discharge our duties to the present maharaja. Should you think proper to follow my advice, no change shall be effected in the positions of any of you; but those who may refuse to accede to my proposal, will yet live to beg their bread from door to door." At the conclusion of this address, the sirdars and sepoys were unanimous in their assurances that they were ready to obey the orders of the rajah, and do whatever he might wish.

On the 12th November, the three rajahs again met to consult on the affairs of the state, after which Rajah Heera Sing held his durbar, and there made some arrangements regarding the troops. In the evening, Rajah Golab Sing passed the Ravee to visit his men in their camp, and returned to the city in the night. The shopkeepers and other inhabitants of Lahore are continuing to build up their streets, and to put their houses in a state of defence, for fear of any further disturbance. Many of the chiefs are sending their wives and children away from Lahore. A confidential servant of Rajah Golab Sing affirms that it was his intention to have sent a larger number of soldiers towards Peshawur, but that, hearing of the assembly of British troops, he had determined to learn what their destination might be before he sent away any more men from Lahore. Dewan Sawun Mull is preparing ammunition in large quantities, and storing the same in his magazine. Rajahs Golab Sing and Suchet Sing are said to have this day visited the mother of the maharajah, and conversed with her regarding the affairs of the state. The widow intimated to the rajahs, that since the death of the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing, all the successors to the guddee had met with a violent death, and that she considered such events to be a clear indication of the divine will that a king should not reside at Lahore, wherefore she was anxious that her son should be removed to Unritsir, where he might be more fortunate as a ruler than his predecessors, and live to reign for many years over the land. The rajahs said they would consult Heera Sing on the subject; but recommended the lady not to pay any attention to such superstitions.

On the 16th, the three rajahs, with Rae Keasree Sing, Meean Laba Sing, and Meean Pirtee Sing, proceeded to inspect the troops in the cantonments. There they seated themselves before the Grunth saheb, and sent for the whole of the officers, who accordingly presented themselves. The rajahs then rose and spoke as follows: "Oh Khalsajee! We are but the servants of the people of the Khalsa, and we are in no ways opposed to them, as it is rumoured. Accept this Rs. 1,100 as an offering for sweetmeats, and continue faithful servants of the maharajah

as you have been to his predecessors." The officers replied, they were prepared to obey the rajahs and sirdars of the state ; but to Rajah Golab Sing they particularly intimated that he, being a chief in the hills, had needs be careful and not deceive them, but follow in the steps of Rajah Dhyen Sing, and then, if unanimity prevailed amongst the other great chiefs, all would go right. The sirdars present declared they were ready to meet the wishes of the army. The rajahs and chiefs in a similar manner visited every regiment of every branch of the service separately, and presented sums of money to each ; Rs. 60,000 were expended in this manner. It is now hoped that some quiet may succeed in the city to the disturbances which have hitherto prevailed. The sirdars opposed to the arrangements of the rajahs are greatly displeased at this conduct of theirs to the army, who, they say, will now see more than ever, by the manner in which they have been bribed and coaxed, the power they really possess, and will accordingly do whatever they please.

On the 18th, Rajah Heera Sing and his uncle crossed the river, and went to see the troops stationed near Shadera. These were two regiments, with twelve guns, the remainder of the troops of Rajah Golab Sing being stationed along the banks of the Ravee. The hill men have done great damage to the surrounding country, by cutting down the trees, especially of the maharajah's hunting preserves. The Sikhs are greatly annoyed at this conduct, but are afraid to remonstrate. The real number of troops brought by the rajah is estimated at 12,000, who will shortly be joined by 5,000 more, who have left Jumboo. Bussunt Ram, conversing with other officers, hoped that, since the rajah had succeeded in satisfying the troops by entreaties and humiliations, quiet would now be secured.

Next day, Rajahs Golab, Suchet, and Heera Sing met in a private chamber, and sent for Fuqueer Azeez-ood-deen and Fuqueer Noor-ood-deen to join them. They conjointly ordered Lalla Bussunt Ram to bring the books in which various treaties and agreements between the British and the Sikh Governments were inscribed. Mirza Agram Beg was also directed to select all the letters received from the British authorities to the address of the maharajah, relating to the acts of friendship performed by the latter in favour of the former.

On the 22nd, one of the furashes brought a message from the maharajah, requiring two children's guns and swords for his amusement ! The minister ordered his servants to find two such playthings of his own, given him by Runjeet Sing, when himself a child, and to send them to the maharajah. Rajah Golab Sing has been doing his best to reconcile Rajahs Heera Sing and Suchet Sing, and seems to have succeeded. Still the troops continue in the same state as before. Any sepahi, wishing to return to his home, does so at once without asking leave of his superior.

On the 22nd, the three rajahs met Sirdar Lena Sing on the affairs of the state. It was resolved, that, as the troops might now be considered as having been brought into order, their ammunition

should now be served out to them, and orders issued for the march to their different destinations; 2,000 balls were ordered to be distributed to every regiment having artillery, and all the troops were directed to be warned to be ready for service at a moment's notice. It was also proposed that all the troops should be assembled into one body, and the following Friday being an auspicious day, it was determined that the whole of the troops should commence assembling from that day. Dewan Sawun Mull, ruler of Mooltan, was requested to forward immediately as much gunpowder as he could procure from Kothe Jumal, Duperriah, Sindooval, Jerruck, and other districts. The workmen at Shahzadabad were ordered to prepare 20,000 more cannon balls, and to store them in the magazine. Sirdar Lena Sing Majeetee was requested to send for all the gunpowder he could procure from his territories.

Nov. 23rd.—The three rajahs, with Sirdars Lena Sing, Majeetee, Futteh Sing Man, Ittoree Sing Kalewallah, Jemadar Khooshyal Sing, and other chiefs, held a council; they proceeded to issue orders to the governors of Peshawur, Mooltan, Dejerat, Kashmeer, Ludakh, and Munde, directing them to collect the whole of the troops within their several provinces, limit them to their respective garrisons, and keep them prepared for service at the shortest notice. They (the governors) were at the same time assured that reinforcements would shortly be sent to them. The whole of the superior officers of the troops at Lahore were summoned to the council, and received instructions to be most particular in keeping their men together, and preventing any of them from absenting themselves. They were also directed to be present on the morrow, as further orders would be communicated to them. Rajah Golab Sing went to the apartments of the maharajah, and on desiring to see him, was told by his mother that he was just gone to sleep, and if disturbed would certainly begin crying. The rajah replied that he must see him, as all the great officers and sirdars were assembled for the purpose of executing a deed, appointing Rajah Heera Sing chief minister of the state, and that it was absolutely necessary the maharajah should affix his seal to the document. To all this the lady replied, that it was impossible for her to allow her son, who was a mere child, and knew nothing about ministers and the like, to execute such a deed now, but that when of mature age, and capable of discerning, he should be at liberty to choose whom he pleased for his vuzer. Rajah Golab Sing tried to persuade the ranee, but in vain; she was deaf to all his entreaties, and the rajah returned to the council.

Nov. 24th.—This evening, Jowahir Sing managed, by his intrigues, pretending he wished to amuse him, to get the maharajah out of the palace, though his mother and others about the palace recommended his not being taken out in the evening. On leaving the palace, the maharajah was taken by his uncle through and out of the city towards cantonments. He went first to the lines of a regiment of General Avitabile, where the sepoys on guard expressed their astonishment at his highness's visiting the lines so late in the evening. To this Jowahir Sing replied, that Rajah Heera Sing having laid a plot for murdering the

maharaja, he had managed to prevent the execution of such a deed, and had now brought him to be placed under the care of the officers of the army. The officers of the regiment were summoned forthwith, and having themselves questioned Jowahir Sing again, he, in addition to his former statement, informed them that Heera Sing was anxious to make way for another son of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, and implored them to take their young king under their protection, but that whatever was resolved on must be done quickly, or if put off to the morning, the rajahs would be prepared. The officers requested the maharajah to descend from his elephant, led him into a tent, and having no confidence in the assertion of Jowahir Sing, sent a message secretly to Rajah Heera Sing to apprize him of what had happened. They also separated Jowahir Sing from the maharajah, and placed him in a separate tent, with a guard over him. The minister was not a little astonished at the message he received, and sent back the bearer thereof to the officers, denouncing Jowahir Sing as a rogue and a liar, and desiring them to keep him safe and send him in a prisoner; also to escort the maharajah to his palace with due honour. The officers had no sooner received Heera Sing's answer, than they sent off Jowahir Sing under a guard, but kept the maharajah in the dwelling they had allotted him, not knowing exactly how far they might trust Heera Sing. The maharajah had not been long alone before he desired to see his uncle, and on hearing that he was not there, began to cry. On Jowahir Sing appearing before Rajah Heera Sing, the latter ordered him to be heavily ironed, as well as his brother Heera Sing, and other persons in office about the palace. Next morning, Rajah Heera Sing, accompanied by his friends, and an escort of hill suwars, proceeded to the cantonment, and having placed the maharajah on the elephant beside himself, returned to the city by the Delhi gate. Many of the sirdars have been canvassing the disgrace of Jowahir Sing, and consulting on the probability of some of them being treated in the same manner, since Heera Sing had no respect for the nearest relative of the maharajah. The lower inhabitants of the town are also making the matter the subject of common conversation, and saying amongst themselves that the Sikhs must now certainly submit to the brahmin rajahs.

Nov. 27th.—Rajah Suchet Sing was greatly incensed at the disgrace put upon Jowahir Sing, and protested he would cut down Heera Sing. Rajah Golab Sing, having been informed of the dispute, hastened to the spot, and endeavoured, in the mildest manner imaginable, to put an end to the same, telling both they were only destroying their own house, and that they ought to remember the consequences of the death of Dhyan Sing. He succeeded in appeasing them; and subsequently taking Rajah Suchet Sing aside, advised him to quit the capital for a few days, and proceed to Ramnuggur; but Suchet Sing was deaf to his suggestion. It is known that Golab Sing is anxious to send his brother to the hills, after accomplishing which, he might be induced to release Jowahir Sing and his brother, in compliance with the wishes of the ranee.

Dec. 1st.—This morning, Rajah Suchet Sing expressed his determination to proceed to Ramnuggur, ordered all his men to cross the river, sent off all his property from the city, and gave instructions for the whole to wait at Shahdra, as he intended to halt there for two or three days. Rajah Heera Sing accompanied his uncle to the banks of the river, and there took leave of him.

Dec. 4th.—Rajahs Golab Sing and Suchet Sing quitted Shahdra this day, but left some of their men on the left bank of the river, to assist Rajah Heera Sing if required. Those who pretend to know, say, Rajah Golab Sing has faithfully promised Rajah Heera Sing to return from Jumboo in one month. The following rumour, however, is current amongst the Sikhs, who say that in a few weeks there will be a great disturbance in the territory of the Punjaub, and that it will most likely obtain another chief, but that a month shall not have elapsed before the Khalsa people shall again reign supreme, continue unopposed masters of the land, and even carry their arms into other countries. The absentees from the regiments continue still very numerous, amounting, in most corps, to 150 men. The troops do not seem at ease, and the inhabitants of the capital are restless. The career of the mother of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing is likely, if not brought to a premature close, to have material influence on the future affairs of the Punjaub.

Dec. 18th.—Intelligence was communicated to the durbar, that outrages of the worst description were being committed in the district of Bishenda, near Peshawur. The officer in charge was written to, to make better arrangements than seemed to exist, and severely to punish all those who were guilty of disturbing the public peace. Samples of gunpowder received from different places were submitted by the darogah of the magazine, and purwannahs were written to the different officers to send further quantities. Rajah Heera Sing was informed that British troops were marching from Bombay towards Mithenkote, and directed Dewan Sawun Mull to send detachments towards the frontier, to protect the different passes. The Sikh troops are still extremely unruly.

The *Bombay Times* of the 1st January had received letters from Lahore to a somewhat later date :—

They contain little news : the troubles of the state seem increasing, and the European residents, who were about to cross the frontier and seek shelter in the Company's dominions, entertained no doubt but that the British Government would very shortly be compelled to interfere. No event of any considerable importance had lately occurred at the capital. Sawun Mull, the chief of Moulton, seemed to be carrying on an active system of intrigue on his own account. He is believed to be most hostile to British interests. With him, it is understood, Shere Mahomed of Meerpore still finds shelter convenient for carrying on negotiation, or organizing operations, in concert with Ali Moorad.

General Ventura had left the Sikh service, as well as General Avitabile, and quitted the Punjab.

The Gwalior question seems to have been adjusted without actual recourse to arms, but not until the British force was advancing to that capital. It appears that the Bhae had, at length, determined to surrender the Khasgee to the British, hoping, perhaps, thereby to prevent their advance. Finding, however, that our brigades were on the march, the authorities at Gwalior tendered implicit submission to all the terms proposed by our Government.

The letters from Gwalior afford a picture of the condition of that state, which is scarcely susceptible of permanent amendment, except by the interposition of a foreign power, for its domestic distractions are irremediable by the crippled authority and feeble influence of the ruler. It appears that the letter from the British Government, proposing to interpose in restoring the affairs of the state to order, and coercing the refractory army, was debated at repeated durbars by the Bhae and her sirdars, on one occasion amounting to a hundred. On the 7th December, they came to a resolution, that "either the Dada Khasgee must be given up to the British, and Mama Sahib recalled and appointed minister, or that preparations must be made for resistance; if the latter, that the army be drawn up near the Chumbul, on the banks of the Motee Jeel, and Dada Khasgee must be sent for and at once appointed chief minister." An answer, in the spirit of the latter alternative, is said to have been sent, and letters were addressed to all the Boondela chiefs, and also to the princes of Rajwarra, stating "that, as the British authorities had, contrary to existing treaties, determined on taking forcible possession of Gwalior, the Bhae hoped they would assist the Sirkar like faithful allies; for, if they did not join to resist oppression, the day would come when they would be treated in the same manner." Upon being informed that a large army was assembling at Agra, with the design of attacking Gwalior, the magniloquent sirdars declared that "their minds were made up, and that they were prepared for every emergency!" This seems to have been the sentiment of the army, which, mutinous and insolent, was kept in the interest of the Khasgee by the liberal promises of his agents. The whole Lushkur was at this time in the greatest confusion, embarrassment, and perplexity, and a general revolution and rebellion was hourly anticipated.

On the 15th December, however, notwithstanding the vapouring of the sirdars, the Dada Khasgee was sent off to Dhoulpore, by

direction of the Bhae, who told the troops that "it was her wish, for the security of her dominions." He arrived at Dhoulpore on the 17th, and was there delivered over to Sir R. Shakespear, who sent him immediately to the Governor-General's camp.

The last direct report from Gwalior is dated on the day above mentioned, the 15th December, and details the particulars of the surrender of the Khasgee :—

The following officers were summoned to the durbar :—Colonel Jacob, Bapoo Seetoleea, Moonshee Bulwunt Rao, Mullagee, Tanteea Bakra, with others. They were informed that they were assembled to give a definite answer to the *khurreetah* received (from Agra) the previous day. The *khurreetah* having been handed to Bulwunt Rao, it was opened by him, and having been read and duly considered, her highness addressed the assembled sirdars to the effect, "that, on due consideration of every point," it was better to give up the Dada Khasgee than suffer the evils which must result from a refusal. Should there be any amongst them averse to the measure of surrender, they had better proceed at once to the Chumbul, and offer resistance ; but they might rely on being thoroughly punished." On hearing this declaration, Colonel Jacob and Bapoo Seetoleea agreed, and the result was communicated to Sekunder Sahib, with a message that, if he was not willing to agree, he had better take his forces off to the Chumbul. He replied, he should not interfere with the surrender of the Khasgeewalla, and he might be sent wherever her highness pleased. The consultation lasted three hours. Bulwunt Rao was ordered to write that Dada Khasgee had this day been sent towards Agra, under an escort, and would soon reach that place. The Dada was subsequently ordered to be brought from the camp of Colonel Jacob in a palkee, and placed in charge of fifty suwars, with orders to march forthwith to Agra. No opposition whatever was attempted on his departure. A number of inhabitants were standing on the gates of the burrah, and venting abuse on Ram Rao Phalkeea, Sumbajee, Bapoo Seetoleea, and Colonel Jacob, for having brought about so disgraceful a concession. The wife and children of the Dada gave vent to great lamentations on the occasion.

The Governor-General had arrived at Agra on the 11th December, and his arrival was the signal for the advance of the army. One division marched on the 12th, the other on the 15th, and the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by the Governor-General, was to have followed immediately after his arrival at Agra. It is said that the Bhae's vakeels, who were received by the Governor-General at Agra on the 13th, were told by his lordship that the terms of peace would be settled under the walls of Gwalior.

Thus, we may consider that the state of the great Scindea is now virtually incorporated with the British territories, though it is

assumed by some of the papers that we are merely to "subsidize the country," and thereby leave it to "remediless misgovernment." In that of the rival Mahratta state, the installation or inauguration of the young successor to the late Hurree Rao Holkar, at Indore, occurred on the 13th November, without the slightest attempt at disturbance, though something of the kind seems to have been anticipated, to judge by the precautionary measures adopted by the resident, Sir Claude Wade.

The intelligence from Scinde would be satisfactory if it did not tell of the continuance of sickness amongst the troops, for the country is peaceable and the people appear to be contented under our rule. The fever has been succeeded by dysentery, which has so reduced the men, that, although the sickness had abated, the mortality increased, and the cold weather, instead of restoring health, had carried off numbers. The Bombay papers represent that, in Upper Scinde, there were 2,774 men in hospital; at Sukkur, out of 3,600 men, only 360 were fit for duty. The *Bombay Times* says that the detachment stationed at Shikarpore was utterly unable to offer any resistance if attacked, and the wealth of that place is likely to tempt an attack. A Calcutta paper,* advertizing to the gloomy aspect which this intelligence holds out of our new acquisition, observes:—

We have conquered the Beloochees, and obtained possession of a deadly swamp. For three months past, our accounts from thence present but one unvaried picture of sickness and mortality. The inundation of the Indus seems to abstract from animal existence as much vigour as it imparts to vegetable life. As soon as our struggles with the last of the chiefs ended, our struggle with the climate commenced, in which we have been as much humbled as we were previously triumphant. If this state of things was likely to be transient, there might be room for exercising the virtues of patience and hope; but there is every reason to believe that the unhealthy season will come round annually, with as much regularity as the inundation of the Indus, and that the country will always prove most deleterious to the European and Indian constitution. There does not appear at present any hope of our being able to hold the country, except at an immense sacrifice of health and life; or of our having much time to spare, from the cares of self-preservation, for the amelioration of the people or the improvement of the country.

The affairs of Afghanistan seem to be in a plight more favourable to the sirdars than has been represented. The Meer Wullee of Khooloom had arrived at Cabul, and had proffered his good offices to reconcile Dost Mahomed Khan and the King of Bokhara, with

whom the Wullee had been suspected (though without reason) of being secretly leagued against his former friend, the sirdar of Cabul. The rumour of the advance of the King of Bokhara into Affghanistan seems to be groundless. Morad Beg, the chief of Koondooz, was expected at Cabul. A curious fact is mentioned in one of the communications from that city, namely, that the mother of Mahomed Ukhbar Khan has committed the care of her younger children to one Kurreem Khan, who studied English at Loodeeana, and was at one time in the service of Sir A. Burnes, with the view of obtaining for them an English education. She has caused a proclamation to be made, requesting all persons who might have any English books, left from the plunder of the kafirs in Cabul, to bring them to her. It is added, that Dost Mahomed has ordered the sons to be dressed in the English fashion. The Candahar sirdars seemed to be in close and confidential communication with the Dost. An ambassador from the court of Persia was said to be as far as Candahar, on his way to pay his respects at Cabul. A collision had taken place, at Herat, between the sons of Shah Kamran (assisted by the nephews of the wuzeer) and Yar Mahomed.

There is nothing in the domestic incidents of the different presidencies which need to arrest our attention. The "agitation"—to use a word which is now adopted into our political vocabulary—upon the subject of steam-communication with India has recommenced at Calcutta and Madras, where memorials have been agreed to at public meetings in favour of the direct line of communication between Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, and Suez. The navigation of the Ganges seems to be making rapid progress. A new court has been established at Calcutta for hearing and determining causes of small amount, superseding the Court of Requests. The transit duties are about to be abolished throughout the Madras territories,—why they should have been retained there, after those in Bengal had ceased to exist, is somewhat difficult to understand. At Bombay, a young Hindu having been baptized, the leading Brahmins had determined to withhold their children from the schools of the General Assembly, and to prevent all who are under their influence from sending their children there.

The advices from China state that great activity prevails in trade, particularly the coasting trade, and that, to the northward, the state of Chinese feeling towards the British is most favourable. A destructive fire had broken out at Canton, which destroyed the Danish and Spanish Hongs, and a portion of the French: the British Consulate was burnt out, but the papers were saved. The supplemen-

tary treaty was signed by the Imperial Commissioner and Sir Henry Pottinger on the 9th October. An abstract of its provisions has been published, and they appear highly favourable. The malignant Hong-kong fever has carried off Major Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat. A new and melancholy feature has developed itself in this dire disease, namely, insanity.

The most remarkable incident in the intelligence received from the East during the past month is the cool seizure of the Society Islands by a French squadron, and the deposal of the native sovereign. To be sure, the British nation is not exactly in a condition at the present moment to exhibit decently the indignation it must naturally feel at such an instance of usurpation, whilst the Scinde question is under discussion. Facts, however, are facts.

It appears that, on the 4th November, the French admiral, Dupetit Thouars, with a squadron of vessels of war, arrived in the Bay of Papaiti, at Tahiti, and next morning the following "order" appeared, in style very like the orders of Napoleon:—

The vice-admiral in command of the station of the Pacific Ocean informs the commanding officers and crews of the vessels in the roads of Papaiti, that the Queen Pomare refusing obstinately to recognize the treaty concluded on the 9th of September, 1842, and ratified by his Majesty Louis Philippe, he is compelled to declare that the Queen Pomare has ceased to reign over the Society Islands and their inhabitants, and to take possession of the islands in the name of the King of France.

The circumstances which led to this act are described in a letter from the squadron, published in the French papers, with so much acrimony and vindictive feeling towards the English, that it is scarcely possible to divest ourselves of a suspicion that there is some nationality of feeling in the matter. However, the result was that, Queen Pomare, refusing (according to the Frenchman's account), by the advice of Mr. Pritchard, the English consul, to strike her flag at her palace, and yield to the demands made upon her, "200 artillery and marines were landed, with 300 or 400 sailors, and surrounded the queen's house, in which every thing was silent. The flag of Pomare was removed. M. Aubigny, the governor of Tahiti, exclaimed, 'Officers, soldiers, and sailors, and you inhabitants of these islands, to whom we bring justice and peace, in the name of the king our august master, I take possession of this country. We shall all be content to die for the defence of the glorious tri-coloured flag. Hoist the flag.' This order was executed amidst the rolling of the drums and the cries of '*Vive le Roi!*'"

THE CHIEFTAIN'S DAUGHTER; A TALE OF RAJPOOTANA.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

It was a shrine of Kaniya, that form of the Indian Apollo which, the sun-god having taken it while mirth and music formed his sole pursuits, finds especial favour with the Hindu maidens, who, from their lyric songs, have gleaned some of the romance and poetry which hang about the legends of their compassionate and pastoral deity.

The fane itself, too, was very graceful, and well calculated to excite admiration among the radiant Krishna's worshippers, being of pure white marble, and in its ornaments free from any of those grotesque deformities frequent on the temples of the East, while the scene in which it stood possessed that quiet sylvan beauty, ever supposed to be the aspect of nature beloved by the youthful deity. Rich groves of tamarind and peepul trees sheltered the temple from the noontide blaze, while a glittering stream now reflected their wavering shadows, and again crept tremblingly away among the densest foliage, there only to be traced by its quiet murmurings against the shining pebbles or tangling flowers that seemed to oppose its course. Bounding the sweet vale that I have thus endeavoured to describe, was a chain of rocky hills, tinged with rosy hues of evening light, which threw into strong relief the outlines of many a fortress, such as were necessary to protect the Rajpoot princes and their followers at a period in their history when dissention was common, ambition great, and even the darkest crimes were regarded as venial when the object to be gained was considered worth the desperate game the chieftains played for. The horrors induced, however, by this aggressive system, whatever shape they may have taken, were confined to the open country, or to the harems and dungeons of the forts, for to the grove of Kaniya they never could penetrate. Affording the right of sanctuary, no blood could there be shed, no sacrifice be offered, but that of flowers and incense, for the pastoral god of India, delighting in smiles and melody, suffers neither cruelty nor austerity to approach his shrine.

Perhaps it was this attractive character of the sun-god's fane which had now led hither one of the fairest of his votaries ; or there may have been another yet more pressing reason, which the progress of my tale may shew ; but at the time I would describe, a lovely Hindu girl, weaving a wreath of mogree and chumpā blossoms, stood by the altar of Kaniya. She was very young, and seemed as if animated by the peculiar happiness known only to the young and pure, for a soft smile was on her lip, and a bright light in her eye, and her cheek had the freshness of a new-blown flower ere the noontide heat or the evening shower has touched its beauty ; while every line of her form, as she gently bent, sometimes to raise a blossom that had fallen on the marble pavement, sometimes to note the effect of her labour, proved that the beautiful Komari acknowledged no tutoress of grace but the nature that she worshipped, and while the feathered songsters of the grove in-

structed her to imitate their sweetest melodies, her elastic step and undulating movements owed nothing of their charm to art.

The lady thus stood alone in Kaniya's fane entwining her white and amber-coloured wreath, while the perfume of the scattered flowers surrounded her like incense. Her attire was simple, and her ornaments tasteful, rather than gorgeous or encumbering. It might have been difficult, therefore, to have guessed her rank, but that through the distant trees might be seen camels richly caparisoned, with horsemen, palankeens, and a goodly train of picturesquely-attired followers, such as wait only on the princes of that land : but at Kaniya's shrine, the lady Komari needed no protection, nor did she even seek any companion, but him who now approached, and for whom apparently she lingered there.

The stranger was also young, and attired in priestly robes ; but, as the quick ear of the maiden caught the sound of his step from behind the altar, she turned, and cast her arms tenderly around him.

" Ah ! my brother," she exclaimed, " chide me not that I sought thee thus at Kaniya's shrine ; soon shall we be parted, and well you know how, in the retirement of the rawula (harem), I long for the sweet air and bright world around me, and how doubly sweet do both become, Jowanda, when enjoyed with those we love."

Kaniya's priest smiled fondly on the speaker, but, as he replied, there was an earnestness in his manner, scarcely warranted, perhaps, by what had passed. " Dear Komari ! it is strange that I, thy brother only by one parent, and she not of the royal race, should yet so nearly resemble thee in taste, as 'tis said we do in feature. For, though I were offered fortresses and lands, power and influence, as the legitimate son of my honoured father, I would far rather hear the minars chattering among the boughs of yonder grove, than the wisest counsellors in his highness's durbar, and the sweet cooing of the wood-doves to the clash of arms that could gain for me a throne. But tell me, dear Komari, is it true, that our father has entertained the suit of the young rajah of Jeitpoor, and that the prince even now is encamped near the city, about to claim you as his bride ; and are you content, my sister, that this should be ?"

For a moment, a bright blush spread over the fair brow of the beautiful Komari ; but, as it again faded to the tender tint whose native hue ever lingered on her cheek, the maiden rested one hand upon her brother's arm, and, still holding the mogree-wreath loosely in the other, she fixed her bright eye on the distant grove, and softly answered : " Yes, Jowanda, I am content ; for 'tis my noble father's wish, and this surely is enough. Think what love his was, my brother, who, in direct opposition to our Rajpoot laws, which command to the tomb the infant daughters of our noble houses, reared me with tender care to look abroad upon the sweet earth, to note its beauties, to feel its truth, and to be loved by all I love. Is not my life due to him who thus has saved me, and is not all obedience but poor payment for such a debt ?" " You are good, as you are fair, sweet sister," returned Jowanda, ten-

derly ; "but tell me, feel you aught like love for your affianced husband?" "Love!" returned the fair girl, turning her full dark eyes upon her brother's face; "oh! no. How is it possible to love that which we know not? They say the prince is young and noble, a warrior, and generous; but I can love that only which from my childish years has been ever with me; I love my mother, father, yourself, the companions of my sports; yes, and the bright flowers, with their fragrant breath, that bring with it sweet thoughts; the birds, that seek to answer me so gratefully with their harmony of speech; and even the twinkling stars, so full of mystery and beauty, that I could gaze on them for ever, dreading the envious dawn that hides them from my view:—all these, my brother, love I as dearly as my life; but the rajah!—oh no, no! Jowanda, I do not love the rajah."

"But yet," inquired Jowanda, anxiously, "you hate him not, sweet sister; you do not fear your marriage?" "Why should I hate him, dear Jowanda?" was the reply. "They say the prince will love me, and the whole world seems so full of goodness, that the prince may be even more noble than all I can imagine him. But give me now, my brother, the blessing I have come to seek, for I have lingered here too long, and my people will grow impatient." "I will bestow on thee, sweet sister," replied the priest, "a talisman more powerful in guarding thee from harm than even a brother's blessing. I have a lotus-flower, gathered by the sun-god on the banks of the blue Yamuna; stay but a while, and I will bring it thee with speed; the servants are well entertained, and will not note thy absence."

A moment had scarce elapsed, after the departure of the priest, when a rustling sound was heard among the trees around the fane, and a warrior, fully armed, and of most princely bearing, sprang from his charger, and, rapidly ascending the marble steps, stood before the maiden. Unused to the presence of men, unless that of her immediate relatives, Komari started at the coming of the stranger, and looking anxiously around her, blushed deeply, seeming as if about to fly; but again she raised her eyes, and that which met her gaze gave promise rather of security than cause for fear. The stranger was young and eminently handsome; slight in figure, yet firmly knit, as if trained to athletic exercises from his youth; and although his eyes were now beaming with the gentlest feelings, one well versed in the expressions of the human countenance would have noted, that there was that in their depths which times might animate with a bold defiance, before which even the bravest in the land would quail.

Perhaps there is a sympathy between the gentleness of woman, seeking protection, and that manly courage which is willing and powerful to yield it; but certain it is, that the maiden now felt little disposed to fly; and when the youth, in apologetic tone, told her that, wearied by the heat and tedium of a journey, he had sought Kaniya's shrine for rest and shelter, and craved her pardon, believing, as he said, that the retainers grouped together in the grove were those of the prince her father, whom he had once served with in the wars with Scindiah, the

maiden blushed and smiled, and readily forgave him, when, as her brother's step was heard returning, she suffered the stranger to press his lip upon her hand, and reproached him not ; neither did she betray him, for when the priest returned, he found Komari still weaving alone her fragrant wreath, and although the distances of the flowers were no longer well preserved, and the circle had become an oblong, Jowanda did not note it, nor how coldly she received the talisman, nor how hurriedly she left him and sought her palankeen. As she did so, however, Komari glanced stealthily around, and her eye well noted a mounted warrior spurring towards the hills, nor were her attendants slow to do the same ; but, as some pointed to the flying horseman, a cry arose of " Look, look ! see you the prince ? it is the Jeitpoor Rajah, on his famous Arab Suleiman."

Komari heard, and, casting herself back in her palankeen, yielded to a dream of happiness which, if the anticipation of secure and gratified love *can* give joy to the human heart, made this fair girl's complete.

In a crimson tent, guarded on all sides by his feudal adherents, and patrolled by small bands of mercenary soldiery, sat prince Zalim, and before him, with haughty mien and angry brow, stood the chelah, or confidential adviser of Sangram Singh, whose hosts, to the extent of some five thousand men, had encamped but a few miles distant. The chelah, or messenger of Sangram, was a pattern of his class ; ambitious and intriguing ; treacherous to those who trusted him, but cringing to the dust before his master. As a Pathan soldier of low origin, the favouritism of a tyrant had raised him to the position he held, and as he now stood in his quilted robe of gold brocade, with a rich Cashmere shawl about his waist, and a jewelled fillet securing his long glossy hair, there was a truculence in his bearing that would have better suited the lowest mercenary engaged upon a foray, than the favourite and adviser of a Rajpoot noble.

There had evidently been a pause in the conversation between the Prince Zalim and the accredited negotiator of Sangram Singh, and angry defiance marked the bearing of each ; but at length the envoy, as if weary of waiting for the occasion of that offence which it had been his object to excite, inquired, resting as he did so on the jewelled pommel of his sword, as if addressing his inferior, " The king my master waits for a reply, and his messenger proposes to bear back that which may be given him."

The prince started, and gazed at the speaker, with flashing eyes, a flushed brow, and a gesture of angry scorn, as his grasp stole involuntarily on the cross-handled creeze or dagger worn in his cummerbund ; but he checked his rising violence, and, after a moment's apparent struggle, calmly replied, " There is in thy words a tone of insolence in ill-keeping with thy office, and a manner well deserving chastisement ; but it is thy master's arrogance, and not thine, that should excite my anger ; state, therefore, again, as briefly as thou canst, what are his demands."

"The king my master," replied the chelah, twisting the long ends of his wiry moustache, as he threw a quick and triumphant glance around, at which the swords of more than one of the adherents of Prince Zalim were half-drawn from their scabbards, "the king my master demands that you withdraw at once your accepted claim to the hand of the daughter of the Rana Umra, and retire with your followers from the province." "And by what right does Sangram Singh demand this at my hands?" inquired the prince haughtily. "By that right," answered the chelah, with a sneer curling his lip, "that all Rajpoot warriors acknowledge; the power to enforce his will; but, as in this instance the king deigns to give you a reason for its exercise, he bids me say, that the hand of the Princess Komari was promised to his predecessor ere her father dared pledge his word to spare her infant life; and the king adds, that if his claim is disregarded, he will not only reduce your fortress to the dust, but, abandoning the regal crimson of your tent, he will cause you to fly before his face, and every warrior of Jeitpoor shall fall upon our swords."

Prince Zalim, who had laboured to restrain his passion up to the moment when the messenger would pause, now started again from his cushions, and fixing on the chelah a look of withering scorn, exclaimed, "Begone, thou slave of an unworthy master! did I drag thee over yonder plain at my horse's heels, as would a Moslem noble, or command that thou shouldest be blown from our nearest gun, thy punishment would be less than thy insolence deserves. But go, tell thy master that Zalim Singh defies him, and will keep the lustre of his honour bright; moreover, that he will not strike a tent to pleasure him, until he marches into the city to meet his bride, and in that day, let Sangram look to it, that he oppose him not." Then, turning to the warriors who stood around, "Escort," said he, "in safety this loud-tongued slave to the camp of Sangram Singh, and, as you go, command that the escort set forth at once with the marriage-gifts designed for the rawula of the Rana Umra."

The tent was soon cleared, but the last warrior had scarcely disappeared from the *kanāt*, when Ajit, the young and favourite brother of Zalim, laid his hand upon the prince's sleeve. "Beware," he said, "my brother. Sangram is powerful and impetuous, his hosts are numerous, and his wealth is unbounded. The Rana Umra is in fact his vassal, and will not dare to refuse him his alliance at any cost. Is it not better, then, to waive your claim, and return to Jeitpoor, than to bathe this fair land in blood, and bring destruction on the Rana and his family?"

"Ajit," replied the prince, "think you that, as a Rajpoot warrior, I could bear the insolent scoffs of yonder chief, and not teach him in return the temper of our steels? And is Zalim Singh to suffer the pangs of mortified expectation and of disappointed hopes, while he is girt round with faithful nobles and brave friends, eager to do him right, simply because his enemies demand it? And again, Ajit; were I base

enough for this and even more, I love the daughter of the Rana Umra, and have sworn by Kaniya's shrine, that the man lives not who shall tear her from my arms." Prince Ajit smiled. "Nay, Zalim," he exclaimed, "this is mere folly ; we Rajpoot suitors, whose lady-loves are shaded from our eyes by the lattices of the rawula, if we love at all, must love the production of our own imaginations, a passion easily managed, I should think ; there are few among the princes of this land who would not gladly seek the alliance of the Rajah of Jeitpoor ; so 'tis but setting your fancy in another key, my brother, and the melody produced will please as well. Fortune may have interfered in this matter to save you from a shrew, and as you follow as blindly as she is said to lead, trust her, and take her warnings."

"You speak wisely, Ajit, though somewhat, perhaps, in jest ; nor is Zalim Singh wont to dream of beauty when he should be girding on his sword for war. We Rajpoots have no fabled houris, as the Moslems have, to urge them on to deeds of blood ; but for the daughter of the Rana, it is no dream ; I have seen her, Ajit, and the memory of her grace and beauty animated me like the war-cry of our race. Urge me no more, then, for I have sworn that Komari shall be my bride."

The rawula of the Rana Umra was rife with mirth and joy. The rich carpet in the apartment of the fair Komari was strewn with the costly presents of her affianced husband, and the slave-girls, who were gathered round them, had expatiated for hours on their surpassing beauties, nor were they yet wearied of the theme. The pearls were, they decided, the largest ever seen, the *kinkarubs* the richest and most glittering, the shawls the softest of the Cashmere looms, the *attar* and *golau panee* (rose-water) unequalled in all Persia. Yet, while this display of female gratification was at its height, with bright eyes beaming and sweet lips smiling delighted approval of those gauds which, it is supposed, most surely win the hearts of women, the Princess Komari knelt at her mother's feet, and with her fair face bent upon the knee of the Baji Bhye, remained forgetful of all but her filial gratitude and approaching joy.

"My child," replied the Ranee, in answer to some tender words addressed to her by Komari, "you are about to leave the home of thy youth for the harem of a stranger ; yet not a shade of grief attends the change. Thou wert our first-born, and, at my frantic prayer, thy noble father, even against the usages of his house and the express laws of his tribe, spared thy infant life. Even now I seem to feel again the terror, the doubt, of that fearful hour when the opium, already blended with nature's earliest draught, awaited but the Rana's signal to close the sweet eyes so lately opened to heaven's light ; but, at length, the stern purpose of the Rajpoot chief melted before the husband's tenderness, and thou wert spared. But, alas ! ere three hot seasons had passed away, the dread of scorn, the fear of what might be thy fate, urged again the sacrifice ; but as thy father sat with his bared sword across his knee, meditating the deed which he thought had become necessary

to save his honour, upon the death of the prince to whom thou wert betrothed, thou, sweet child, stole to his side, and, with a soft caress, smiled at and played with the glittering weapon intended for thy destruction. I had followed stealthily, vowed not to outlive my babe ; but I saw a tear fall upon the blade, and, sheathing his sword in haste, thy father blest and bade thee live." Komari listened, and as the Ranee paused, she raised her streaming eyes towards her mother's, and cast herself upon her bosom.

From this seeming trance of tenderness, however, both were soon aroused by exclamations of surprise from the startled slave-girls, who suddenly rose from the ground, in some alarm, as the Rana Umra advanced into the apartment. The Ranee and her daughter rose immediately to meet him ; but the Baji Bhye, reading strange matters on her husband's countenance, paused suddenly, while the blood forsook her cheek and her lip trembled. The fair Komari, however, saw only on her father's face the necessity for counsel or consolation, and resting her hand upon his arm, she gazed tenderly on his agitated countenance. At her touch, however, the Rana started, with a recoiling gesture, putting aside her hand, and then he gazed on her with the fascinated gaze of one who endeavours to recal the memory of some olden tale, whose characters seem interwoven with the lineaments of one who may have been an actor in the drama, and then, with a heavy sigh, such as are known only to the remorseful and the guilty, the Rana passed on, and stood by the pile of precious stuffs.

"Take hence these gauds," commanded he, addressing the trembling slave-girls in a voice whose tone seemed strangely hoarse and unnatural to the ear ; "take them hence, and bear them to those who wait without. The marriage of the Princess Komari with the Jeitpoor Rajah is at an end, and his servants and his camels must bear back the marriage-gifts."

Komari heard no more ; a crowd of busy images rushed over the brain, leaving no distinct impression ; a film fell on her sight, strange sounds seemed floating in the air, and the maiden sunk, heartstricken and insensible, at her father's feet. The slave-girls gathered round their mistress, and bore her from the apartment ; and then it was that the Rana drew near his trembling wife, and told her of the claim advanced by Sangram Singh, and of the fearful feud between the princely suitors. "My power, my throne, my life," he added, "are all in the hands of Sangram Singh. The Jeitpoor prince obstinately persists on his right by acceptance, and blood has been already spilled on every side. I am contemned by all my nobles ; the curse of my disobedience to my country's laws is working my destruction, and I can even now see the sneer of the princes of Rajpootana on the downfall of the chief who saved his daughter's life, but to dye his land in blood, and lay it desolate."

As he spoke, the Rana's head drooped low upon his breast, and with arms folded across it, he seemed to abandon himself to despair.

His miserable wife gazed on him long and anxiously, trembling at

the pause, yet finding in herself no reason to advance in solace of the agony both felt. After a while, however, with low-toned voice and deep emotion, she gently murmured, "Alas! alas! unstable are all our hopes, as dew upon the lotus-buds, and unhappily, my lord, Komari loves this Jeitpoor rajah. Yet still, doubt not, she well knows her duty as a Rajpoot maiden, and never will she oppose thy will that she should wed the powerful Sangram Singh. Wait but, my lord, until the first terrible surprise is past, and all will yet be well ;—our country be restored to peace, your honour spared, our child made happy. Force will have compelled you to break your contract with Prince Zalim, and the same power will protect you against the violence of his disappointment."

As the Rance commenced speaking, the king raised his eyes and gazed on her so intently, that it seemed as if every word that passed her lips had power to agitate the listener ; and so indeed it was, for he watched to catch if it were but one word of hope, the shadow even of a thought that could bring a reprieve to his intense despair ; but yet it came not, and when the Baji Bhye had ended, her husband again sighed heavily, his eyes fell upon the ground, and a still more terrible pause ensued. The poor mother thought that any decision, even the most terrible, so that it ended this agonizing suspense, had been merciful ; but she ceased so to think when the Rana fixed his fierce glance upon her face, and hoarsely muttered, "Woman! at thy prayer this girl was saved ;—saved, to work ruin upon her land, despair and destruction upon her family. The council will decide her fate, but *remember*, whatever that may be, I am no longer an erring, misled father, but a Rajpoot noble, firm to defend his honour and his name!"

Alas! alas! it was a land where mercy for hapless women found no place in the councils of her masters. The rival princes refused to withdraw their claims, the Rana was threatened with a war of extermination, and one means alone remained by which to save himself from dishonour, and his country from destruction ; and this dark path was chosen.

The chief apartment of the rawula, so late the scene of joyous preparation, was now silent, and deserted by all but the hapless maiden who was so late its brightest ornament. It is true, that, from without, the sunbeams still played among the fragrant blossoms that hung about the lattices ; the bulbuls still warbled their soft love-notes in the chumpu grove, and nature smiled as gaily as she was wont to do ; but man's passions had marred all peace, all hope, all joy within, and desolation followed on his steps.

Upon a pile of cushions, her delicate robe of soft white muslin draped around her graceful form, and her face half-screened by the luxuriant and loosened tresses of the dark hair that fell in masses upon her shoulder, lay the fair Komari, while, from time to time, a deep but broken sigh burst from her lips, as if her effort to constrain it was

still in vain. But she grieved alone ; no attached slaves ministered to her wants, no devoted mother tended the object of her fondest care, but where mirth and tenderness so late had mingled their blithe music, the maiden lay in solitude, trembling, tearful, and broken-hearted. This strange silence had become so hushed and so unbroken, that the slightest sound startled the listener's ear, as it now seemed to act on that of the poor Komari, who suddenly starting from her crouched and motionless position, encountered the sorrowful gaze of Krishna's priest bent full upon her. With a slight exclamation of surprise, the maiden extended her arms towards him, while heavy tears rolled over her fair cheek, the first she had shed since the defeat of her best hopes.

Jowanda bent towards his sister, and clasped her in his arms ; but as Komari felt the straining fervour of his embrace, and the hot tears that mingled with her own, she started back, and tremblingly inquired : " Ah ! there must be some new terror to affect thee thus, my brother. Speak—tell me : why am I thus alone—why have I thus passed long hours communing with my own sad thoughts, while my dear mother and kind companions solace me no more ? " " Alas ! sweet sister," replied Jowanda, " have none told thee, then—none prepared thee for thy sentence ? Knowest thou not that the assembled chiefs have doomed thee to destruction, and that mine, as no common hand, was armed for the deed of horror ? Komari ! thy loveliness and sorrow have unnerved me. I came hither, urged by the compelling sense of duty to my race and family, but thus do I now abandon my murderous design, cursing the serpent-tongues that won me to accept the charge ; " and so saying, the priest disengaged a poignard from his girdle, and hurled it through the open window of the apartment.

The maiden started, then clung to her brother's arm, and gazed wildly in his face ; but soon the truth flashed on her puzzled senses ; then, disengaging herself from the priest's support, and leaning against the lattice of the apartment, with a gasping voice she exclaimed :—" Ah ! is it so ? Death ! It is very terrible ; and I must prepare for a fate that, I thank the gods, comes not from a brother's hand. Leave me, dear Jowanda, and be sure that, when you hear Komari weeps no more, she met her doom as a Rajpoot maiden, worthy of her race."

The brother listened. He saw the light of heroic purpose beam from her eye ; the beautiful resignation of filial obedience stealing over her face ; and, overcome with tenderness and grief, he hid his face in the folds of his ample robe, and hurried from the apartment.

Again Jowanda stood in the council of the princes, and to their inquiring glances he thundered forth denunciations of ruin and destruction to all who plotted against his sister's life. " Woe, woe ! " he cried, " to the land and to the prince whose safety is so purchased. The curse of Krishna is on them and on all who put forth their hand against the innocent and pure. The princess Komari is the favourite of the sun-god, who has bestowed upon her a talisman of rare virtue, and he who seeks her injury shall perish by no common means : the lips of his priest have spoken it."

Jowanda left the palace, and hurried forth to cast himself in prayer at Krishna's shrine ; but the fiat of the council had gone forth, and his words availed nothing. Poison, in the many shapes known in an Eastern harem, was soon tried, but the pure system of their intended victim repelled the means, or acted as their antidote, and still the helpless maiden lived in doomed solitude ; while her frantic mother, confined to a distant chamber, poured forth maniacal ravings against the destroyers of her child.

Hours had passed away—those long, long hours, in which the heart receives no comfort—and days—every one of which is as a century of endurance to the brain oppressed with thought—yet still Komari sat with closed eyes, calmly awaiting the doom which she now prayed might speedily arrive. Her cheek had lost its roundness, her eye its light. She had contemplated death so long, that she had ceased to desire to live, and no other emotion was apparent but the flickering smile which hovered on her cheek, when a new footstep was heard approaching her apartment. This was apparent now, as a slave—an aged woman, one whom Komari had scarcely noted in the *rawula*—approached, bearing in her hand a jewelled cup, from which a strange and lulling odour pervaded the apartment. “My child,” she whispered, bending towards the maiden, “your eye is feverish, your cheek flushed ; you have need of rest ; drink this potion, prepared from the finest herbs ; you will sleep soundly, and know no grief.”

The maiden took the proffered cup, and rising as she did so, replied : —“True ; I much need rest, both for my heart and brain, and the *kusumba* draught will surely fail me not. Bear, I charge thee, to my father my humble reverence, and tell him that I fear not death, but rather thank him for ending thus my sorrows. He gave me life, and has full right to reclaim it at my hands. From my birth was I marked for sacrifice, and I thank him that I have lived so long. I gratefully accept the bridegroom he ordains, and bow my head to his command.”

“So saying, the maiden raised the jewelled cup, and drained it to its dregs ; but, having done so, it fell suddenly from her grasp, as a clash of arms resounded through the harem, and Prince Zalim, rushing into the apartment, clasped Komari in his arms. “You are saved, sweet one,” he cried, “you are saved ! the palace is ours ! but we must fly at once, for the hosts of Sangram are upon us.” He paused, but as he did so, a shrill laugh broke upon his ear, and, starting back, his glance fell upon the fiend-like countenance of the aged slave, who pointed exultingly to the fallen cup. Zalim snatched it from the ground. “Aye,” he cried, “is this, thrice-cursed hag, thy work—and dost thou triumph in thine infernal office ?” He said no more ; but, seizing the struggling woman in his arms, bore her without, and, casting her from the nearest rampart, watched her fall, down, far down, among the crashing boughs of the darkening foliage, to the lairs of the beasts that prowled below ; and then, returning to the couch of his affianced bride, clasped his arms around her dying form, vainly

beseeking her to bless him with her love. But, alas! in that fond embrace joined the enemy whom none could baffle; and so it was, that when the soldiers of Sangram Singh forced their way into the harem of the Rana Umra (as soon they did), defiance met them even there, even from that couch where lay the Jeitpoor Rajah, Zalim Singh, with his fair bride, the beautiful Komari, united by the bonds of death!

The Rajah Sangram Singh withdrew his hosts, and the land was left in peace; but its prince was a heart-stricken man, aged before his time, and desolate in the palace of his fathers. He gave alms freely, and mostly so to the priestly class who ministered at the richly-sculptured mausoleum, where, night and day, burned vases of perfumed oil before the last resting-place of his murdered child and of her broken-hearted mother.

GHAAZEL OF HAFIZ.

"ONCE more comes the Spring, with flowers in her train;"
 'Tis the voice of the soul from its mansion, the brain;
 "Then banish your sorrows, ye mortals, and learn
 To welcome again this sweet season's return!"
 The moments speed past us; O wait not the morrow,
 The gloom of the winter suffices for sorrow;
 Be joyous each heart; be as joyous as mine,
 Sell your carpets,* my comrades, to purchase some wine!
 Now flutter the zephyrs, with odorous wing,
 And their whispers invite us to revel in spring;
 Whilst nothing is wanting to perfect my bliss,
 But the lips of my fair one,—a rapturous kiss.
 Bring the harp, bring the lute; let not Fortune or Fate
 Cast a shadow of gloom o'er enjoyment so great.
 How transient their frowns, how deceitful their smiles!
 The virtuous are oft-times betrayed by their wiles.
 See the rose is approaching! behold every flower
 Bows its head as she moves to her throne in the bower!
 Like subjects right loyal, let's banquet to-day,
 And with goblets o'erflowing, acknowledge her sway:
 'Twould be strange, when the season of roses has come,
 If a musical bulbul like HAFIZ were dumb!

Ipswich, Dec. 15, 1843.

E. B. COWELL.

* سیاه *i.e.* the carpet on which the Mahomedans kneel when praying.

THE NEILGHERRIES.

Neilgherries, 15th December, 1843.

MY DEAR — ; Well—pray pardon me if I pause thus early in my epistle, in order to assure you that the monosyllable which I have selected to stand at the beginning of this letter is not idly pressed into the service by me, as is the wont of many honest gentlemen now living in the plains, who oftentimes make it the prelude to their diurnal lamentations—there is no word in our vocabulary that so aptly expresses a stranger's satisfaction at finding himself here, after a dozen years' wasting in the plains below. Here, truly, it is no metaphor—"it is well to be here ;" with so many objects of enjoyment courting one's acquaintance, and breathing an atmosphere such as our first parents inhaled in Eden.

So inviting, indeed, is the open air, so gentle the heat of the sun, that almost every visitant of the Hills becomes a sportsman, and, in the pursuit of elk, hog, and deer, unhesitatingly spends the whole day out of doors. Woodcocks are, however, the great attraction ; and no sooner does one shew itself, than all the beaters in the land, who have been on the watch for its arrival, come trooping into the station to report the circumstance to the gentleman who will pay them the highest fee. The bagging of the first bird of the season is to them an epoch held in jubilee, and their happiness is fully participated in by the man to whose gun it falls ; in short, it is incredible the avidity with which the sport is followed, the high rewards paid for intelligence, and the pride felt by those who have shot more than a hundred birds in a season. This year they are reported to be very scarce, and this fact, connected with that of the gradual falling off in their numbers annually, leads one to the belief that they do not migrate, as is supposed, from a distant country, such as Thibet, or the mountains of Africa, but that they are *bonâ-fide* natives of India, and breed in the belt of primeval forest with which the Neilgherries are almost surrounded. The reason why they are less numerous in England than formerly is manifest enough, in the continual progress of draining carried on throughout that country ; but here there is no change of a like nature going on ; the swamps and woods frequented by those birds are just in the same state as they were twenty-five years ago, and are as well able to support a large flight of woodcocks at the present day as they were then. Nor are snipe altogether such insignificant birds as they are in the north ; to be able to say that one has killed the first bird of the season, is to be able to say that which creates intense satisfaction in the bosom of the speaker, and even in the listener. The elk and other large game have been so keenly pursued and indiscriminately massacred, that they are no longer common, and can now only be found in sufficient numbers to attract the sportsman, on the very edges of the hills overlooking the low country. A boar or bear, found skulking in any approachable spot within half-a-dozen miles of Ootacamund, has eaten his last dinner—

his life is not worth an hour's purchase! The animal miscalled jungle-sheep (*cerous muntjac*), notwithstanding the delicious flavour of its flesh, is the only one that has contrived to hold its place; it lives in pairs, is nimble, wary, and shy, to which may be attributed its good luck, and the blank faces of the poachers who go forth to slay it.

You would conclude that the changes of location *et cetera* in the animal kingdom have extended to the human inhabitants of the hills; but, indeed, they have not: the thirst for possessing land on the Neilgherries has been kept in check by the heavy expenses of clearing, building-materials, and other causes. Moreover, the Todahs, Budagahs, and Kotahs have generally kept themselves aloof from Europeans. The last, as you know, are the offal-eaters and musicians, and, therefore, not eligible acquaintances. The Budagahs are Lingayut Hindoos, and therefore not upon visiting terms with us; they do, however, occasionally accept service as shikarees, and many of them are employed as labourers in the mulberry and coffee plantations near Kotagherry. All that can be said of them is, that they are increasing rapidly, and daily bringing more ground under cultivation; but they are just as filthy in person, and inert in mind, and wedded to their ancient customs, as formerly. With regard to the Todahs, it does not seem very clear that the abolition of female infanticide amongst them has led to any very wonderful increase in their numbers since we ousted them out of their lordship five-and-twenty years ago. It is true, one now sees many little damsels skipping about their hamlets; but the population is almost stationary, and I suspect that disorders are more current among them than in the olden time, when they ploughed the first furrow for the Budagah, and received the first-fruits of his field. The men are as dirty as ever, and their wives have acquired a taste for silver ornaments, in place of brass, besides some other tastes not quite so reputable. Both sexes may be winded a mile off, smelling violently of the rancid butter wherewith they anoint their hair, which in the females descends in ringlets on each side of the face, and gives them an appearance half-European, so entirely novel is the mode in India. Their whole appearance, in truth, affords matter for curiosity, since all the speculations that have been hazarded regarding them have not removed the veil under which their origin is concealed. The description of them by the late Capt. Harkness serves to keep alive the subject, as he has left it unsettled, and the travellers' bungalows, between this and Madras, bear witness on their walls to the diversity of opinion that prevails. The favourite one is, that they are Jews; but the following learned couplets, which I found adorning a chunam wall below-stairs, under the modest initial "A," point to another family, scarcely less illustrious:

Wrapt in his chlamys snugly warm,
The Todah strolls about his farm;
He wears a Brutus shock of hair;
Like Romulus, his feet are bare.

He builds his house upon a hill,
 As Romans did, who had the will.
 His house is Roman—and his nose—
 His *caput*—beard—and winter clothes.
 He likes to sit and tell his tales ;
 He loves to have a tree to shade him ;
 And when the summer sun prevails,
 He walks in buff, as nature made him.
 No further go, his tribe to seek—
 Behold his beard, his gown, his beak !
 He stands confess'd a Romish one,
 Dyed black by India's fervent sun.

A.

One would expect to find, with the rage for testing the capabilities of the hills, that some attempts would have been made to disclose their mineral wealth ; but no, the people who have laid out money hereabouts, instead of working in the bowels of the earth, among the beds of salt, lithomarge, and kaolin, have preferred labouring near the surface—the rich, in planting coffee and mulberries ; the poor, in setting potatoes, for the Bombay market, which last yield such a large and certain profit, that I have often wondered how it comes to pass that the Budagahs have not appropriated some of their ground to that purpose. My surprise, has, however, ceased since I learned that, to protect the plants from the night-attacks of porcupines, it would be absolutely necessary to dig a deep trench, and “their forefathers never did this.” The cultivation of mulberries and coffee is likely to increase, especially the last, as it is found to be of a superior quality to that grown in the Mysore, and the expenses, after the first outlay, are inconsiderable, nothing being required beyond a few coolies to keep the ground clear, and a three years' patience ; at the end of that period, the produce is brought to market, and brings a cheering profit. The silk is also, I am told, infinitely finer than that of the plains, and on the sites selected for the rearing of the worms, there are the advantages, not obtainable below, of perennial streams for the irrigation of the trees, and a moderately warm, but not hot, climate for the little spinners. Nor are these all ; it has been proved by experiment, that a difference in altitude of a hundred feet, or the mere difference of aspect, of a spot in the same altitude, occasions a diversity in the quality of the silk, which appears scarcely possible to arise from such apparently trivial causes. It is, however, now perfectly well ascertained, that the locality sheltered from both monsoons, as well as the sea-breeze, and having a considerable elevation above the ocean, is the one best suited to the rearing of the worms, and to the production of a fine colourless silk. The success which has attended the introduction of the coffee and mulberry has not generally extended itself to some other exotics. Among such a variety of climates, there is scarcely a tree which would not flourish ; yet it is only lately that the proper situations have been discovered for the tea,

the deodar, and pines of the Himalayas: the larch, I am disposed to believe, has never been tried, nor have the deciduous oak and cedar. The paradoxical *Acacia Australis*, with its two sets of leaves, seems of all exotics to be the one which has found a home in every aspect, and should its cultivation be proceeded with extensively, a new appearance will soon be given to the Hills.

It is whispered that the Hills have seen the summer of their days, and are not in future to be the resort of the weary as well as the lame; and I confess that appearances carry the probability of the correctness of this rumour: our new Governor has not yet visited the sanatorium, notwithstanding the existence of numerous swamps which require draining, and in spite of the example so prodigally set him by his three immediate predecessors—indeed, their former popularity with the great and *good* is obviously one cause of their present disgrace. The Philistines are upon us for the errors of the past—the prodigal expenditure of money in cutting roads through mountains—the waste of health in the too eager pursuit of game—and the periodical visitations of honourable and reverend gentlemen—have all been cast into the scale together, and have weighed down the patience of Government. And no wonder—such a monstrous deal of sack to a pen’orth of bread, was too much even for the endurance of the Home Government, with its mighty swallow and extraordinary gullibility! The Hills will now be the retreat of the sick—people will come hither to get well instead of, as heretofore, coming here to get sick. The roads, it is true, will soon be impassable, or nearly so; the houses will fall to ruin, and their masters to swearing; supplies will become more expensive, because the demand, and by consequence the competition, will be less; comforts will be fewer, society more dull, and dinners less frequent; but the same bright sun will still gild the sky without scorching the earth; the same cool breeze will prevail; the song of the blackbird and the waving fields of corn will still gladden the ear and eye of the invalid; and last and not least, there will be fewer sportsmen to beat the covers, and to deprive General —— of the game he has loved so long and so *dearly*.

Yours, &c.

J. S.

BIOGRAPHY OF LIVING CHARACTERS.

NO. VI.—LORD STANLEY.

HAVING completed the biographies of all the Presidents of the Board of Control now living, we proceed to perform the same office for those distinguished persons who have been at the head of the colonial department; and first in order, as in dignity, stands the nobleman to whose hands are now intrusted the seals of Secretary of State for the Colonies. Since the days when Pitt and Fox filled the mind of Europe, there has not appeared in the House of Commons a member so remarkable as Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley. He can point to an ancient pedigree and say, with honest pride, I come from the brave and far-descended; but his colleague in office, the heir to the ducal house of Newcastle, can do so with equal effect. He can look back with less noble, though with better understood satisfaction, at the rich rent-roll of his ancestors, entailed upon him and his heirs for ever; but his colleague in office, the great baronet, is also a *millionaire*. He is an accomplished scholar, but the President of the Board of Trade and the head of the Treasury were double first-class men at Oxford, and even the Attorney-General was a senior wrangler at Cambridge. Lord Stanley has “*shunned inglorious ease*,” and toiled at business like a younger brother; but many of his order have done the same, with varying degrees of success. He has brought upon himself a temporary unpopularity, arising from the fact that he, who had belonged to the cabinet of Lord Grey, thought proper to oppose that of Lord Melbourne,—which is as much as to say, he was a Reformer up to a certain point, but would not “*march through Coventry*” with such a corps as the facetious Viscount commanded in those days. Here, however, he is by no means singular. It is true that, to some extent, he changed his politics; but will any one say he stands alone in that feature of his character? or that he is not kept in countenance by a very numerous class of her Majesty’s subjects, in abjuring some of the errors of his early education, and in adopting the prudent resolution of not allowing himself to grow old without the benefits of experience? He is well-read in the history of Europe and thoroughly familiar with the laws and constitution of England; but Lord John Russell has cultivated these branches of knowledge with equal success and greater reputation. No man is more familiar with “*ships, colonies, and commerce*,” but even on the opposition benches may be found, in the person of

Mr. Labouchere, one who at least rivals him in this species of knowledge.

After having thus shortly adverted to the qualities in which Lord Stanley does not greatly surpass his adversaries, his colleagues, or his contemporaries, a rapid view of his public career, and of the circumstances which best illustrate his personal character, will enable the reader to judge for himself respecting those attributes which render Lord Stanley an object of much interest, curiosity, and admiration.

He was born on the 29th of March, 1799 ; he will, therefore, have entered upon his forty-sixth year before this present month of March expires. A celebrated biographer was much in the habit of assuming that every eminent man must have been a precocious child. As that very able writer had been at one time engaged in the business of educating children, we may take for granted that his conclusions were founded upon something like experience ; but as he was chiefly the biographer of poets, we may at the same time be led to suspect that he drew his inferences rather from minds of that class than from general views of human nature. The young poet lisps in numbers ; the juvenile painter disfigures the walls of the nursery with most appalling deformities ; the infantine scream of the future musician is melody itself ; but it rarely happens that the statesman and the orator shine forth in the schoolboy. It is true, then, that history is silent touching the wit or the wisdom, the prudence or the indiscretion, of one who was thirty years ago the young, but now is the elderly, heir to the ancient line of Derby. That he must have been what is called a clever boy, will hardly be doubted ; but that he was by no means an extraordinary child, there is every reason to believe. Whatever may have been the case with respect to his boyhood, it is quite certain that his early youth was highly distinguished. About the time of his going to college, being then in the eighteenth year of his age, he uttered his maiden speech during a public entertainment at Preston. The reader may as well be informed that Preston is a large manufacturing town in Lancashire ; that the law courts of that "county Palatine" are held there ; that in old times many of the county families were accustomed to keep houses and spend their winters in Preston, as if it were a sort of northern metropolis : and thus it acquired its name of proud Preston. Now, the Prestonians are not only proud of themselves and their town, but remarkably conceited about their taste and judgment in matters oratorical ; for being what used to be called a pot-walloping borough, the suffrages of the electors

were solicited at various times by demagogues of no small eminence, amongst the more recent of whom were William Cobbett, Henry Hunt, and Colonel Thompson—*cum multis aliis*. This circumstance, combined with the forensic displays of the local bar, made the people of Preston think that they were as good judges of oratory as they unquestionably are of cotton-twist; hence they give great encouragement to the art of speech-making; and, like the world in general, they have no objection to eloquence being preceded by a good dinner. On some such occasion as this, Lord Stanley, being then a beardless youth, was called on to return thanks, or propose a toast. The exhibition was like the *debüt* of a young Roscius. The critics—and *there*, almost all are critics—were on the tiptoe of expectation, while the radicals hoped that the young aristocrat would look silly and break down. But every sentence he uttered drew thunders of applause; he was easy, natural, unaffected, earnest, but yet juvenile. The people of Preston evinced their judgment and good feeling by unqualified and universal plaudits.

At that time, the late Earl of Derby was alive; the subject of this memoir was, therefore, known then, and for many years afterwards, as Mr. Stanley. He was, during the usual time, a student at Christ Church, Oxford, and obtained the Latin verse prize in the year 1819. In 1825, he married the Honourable Emma Caroline Bootle Wilbraham, second daughter of the present Lord Skelmersdale; he is, therefore, brother-in-law to one of the members for South Lancashire. Of this marriage, the issue are two sons and one daughter. He became a member of the House of Commons some years before his marriage; but previous to entering upon the history of his Parliamentary career, it may as well be stated that the late Earl of Derby was the twelfth of that almost illustrious line; that he married first the only daughter of the sixth Duke of Hamilton, and upon her death he became the husband of Miss Farnen, the celebrated actress. This nobleman died in 1834; previous to which period, his eldest son by the first marriage—who is now the thirteenth Earl of Derby—was well known as Lord Stanley; he represented Lancashire in Parliament for many years; and, like his father, remained through life a consistent, moderate Whig. He supported Lord Grey's Government, and was in the year 1832 created Baron Stanley by letters patent, thus removing from the lower to the upper House two years before his father's death. This nobleman married his cousin, Miss Hornby;—and those were the parents of the noble lord to whose memoirs these pages are de-

icated, and who, by his own unaided force of character, bestows upon his family more honour than the most distinguished ancestry ever conferred upon any man.

In June, 1822, he was returned to Parliament for Stockbridge, and that borough he continued to represent till the general election in 1826, when he came in for Preston; he has, therefore, been a member of the House of Commons for nearly two-and-twenty years. The reader will naturally expect to be told that, during that long period, he underwent no trifling changes, and that the Lord Stanley of the present day is a person very different from the Mr. Stanley who was a junior member of the Whig opposition during the early part of the reign of George IV. In the commencement of his Parliamentary life he was rather unpopular with the House. He had evidently a consciousness of great powers, but he had not lived long enough to acquire great authority. Mature age had not yet imparted mellowness or dignity to his character: his bearing was apparently harsh and ill-natured; his temper apparently irascible; his replies were sarcastic, and he rarely seemed to be able to divest himself of a sort of chronic anger, which no lapse of days or weeks could extinguish, nor any reparation soothe. It was a gross exaggeration to say, as Mr. O'Connell did, that he could not speak without giving offence; but in his earlier years he never conciliated the good-will of an opponent, and sometimes wounded the feelings even of a friend. So injurious to him did this deportment prove, that the spring-time of his life gave no promise of the luxuriant harvest which after years produced. When he represented Stockbridge, he seemed like a man of small intellectual stature opposed to Canning, Huskisson, Peel, Copley, and Plunket, or sitting side by side with Denman, Tierney, Burdett, Mackintosh, or Brougham. He was considered to be a clever, petulant, rash young man; a smart though small debater; well enough for a young lord, but possessing none of the elements out of which a great statesman and orator could be formed. His friends, however, were agreeably surprised to find that these discouraging appearances ended in a fame which entitles him to disregard all rivalry.

At Preston, the family influence of the Earls of Derby was always considered to be sufficient to secure the return of one member; and, when the heir of the house took his seat for that borough, it was thought to be an acquisition, on the enjoyment of which he could reckon as long as it might be his pleasure to retain it. But the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the passing of the Roman

Catholic Relief Bill, and the Revolution in France, unsettled men's minds, and greatly disturbed family influence. Henry Hunt offered himself for Preston; set the masters against the men—the men against their employers; and, by the usual weapons wielded by the demagogue, he overturned for that time the ascendancy of the Stanleys, and the subject of this memoir was for a short period without a seat in Parliament.

As member for Stockbridge, he made but little way in the House; when, however, he came in for the larger constituency of Preston, his great powers gradually developed themselves, and a section of the Whigs having joined Mr. Canning's ministry in 1827, Mr. Stanley went with his party. When the Earl of Ripon (then Lord Goderich) became head of the Government, he accepted the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies: this of course he resigned on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to power, in the year 1828.

The time, however, was now approaching when a reform in Parliament could not longer be postponed. The political foresight of Mr. Stanley plainly indicated to him the course which he ought to pursue; he, therefore, became a frequent, though, even then, not a very favourite speaker; the impetuosity of his feelings was not yet under perfect control; the fire that now illuminates every obscurity was then a dangerous flame, which, though it often consumed an enemy, sometimes scorched a friend.

Time wore on; the period to which we now refer was filled with great events; the elder line of the Bourbons had been expelled from the throne of France; a sovereign of easy temper had succeeded George IV.; the political unions were thundering at the gates of the constitution; the great Duke declared against reform, and threw up the government. Lord Grey, in constructing a new administration, naturally feared the hostility, but yet must have regarded as only a lesser evil, the doubtful support, of a man who, like the Mr. Stanley of that day, was more known for impetuosity and indiscretion, than for industry or practical talent; for scathing invective, than for sound logic; for heat of temper, than warmth of sentiment; for pointed sarcasm, than forcible oratory. But we find him Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Grey's government in the year 1830, which important office he filled for nearly three years. During this period, a great portion of his Parliamentary eloquence consisted in retorts to the personalities of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who, as usual, affixed to him a *sobriquet*, that of "Scorpion Stanley." But in spite of this evil communication, and these degrading conflicts with the Irish agitator, Mr. Stanley advanced steadily in

the estimation of the House and the country ; he gained credit for being at once rapid and methodical in official affairs, for possessing great facility in getting up his knowledge upon any new subject, for being a good man on committees, and, whenever his party were hard pushed in the House, for not merely defending them, but for that daring spirit which carried the war into the enemy's camp.

To return, however, to his electioneering operations. Hunt had ousted him from Preston, and the Minister could not do without him in the Commons. Sir Hussey (afterwards Lord) Vivian was very accommodating ; he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and the rejected of Preston became member for Windsor. This was thought no very high position for such a man to occupy, and in the course of the next session, his father, who for many years had represented Lancashire, was raised to the upper House, and in his stead Lord Stanley became knight of the shire for John O'Gaunt's County Palatine, the northern division of which he still represents.

In March, 1833, the Earl of Ripon thought it necessary to withdraw from the administration of Lord Grey. The office of Colonial Secretary, which had been held by his lordship, was bestowed upon Lord Stanley. Whether the retirement of that noble earl was voluntary or otherwise, is a question which need not be discussed in a biographical account of another personage ; but it so happened that the change was one of a very convenient kind, for at this time the abolition of West-India slavery was a measure which Ministers thought they could no longer postpone ; and it therefore became indispensable that the head of the colonial department should have a seat in that branch of the Legislature which held the purse-strings of the country. Twenty millions of money were necessary for the purpose in view, and the recently reformed House of Commons were to be called upon and persuaded to sanction this vast expenditure. A wide field was now presented for the almost matured powers of Lord Stanley. The financial details and the practical machinery of that most important measure were by him expounded to the House with astonishing perspicuity, method, and precision ; the arguments in its favour were marshalled with due respect to every rule of logical arrangement ; objections were answered in a manner which, if it did not always convince the auditory, at least confuted the objector ; and, after a few tough encounters, the Bill became law, and the West-Indian negro ceased to be a slave.

But Lord Grey's ministry was not made of durable materials ; and even during the short period of its existence, it underwent many changes. Lord Ripon, who had retired in March, 1833, came in

again as Privy Seal in September of the same year, and in the following summer (July, 1834), the subject of this memoir and three other members of the administration—Lord Ripon being one—withdrew their assistance from the government of Lord Grey, on this amongst other grounds,—that the measures of ecclesiastical reform in Ireland, then contemplated, were too extensive. Lord Grey himself soon afterwards resigned, and the first of Lord Melbourne's ministries was thereupon formed. After a short interval of decent neutrality, Lord Stanley, for a period of seven years, took his place with the Conservative party. In this course he was accompanied and supported by Sir James Graham and other distinguished members of both Houses. He had been accustomed at all times to evince a great disregard for mob popularity, as well as a strong attachment to the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of England. The vessel of the State was then drifting rapidly towards that dangerous position, in which the republican party hoped to see her wrecked; but under the guidance of those with whom Lord Stanley now associated himself, she soon obeyed the helm—soon prepared to give battle to her enemy; and with his ardent temper and uncompromising character one is not surprised to find that Lord Stanley should have been one of the first to exclaim, “Nail the colours to the mast.”

As might have been expected, the secession of so formidable a man from the Whig ranks drew upon him reproaches from that party both loud and deep; but to these he did not make much reply; he contented himself with his own view of the reason of his withdrawal, and was not so solicitous of the good opinion of those from whom he had parted as to spend much time in reiterating the grounds of his resignation, or seeking by indignant repetition to impress his own convictions on the refractory mind of a political opponent. Not so the great baronet—the ever-cautious and politic Sir Robert Peel, who, accustomed from the dawn of his political existence to moderate, to guide, and to control the democratic spirit of the House of Commons, thought proper to vindicate from the charges of apostacy that man from whose co-operation he has since derived such solid satisfaction. On the 22nd of February, 1837, he “thought it incumbent on him to make out a complete and unanswerable justification for his noble friend's conduct in quitting office and taking his place in the ranks of the opposition.” Sir Robert Peel exclaims:—

What man is there who ever attained—not by the advantages of connection, not by rank, not by fortune, but by his evident abilities for debate and public business, and through the undivided confidence of the

great party to which he now belongs—what man ever attained to greater or more permanent eminence than my noble friend? What man is there more endeared to those with whom he has been connected? If love of power—if ambition for official distinction—had been the object of my noble friend, was there ever any man who had such prospects open to him—such ample means of gratifying his wishes? What, then, made him relinquish office but a stern and an overpowering sense of duty? What object could he have had in severing himself from his ancient party but the highest and the purest sense of public duty, which being obeyed has placed him in the position he now occupies?

About this period, his career as a Parliamentary orator may be said to have fairly and fully commenced. He did not join, nor could he be said to have supported, the Peel ministry of 1834-5; but to the second Melbourne ministry, which began in April 1835 and ended in September 1841, he offered as uncompromising and as fierce an opposition as the annals of Parliament can furnish. The most convenient mode of justifying his own junction with the Conservatives was to denounce the policy of his former associates; this undertaking evidently accorded with his inclinations, and was in itself no difficult task, for it could not be said that *he* quitted *them*, so much as that *they* had deserted their own principles; and right manfully did he assail their apostacy. No discouragement in or out of doors could quench his burning zeal; his vigorous, exact, and logical oratory was proof against their most expert dialecticians; a few years of official experience had prodigiously enlarged his acquaintance with public affairs, and now he “could thrust and parry like any master of the fence.” It is no exaggeration to say, that at times it is almost appalling to listen to his invectives; when his indignant spirit goes forth in the fulness of its strength, woe betide the victim who has called down upon his head the pitiless pelting of such a storm. Yet Lord Stanley is not often provoked into castigating an opponent; nothing less than gross, offensive, or ungenerous conduct leads him into that peculiar department of oratory which is his *forte*—a degree of self-denial which does him great honour. But if there be one peculiarity in which, as it were, he excels himself, it is when an opponent has the childish temerity to interrupt him—it is like pointing a conductor in the direction of a thunder-cloud—instantly the bolt is sped, the victim is annihilated, and the author of his ruin careers along with redoubled energy and bolder aspirations.

The character of Lord Stanley's speeches is highly original. Like all great men, his manner is “itself alone, and has no brother.”

Without the weakness, it has the simplicity as well as the grandeur of enthusiasm; and thus he carries a question by storm. Other men speak in public because it is right, expedient, or necessary for them so to do; but Lord Stanley rushes into the arena as if the barriers which previously restrained the tide of his eloquence had suddenly given way. And yet, with all this passionate fervour apparently on the surface, there is a substratum of logic as sound and as scientific as if he had been drilled in dialectics by some hard-headed Scotch professor at Glasgow or at Aberdeen. His success is also very much owing to the sheer common sense, perfect sincerity, and burning spirit with which he urges his opinions, as well as the natural and artless manner which characterizes every word and gesture. Other public speakers seem more or less engaged in acting a part; but Lord Stanley's bearing being the furthest in the world removed from the theatrical, no unexpected event ever disconcerts him. Unity and simplicity characterize his speeches, for he never stands up as the *advocate* of a cause or the promoter of any man's personal ambition, but comes forward as a wise statesman and a great noble, counselling his countrymen for the public weal.

In saying that he is again Colonial Secretary, and has been so since Sir Robert Peel became head of the ministry, we incur no obligation to give a history of the colonies since September, 1841; but there is every reason to believe that few of his predecessors have ever administered that department of public affairs with greater facility or more signal success; and whether considered as a minister or a man, a Parliamentary leader or a practical politician, posterity will always be disposed to acknowledge that Lord Stanley—who, if he survive his father, will be fourteenth Earl of Derby—deserves to be designated as the greatest man of his family, and one of the most distinguished orators and statesmen of the age in which he lived.

DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM.

TRANSLATION OF THE NAIPALIYA DEVATA KALYANA, WITH NOTES.

By B. H. HODGSON, Esq.

1. MAY the first-born, the holy Swayambhu, Amitaruchi, Amágla, Akshobhya, the splendid Vairo Chana, Manibhava, and the supreme spiritual preceptor Vajra Satwa, preserve us in all our journeyings and in all our abidings : May Prajna, Vajradhátwi, the all-bountiful Ayra Tára, and the rest, be propitious to us ! I adore them.

1. Fully to explain the substance of the stanzas comprised in this little manual, would require a comment ten times as large as the text: I must, therefore, content myself with simply announcing a few of the general principles of Buddhism, which may serve to connect the sense of the stanzas, leaving the exposition and proof of those principles to a future occasion, if not to more competent ability. Buddhism, as it is to be found not only in the recent writings and present practice, but also in the very ancient Bauddha scriptures of Nipal, recognizes a theistic, as well as an atheistic, system of the universe. According to the former, from an eternal, infinite, and immaterial Adi Buddha proceeded, divinely and not generatively, five lesser Buddhas, who are considered the immediate sources (Adi Buddha being the ultimate source) of the five elements of matter, and of the five organs and five faculties of sensation. The moulding of these materials into the shape of an actual world is not, however, the business of the five Buddhas, but is devolved by them upon lesser emanations from themselves, denominated Bodhisatwas, who are thus the tertiary and active agents of the creation and government of the world, by virtue of powers derived immediately from the five Buddhas, ultimately from the one supreme Buddha. This system of five Buddhas provides for the origin of the material world, and for that of immaterial existences ; a sixth Buddha is declared to have emanated divinely from Adi Buddha, and to this sixth Buddha (Vajra Satwa by name) is assigned the immediate originization of mind, and its powers of thought and feeling. The five, as well as the six Buddhas, are constantly invoked collectively, under the names of the Pancha and Shata, Buddha and Ratna. All these Buddhas are often styled Ripopadaka, Manasi, and Dhyani, titles which would seem necessarily to distinguish them, not only from the mere mortal Buddhas of the Swobhavika sect, but also from *any* generatively produced beings. Nevertheless, in the first stanza of this manual (no very good authority), a sakti or spouse is assigned, not only to each of the five Buddhas, but also to Adi Buddha himself : and I suppose, therefore, that, with respect to these Bauddha goddesses of the Aishwarik, we must adopt the fantastic theory of the Vedantika Brahmanists, and consider them mere nominal deities, until we can assert (as I think we shall soon be able to do) that the theory of saktis is a modern corruption of Buddhism, derived from Brahmanism. I am aware that the Swobhavika Saugatas typify the innate powers of matter by a goddess ; but this is a notion totally different from the assignation of a female medium of activity to creators working declaredly by volition, or (as the Bauddhas phrase it) by Dhyána : and such is the statement which I have found in respect to the "Pancha Buddha" of the Aishwarikas in works of higher authority than the *Kalyána*. But to return to my text, from

which I have unwittingly too far deviated. The invocation of the first stanza is, first, to the supreme Buddha, next to the six Buddhas (whose more familiar names will be found below), then to the sakti of Adi Buddha, and lastly to the saktis of each of the six Buddhas. The names of these ladies are as follow: Adi Buddha's Prajna, Vairo Chana's Vajradhatweswari, Akshobhya's Lochana, Ratna Sambhava's Māmukhi, Amitabha's Pandara, Amogha Siddha's Tārā, Vajra Satwa's Vajrasatwatmika.

2. May the Goddesses Sampatprodā, Ganapatihridayā, Vajraavidrāvini, Ushnishā, Parna, Kitivaravadana, Grahamātrikā, Kotilākshi, and the Pancharakshā, be propitious to us! I adore them.

2. The distinction of Swobhavika and Aishwarika Buddhists has already been alluded to. There is another division into exoteric and esoteric doctrines. The goddesses invoked in this stanza belong to the esoteric system, and to the Swobhavika school; for they are all said to have been produced from Swobhava, "each with her own Vija Mantra." It may be proper here to observe, that the Swobhavikas do not deny intelligence, but immaterial entity. They insist that those powers, which others say were impressed on nature by the God who created nature, are proper to matter itself, which alone is, and which is eternal, not in its palpable individual forms, but in its impressible elements. They add that nature produces not only man, but superior beings (though none with such a plenitude of power as man is *capable* of attaining), and amongst these beings are the goddesses invoked in this stanza. The more familiar, and (as it were) *proper*, name of Sampatproda is Vasundhara; of Kitivaravadana is Marichi; of Kotilakshi is Pratingira; and the names of the five Rakshas are Pratesara, Māhasahasrapramurdini, Māha Mayari, Māha Setavati, and Māha Mantranusarini.

3. May Ratna Garbha, Dīpānkara, the Jina Manikusama, Vipasyi, Sikhi, Viswabdhū, Kakutsat, Kanaka Muni, Kasyapa, and Sakya Sinha: may all the past, present, and future Buddhas, whose excellence exceeds the bounds of the ten faculties, be propitious to us! I adore them.

3. The objects of invocation in this stanza are ten Manushi Buddhas. The seven last are the famous "Sapta Buddha," and I doubt the propriety of associating any other to them. I am told that the *Karana Pundarika* assigns these ten Buddhas to the four yugas, giving the three first named to the Satya; an idle story, or at least a legend contradicted by a higher authority, such as that of the *Sambhu Purana*, which makes Vipasyi and Sikhi the Buddhas of the satya yuga.

4. May the first of the Bodhisatwas, named Avalokeswara, may Maitreya, Ananta Ganja, Samantbhadra, Kshitijathara, Khagarbha, Sarvadyonevarakhya, Kulisvaradhara, and the great Manja Natha, be propitious to us! I adore them.

4. Nine Bodhisatwas are invoked in this stanza, for all of whom the commentator claims a celestial origin and parentage, as follows:—

Aryavalokeswar	..	..	..	Son of Amitabha.
Maitreya	..	..	..	ditto Vairo Chana.
Gagan Ganja	..	..	..	ditto Akshobhya.

Vajra Pani . .	..	..	..	Son of Akshobhya.
Manja Natha	..	..	..	ditto ditto.
Samanta Bhudra	..	..	..	ditto Vairo Chana.
Kshiti Garbha	..	..	..	ditto Ratna Sambhava.
Kha Garbha	..	..	..	ditto Amitabha.
Sarvani Varana Viskambhi	..	..	..	ditto Amogha.

In this enumeration the more familiar names of the Bodhisatwas are preferred to those of the text. This commentator was doubtless an Aishwarika Bauddha, and a recent one, who, according to the prevalent modern fashion, has resolutely assigned a heavenly origin to Bodhisatwas of mortal mould. The first (who is the same with Padma Páni), fourth, and sixth are notoriously celestial sons of the Divine Buddhas, to whom they are assigned; but the others, and especially Manjnath, are doubtless of mortal origin, and historical personages.

5. May that light which, a proportion of himself, the supreme Buddha caused to issue from the lotus that sprang from the seed planted in Nagavasa by Vipasyi, and which (light), itself one, became five-fold in the five Buddhas for the preservation of mankind, be propitious to us! I adore it.

5. Here the object of invocation is to the Jyoti-rup adi-Buddha, of Sambhu Nath mountain, a portion of the supreme Buddha revealed in Nipal in the form of flame. The legend is to be found in the *Sambhu Puran*, but is too long for insertion here. It is said by the Bauddhas of Nipal, that the ever-during flame still burns in the centre of the hemisphere of Sambhu Chaitya.

6. May that mysterious portion of Prajna, born of the lotus with three leaves, in the form of Guhyeswari, made manifest by Manja Deva, void of form, the personification of desire, favourable to many, the giver of boons to her worshippers, praised by Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, revealed on the 9th day of the dark half of Marg, in the fathomless waters (of Nagavasa), be propitious to us! I adore *her*. (Qy. *it?*)

6. The Jul-surupa-Prajna of Nipal is here invoked, a portion of Prajna (the Sakti of Adi Buddha), in the form of water. This legend is a part of the foregoing, and is to be found in the *Sambhu Puran*. When Manja Nath had let off the waters, Jyoti-rup-Buddha was revealed: Manja resolved to raise a chaitya over the sacred flame, but when he essayed it, water bubbled up so strongly on the spot, that he could not lay a single stone: perplexed, he resorted to prayer, when Guhyis-wari, or Tal-rup-Prajna, revealed herself for a moment; so immediately the water subsided, and Manja completed the chaitya. I have translated *nairatmya*, 'without form,' and *agailhe*, 'in fathomless water,' in obedience to two comments, and to the opinion of a learned Bauddha, to whom the words and meaning of these stanzas are as familiar as household terms.

7. May Ratna Singeswara, who was produced out of the union of a portion of Maitreya and of the light of the jewel of Manichura, who issued in the form of Srivatsa out of the riven rock on Mount Manichur; whom the other seven Vitaragas reverence as their chief; and who is the raft by which the ocean of life may be crossed; be propitious to us all! I adore him.

7. In this and the seven following stanzas, the eight Vitaragas of Nipal are invoked. Vitaraga is a portion of a Bodhisatwa, revealed under some non-human form.

In stanza 4, we have seen that there are nine famous Bodhisatwas. Of these, the first, or Aryavalokeswara, never individuated a portion of himself, nor has he any manifestation but under a human form.

The individuated portions of the remaining Bodhisatwas are styled Vitaragas. Matrégás is the first, under the name of Manisingeswar, and form of a waving flame, called Srivatsa. The forms of the remaining Vitaragas are, severally, a lotus, a flag, a kalas, a chowry, a fish, an umbrella, and a conch. Some say that the singa is also a form common to all the Vitaragas, whilst others insist that singa here applied to them means merely sign-symbol. The symbols of the eight Vitaragas are often called collectively the "eight mangalas." Manichura was a Raja of Saketa Nagar, or Ayodhya, in the crown of whose head grew an inestimable jewel, which he offered to the gods, to avert their wrath in a general calamity. The legends of the Vitaragas are to be found in the *Sambhu Puran*. They are too long to be inserted here.

8. May that portion of the Bodhisatwa Gaganganja, which at the command of Padmapani assumed the form of a lotus, in order to relieve the cruel Raja Gokarna, after he (the Raja) had, in atonement for his sins, become a penitent and worshipper of Padmapani, on the banks of the Vachmati, and which, as Gokarneswara Vitaraga, still remains at the confluence of the Vachmati and Amoghvati, for the purpose of delivering the ancestors of those who pay their devotions there, be propitious to us all! I adore *it*. (Qy. *him?*)

8. Invocation to the second Vitaraga, under the name of Gokarneswara. Gokarna was a Raja of Pancha Des, in the east of Hindostan, says the comment.

9. May the mighty Vitaraga, named Kileswara, who is a portion of Samanta Bhadra, and who took the form of a flag, in order to frighten the furious serpent Kulika, when he secured it with the flag-staff on the mountain of Charugiri, for the preservation of mankind, be propitious to us all! I adore him.

10. May Sarveswara Vitaraga, who is the portion of the Bodhisatwa Vajra Pani left on earth, in the form of a kalas, for the preservation of mankind, by that Deity when himself descended for the purpose of relieving the Vajra Acharya, named Sarva Pada, be propitious to us all! I adore him.

11. May Gattesa Vitaragara, the form assumed by Manja Deva for a portion of himself, in order to awaken the ignorant and idle and sensual Manja Gartho, and convert him into a profoundly learned sage, be propitious to us all! I adore him.

12. May Phanindreswara Vitaraga, the form assumed for a portion of himself by Sarvani Varana Viskambhi Bodhisatwa, that Bodhisatwa desirous of the form of a fish, the wearer of huge serpents as ornaments, and who, having fulfilled the desires of Oriya Acharya, took the form of a fish, be propitious to us all! I adore him.

12. The address here (as in the other instances) is chiefly, if not solely, to the Vitaraga; yet it is hardly possible to give unity to it; and the sense and grammar would be much improved by putting a "may" before the words "that Bodhisatwa," and so making the address both to Bodhisatwa and to his individuated portion.

13. As Oriyana, covered by his umbrella, was performing penance on the banks of the Vachmati, the Bodhisatwa Prithwigarbha suddenly appeared, and established a portion of himself as Gandhesa Vitaraga, the friend of all, and standing in the presence of Lokanatha; may Gandhesa be propitious to us! I adore him.

14. Oriya, delighted at having obtained perfection by his severe ascetic exercises, began, whilst he contemplated the son of Amitabha, to blow the shell. At its sound, Khagarbha Bodhisatwa became manifest; that Khagarbha whose heart is obedient to the will of Loknatha, and who having, in obedience to his will, issued from the conch and established a portion of himself as Vakrameswara Vitaraga, departed to his own abode. May Vakrameswara be propitious to us! I adore him.

14. The rendering of this stanza was a matter of some difficulty. Two or three comments were referred to, and the mention of Oriya, reintroduced in obedience to the best of them, and to the living authority already alluded to. The "son of Amitabha," mentioned in this stanza, is Padma Pani; and the Lokanatha, Avalokeshwara, and Abjapani, of preceding and succeeding stanzas, are different names for the same Deity. He is considered the Lord and Master, in an especial manner, of the eight Vitaragas.

15. May the holy Tirtha Panya, where the Saga obtained rest from Tarkshya: may the holy Tirtha Santa, where Parvati performed penance to allay her domestic broils: may the holy Tirtha Sankaru, where Rudra went through severe austerities to obtain Durga, be propitious to us all! I adore them.

15. In this and the subsequent stanzas, the fourteen greater Tirthas of Nipal are particularized, and at stanza 20, the four lesser ones are mentioned generally. They are all frequented at this day, and the legends are to be found in the *Sambhu Puran*. They are too prolix for extraction.

Panya tirtha is at Gokarna, where the Vachmati and Amagh-Phula-Dayini rivers unite. Santa tirtha at Guhgeswari ghat, where the Maradarika joins the Vachmati. Sankara tirtha immediately below the town of Patan, at the confluence of the Vachmati and Manimati.

16. May the holy Raja tirtha, where Virupa obtained the sovereignty of the whole earth: may the holy Kama tirtha, where the gamekeeper and the deer went to Indra's heaven: may the holy tirtha Mimalakhya, where the Vajra Acharya performed his ablutions, be propitious to us all! I adore them.

16. Raja tirtha is at a place called, in Newari, Dhantila, where the Raj-manjari runs into the Vachmati. It is just below the Sankara tirtha. Kama tirtha is called, in Newari, Phúsinkhel, at the junction of the Kesavati and Vimlavati. The former is the river which the Goorkhas have taught us to call the

Vishnumati, and so for Vachmati we may say with them Vagmati. Besides those two, all the other rivers mentioned are mere mountain streamlets. *Nirmala tirtha* is at a place called, in Newari, *Biji Soko*, at the junction of *Kesavati* and *Bhadravati*.

17. May the holy tirtha *Akara*, where treasure is obtained by the despairing poor : may the holy *Juyana tirtha*, where the true wisdom is got by the ignorant solely by reverencing the stream : may the holy tirtha *Chintamani*, where every desire is attained by those duly performing their ablutions there, be propitious to us all ! I adore them.

17. *Akara tirtha* is at a spot called, in Newari, *Kahang*, where the *Kesavati* and *Suvarnavati* join. *Jugana tirtha* is at *Kadokhu*, at the junction of the *Kesavati* and *Papanasini*. *Chintamani tirtha* is at *Pachilihaivi*, where the *Kesavati* and *Vachmati* join. This is the great *Sangam* of *Nipal*, where its two chief rivers (they are but puny ones) unite below the present capital.

18. May *Pramoda tirtha*, where ablution secures pleasure : may *Satlakshana tirtha*, whose waters engender auspicious attributes : may *Sujaya tirtha*, by bathing in the stream of which *Balasura* subdued the three worlds, be propitious to us all ! I adore them.

18. *Pramoda tirtha* is at *Danaga* (I need hardly repeat that these names of places are Newari), the junction of the *Vachmati* and *Ratnavati*. *Satlakshana tirtha* is at *Pagakhucha*, where the *Vachmati* and *Charumati* flow together. *Jaya tirtha* is at *Nakhupoa*, the junction of the *Vachmati* and *Prabhavati*.

19. May the Goddesses *Vidyadhari*, *Akasyogini*, *Vajrayogini*, and *Hariti* : may *Hanuman*, *Ganesa*, *Mahakala*, and *Chura Bhikshani* : may *Brahmani* and the rest, with *Sinhini*, *Vyagrihini*, and *Skanda*, be propitious to us all ! I adore them.

19. The four first deities are esoteric Goddesses of the *Swobhavika* sect. A comment says, "Above the region of air is fire, above fire water, above water earth, above earth *Sumér* mountain, above it *Surya Mandal*. In *Surya Mandal* is a lotus, out of which, by virtue of *Swabhava*, *Vidyadhari* and *Akasyogini* were revealed, each with her own *Vija Mantra*." The *Swobhavigas* usually symbolize these elements or *vijas* by the letters of the alphabet. The forms of these Goddesses are very much alike, all strictly resembling those of the terrific Goddesses of *Brahmanism* ; and they are all said to be givers of the powers of witchcraft and sorcery to their adorers. The two first are said to be ranked by *Amera Sinha* with an inferior order of celestials, and to such an order *Hariti* must be referred, since she is a *Yakshini* ; but *Vajrayogini* is a *Maha Devi* or Goddess of the first order. *Hariti's* legend resembles that of *Sitala*, as whom *Hariti* is constantly worshipped by *Brahmanical* *Hindoos*, though her temple is within the very precincts of *Sambhu Nath*.

Hanuman, *Ganesa*, and *Mahakal* are names sufficiently familiar to us. Amongst the deities adopted by *Buddhism* from *Brahmanism*, these three are peculiar favourites, because the *Bauddha* legends justifying their adoption are popular and clever. The proper sentiment of the *Saugatas* in regard to all these imported deities is, that they are servants of the *Buddhas*, and entitled only to "*chakar-puja*." As a specimen of the legends in virtue of which the gods of

Brahmanism have been converted into Bauddha Deities, take the following, relative to Hanuman. In the *Lankavatar* it is written that, when Rama sent Hanuman to destroy Ravan, Ravan, oppressed by the monkey, sought refuge from Sukya in a Vihar. Hanuman, unable to violate the sanctuary, went to Rama, and told him that he could no farther press his advantage against Ravan, because of Sakya's protection, whose follower Ravan had become. Rama replied, "Go you also and serve Sakya." In all Sakya's Vihars are to be found the images of Hanuman, Ravan, Mahakala, and Hariti. The Swobhavikas invoke Mahakala, under the name of Vajra Vira, as self-existent, whereas the Aishwarikas adopt him *with* his pedigree as the son of Siva and Parvati. Chara Bhikshani is, as her name imports, a female of the mendicant order of Bauddhas. Upon the interesting subject of the classification of their followers by the genuine Bauddha institutes, I can only here observe that, though Buddhism is a free and equal association of ascetical saints, who know no disparity of rank, save such as each may derive from his own superior efforts of bodily mortification and mental abstraction, yet it has a technical fourfold division of its followers (very similar to that which distinguished the old Monachism of Europe) into Arhans, or perfect saints; Sravakas, or studious saints; Chailakas, or naked saints; and Bhikshus, or mendicant saints.

Brahmani and the Matrikas call for no remark. Sinhini and Vyagripini are their servants. The Aishwarika Skanda is in all respects similar to the Brahmanical Skanda: but the Swobhavikas (*more suo*) make him self-existent.

20. May the two great tirthas, the source and exit of the Vachmati: may the four lesser tirthas: may the Kesa Chaitya, on the Sankhochha hill, the Salita Chaitya, on the Jatochha hill: may the Devi of Phullochha hill, and the Bhagavati of Dhyana Prochha hill, be propitious to us all! I adore them.

20. The four lesser tirthas are named Tara tirtha, Agastya tirtha, Apsara tirtha, and Ananta tirtha. They are four kunds, situate at Vachdwara.

Sankhochha hill is that which the Goorkhas have taught us to call Sivapura. In Newari, it is Shiphucho. The legend of Kesa Chaitya says, that Krakut Chand Buddha cut off the forelocks (and so made Bauddhas) of 700 Brahmins and Kshetriyas on the spot. Half the hair rose to heaven, and gave origin to the Kesavati (Vishnumati) river: the other half fell to the ground, whence arose numberless Chaityas, in the form of Singas, a small mass of hair becoming in each the "*palus*" of the Lingakar Chaitya. Lalita Chaitya, says the *Sambhu Puran*, was founded by the disciples of Vipasya.

Jatochha hill, on which it still stands, is the Arjun of the Goorkhas, called in Newari, Jamacho.

The Devi of Phullochha is Vasundhara, under the form of a conical piece of rock: the hill we call, after the Goorkhas, Phulchok. The Bhagavati of Dhyana Prochha is a portion of Gukyeswari, or Prajna, under the form of a conical stone: the hill the Goorkhas have taught us to call Chandragiri.

21. May the Chaitya of Sri Manja, on Sri Manja hill, erected by his disciples: may the five deities, established in five separate places by Santasri: may the Puchagra Chaitya, where Sakya expounded the unequalled *Purana*, be propitious to us! I adore them.

21. Sri Manja hill is the western part of Mount Sambhu, between which and Sri Manja there is a hollow, but no separation. The Chaitya still stands.

The five Deities established by Sata Sri are, Vasundhara Devi in Vasupur; Agni Deva in Agnipur; Vayu Deva in Vayupur; Naga Deva in Nagpur; and Gakya Devi in Santipur. All are on Mount Sambhu, around the great temple. The legend in the *Sambhu Puran* says, that Santasri was a Kshetriya Raja of Gour Des, named Prachanda Deva, who abandoned his kingdom, and, coming to Nipal, was made a Bauddha by Gunakar Bhikshu, with the name of Santasri.

Puchagra Chaitya is on the hollow level of Mount Sambhu.

22. May the King of Serpents, residing with his train in the Adhara lake : may Vighnantaka : may the five Lords of the three worlds, named Ananda Lokeswara, Harihari-hari-vahana lokeswara, Yaksha malla lokeswara, Amoghapasa lokeswara, and Trilokavasankara lokeswara, be propitious to us all ! I adore them.

22. The legend is the same with that alluded to in stanzas 6, 7, and 24. The serpent king is named Karkotaka ; his realm formerly extended over all the valley whilst it was submerged in water. Now he dwells in a tank near the town of Cathmandu, assigned to him by Manja Nath, when Manja let off the waters that covered Nipal. The Adhara lake or tank is called, in Newari, Ta Dahong.

The five Lokeswaras are Bodhisatvas. Ananta is called, in Newari, Chobha Deo, and Yaksha Malla, Tuyu Khwa.

23. May the esoteric deities, named Hevajra, Samvara, Chandavira, Trilokivira, Yogambara, with their several attendants : may Yuman-taka, and the other nine Kings of wrath, be propitious to us ! May the exoteric divinities, Aparimitayu and the rest, Namsangiti and the rest, be propitious to us ! I adore them.

23. The esoteric deities, enumerated first, belong to the Swobhavika sect. Aparimitayu is a Buddha, and his associates as follows :—

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| 1. Aparimita Gun, Buddha. | 5. Suryottama Prabhasa, Buddha. |
| 2. Guna Ratna Sri, ditto. | 6. Vahuvihita Teja, ditto. |
| 3. Aparamati Parti, ditto. | 7. Asaukheya Kalpa, ditto. |
| 4. Sahasreswara Megha, ditto. | 8. Subha Kanaka, ditto. |

Namsangiti is also a Buddha, and his associates as follows :—

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|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Dridha Surya, Buddha. | 3. Supuspita, Buddha. |
| 2. Bhaishajna Guru, ditto. | 4. Ratna Keta, ditto. |

24. May Manja Deva, who, having come from Mount Sirsha with his wives and two Devis, divided the southern mountains with his scimitar, built the town of Manja Pattan for the pleasant abode of the human race, and worshipped the deity sitting on the lotus, be propitious to us all ! I adore him.

24. The language, physiognomy, architecture, manners, and customs of the Newars clearly prove their northern extraction, and in the *Sambhu Puran*, a person called Manja Ghok is distinctly related to have led a colony into Nipal from China; for Sirsha Parvata is said to be situated in China, meaning probably Bhote.

The making Manja a Dhyani, or Celestial Bodhisatwa, is a mere trick of modern superstition. The town of Manja Pattan, founded by Manja, has perished, but tradition still gives it a locality half-way between Mount Sambhu and the Paspati wood, and tradition is countenanced by the fact, that at this day quantities of building materials are often dug up on the assumed site of the town.

25. May Abjapani, the chief followed by Hayagriva, Jatadhari lokeswara, and the rest, who came from Sukhavati Bhavan, then proceeded to the mountain Putala, and being thence called by these Raja Deva Huta to remove accumulated evils, was established with many rites in Lalitapur, be propitious to us all! I adore him.

25. Hayagriva (said to be the same with Bhairava), Jatadhari, and the rest, are Abjapanis (Padma Pani) warders and menials. The names of the rest are,—

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| 1. Sudhana Kamara. | 6. Akalmritya. |
| 2. Ajita. | 7. Jaya. |
| 3. Aparajita. | 8. Vijaya. |
| 4. Marsainya. | 9. Abhaya Prada. |
| 5. Varada. | 10. Dhanada. |

The Buddhmargy legend here alluded to is not supported by the authority of any of the Bauddha scriptures of Nipal, but rests on mere tradition. Abjapani is universally identified with Padma Pani, the fourth Dhyani Bodhisatwa. The application of the name and attributes of the Yogeswara Matsgendra Nath to this deity is a corruption introduced by the Siva Margi Newars, and scouted by the Bauddhas, in whose hands exclusively is the ministry of Abjapani's idol. The Bauddhas, however, have no objection to the Siva Margi Newars, and even Brahmanical Goorkhas, making offerings to Padma Pani under any name they please; and, in fact, all orders and sects unite in swelling the Yatra, or procession of this deity. The Bauddha tradition says, that upon the occurrence of a dreadful famine, Narendra Deva, a Raja of Bhatgong and Bandhudatta, a Vajra Acharya of Pattan, invited Padma Pani to Nipal. A quaint distich, familiar to the learned Bauddhas, fixed the date of Padma Pani's arrival at 1,382 years from the present time. This subject is worthy of more attention than I have yet given it. By due pains (and they shall not be wanting) I hope to procure hereafter some written account of this event.

FROM ANWĀRĪ.

یا رب مرا بده بَدَلِ نعمتی که بود
 خورسندی حقیقت و پاکیزه توشه
 امنی و صحتی و پسندیده طاعتی
 نانی و خرقه و نشستنی بگوشه

THE MASSACRE AT BENARES IN 1799.*

For this little narrative of a very remarkable event in the history of British India, the public is indebted to Mr. J. F. Davis, now governor of the Anglo-Chinese settlement of Hong-kong, son of the gentleman whose extraordinary resolution and presence of mind it commemorates. Instances of individual heroism on the part of Englishmen are not rare in the annals of our transactions with India, but we doubt whether a more conspicuous example—more striking in itself and in its concomitant effects—can be selected. The event is chronicled in the history of British India, but it has never yet been so fully and correctly described. Mr. Mill, in his brief account of the occurrence, has not even mentioned the name of Mr. Davis, designating him merely as “a gentleman.”

In 1797, on the decease of Asof ud-Dowlah, the nawab-vizier of Oude, the claimants of the succession were Vizier Ali, the reputed son of the late nawab (but who turned out eventually to be the son of a menial servant, adopted by Asof ud-Dowlah, who had no issue), and Saadut Ali, the lineal descendant of Sujah ud-Dowlah, the father of Asof. The British Government, deceived by the acts of the late nawab, acknowledging Vizier Ali as his son and heir, decided in favour of this person, then seventeen years of age. Proofs of his spurious origin, however, soon appeared, and the debauched and abandoned conduct of the youth served to confirm it. Aware of the precariousness of his position, he began to entertain designs against the English, in order to secure his own power by the subversion of our influence in Oude. He degraded his minister, Zehseen Ali Khan, a friend of the English, and a secret adherent of Saadut Ali; he assumed the entire authority over the military, whom he conciliated by his profusion, and disregarding the advice and remonstrances of the British resident, he was evidently hurrying on to a collision with us, when the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) proceeded to Lucknow, with a respectable force; and the result of his inquiries at that scene of vice and profligacy was the deposal of Vizier Ali, and the substitution of Saadut Ali, the rightful heir to the throne. Lord Teignmouth's conduct in this matter was severely criticized at the time, but there is now no doubt of the propriety of his measures, which were in entire accordance with the wishes of the people.

* Vizier Ali Khan; or, *The Massacre of Benares, a Chapter in British Indian History.* London, 1844. Murray.

Vizier Ali was sent to reside at Benares, with an allowance of £15,000 per annum. It might be questioned, as Mr. Davis remarks, how far it was prudent to allow the deposed sovereign to fix his abode just on the frontier of his late territory, with a very numerous armed retinue.

In May, 1798, Lord Mornington arrived in India, and was almost immediately involved in the war with Mysore and the French. At this juncture, the restless, fearless, sanguinary ex-nawab of Oude, then only eighteen or nineteen, formed the daring scheme of re-possessing himself of independence and power by the massacre of the British officers who retained him under control.

The house or palace allotted for his residence was in an enclosure called Mahdoo Doss's Garden, on the outskirts of the city of Benares. The two chief civil authorities at Benares were Mr. Cherry, the political agent, and Mr. Davis, the judge and magistrate of the district and city court. The deposed nawab maintained no intercourse with Europeans, except Mr. Cherry, whose peculiar official functions rendered it unavoidable. This gentleman was little disposed to entertain suspicions of sinister designs on the part of his charge. "Recent disasters in the East," observes Mr. Davis, "have exemplified the fatal results of a similar confidence on the part of a great public functionary, who unhappily paid too dearly for miscalculating the depths of Asiatic treachery." In a letter from Lord Teignmouth to the late Mr. Edmonstone, dated in London, September, 1799,* he says: "Poor Cherry's infatuation was most unaccountable; but the idea of assassination is so discordant to the feelings of a man of honour and resolution, which he most undoubtedly possessed, that the mind is hardly capable of suspecting it; he knew, however, from you and myself, the character of Vizier Ali, his depraved disposition, and that he was capable of any atrocity."

Mr. Davis had opportunities, as head of the civil government of Benares, of noticing not only the disposition, but the designs, of Vizier Ali, and he had warned Mr. Cherry, as well as the Government, of the probable consequences. One measure of precaution recommended by him was the removal from the city and district of all the Mahomedans whose rank and income might be supposed to inspire them with ambitious views, for whom a city devoted to Hinduism, like Benares, was scarcely a congenial residence. He also suggested that the armed followers of the ex-nawab should be reduced, and "their cannon and other warlike implements deposited amongst the military apparatus of Government."

* *Life*, vol. ii. p. 8.

The manner in which Vizier Ali lived, the external marks of high rank he exhibited, his numerous guards (horse and foot), and the port of defiance he and his attendants shewed upon all occasions towards the civil power, served not only to cherish views of independence in himself, but to impress the natives with a belief that he enjoyed it. He had sent a vakeel to Zemaun Shah, the king of the Affghans, then threatening to invade India; he possessed an active agent at Calcutta, and was in correspondence with various partisans in different parts of Bengal. Though these intrigues were carried on with diligence by Vizier Ali and two of his companions, Izzut Ali and Waris Ali, the execution of his project was to depend upon the movements of Zemaun Shah, and the expected employment of the British forces in resisting the invasion. The main body of the British army lay to the westward, under Sir James Craig; but a reserve, under Major-General Erskine, was encamped within a short march of Benares.

The original error, of placing Vizier Ali at this city, at length attracted the attention of the British Government, and Mr. Cherry was instructed to convey to him the resolution of Lord Mornington to remove him to Calcutta. This announcement was like a thunder-clap; it frustrated at once his schemes of insurrection and independence, and finding his remonstrances, which were loud and urgent, of no avail, the impetuous youth plunged prematurely into his desperate plot. On the 13th January, 1799, the native superintendent of police, who had been warned to be vigilant, reported to Mr. Davis that Vizier Ali was engaging armed men in his service, and seemed to be making no preparations for his departure to Calcutta. This information was communicated to Mr. Cherry. Vizier Ali gave out that he should proceed on the 15th or 16th of January, and on the night of the 13th, one of his *hircarras* announced to Mr. Cherry, that the ex-nawab would visit him on the following morning, at breakfast. Early on the 14th, an emissary came, and, after making some inquiries, returned. Some time afterwards, Vizier Ali was seen to approach with about two hundred men, horse and foot. When told by his jemadar, that this party (not much exceeding the ex-nawab's usual retinue) were all armed, and, contrary to custom, had their matches lighted, Mr. Cherry said it mattered not, and called the man a fool for his fears.

On Vizier Ali's arrival, his host, according to custom, met and handed him in, accompanied by his friends, Waris Ali, Izzut Ali, and another, father-in-law to the last. Mr. Evans, a young private secretary, was also present. The party were attended into the breakfast-

room by four followers, armed with swords, shields, and pistols. When the chief persons had taken their seats, Mr. Cherry, calling for tea, handed it to Vizier Ali, who did not touch it; but, addressing himself to his host, said that he had something of great consequence to communicate. Then raising his voice, he began to complain of the treatment he had received from Sir John Shore, the late Governor-General, who, he declared, had at first promised him six lacs of rupees per annum, but subsequently reduced it to a much smaller amount. "On his departure," continued Vizier Ali, "Sir John Shore told me that you would take care of my interests, and attend to my representations; but this you have never done. On the contrary, at the suggestion of Saadut Ali Khan, you now wish me to go to Calcutta; but Lord Mornington is absent—what should I do there? Saadut Ali Khan wishes for my death, and the English are in league with him. They listen to him; but neither you nor any one else attends to me. I shall therefore not proceed to Calcutta, but go where I please."

While he was speaking, Waris Ali came round from his seat, and placed himself near Mr. Cherry. This seemed to be a concerted signal, for Vizier Ali, rising from his chair, seized Mr. Cherry by the collar, while the other held him behind, and, as he exclaimed against this violence, the nawab struck at him with his drawn sword. The conspirators now followed the example set them, and as the unfortunate resident endeavoured to escape through the verandah into the garden, they followed him in a body, and cut him down before he had gone many yards on the outside.

In the meanwhile, Izzut Ali had seized Mr. Evans, and grasped at his dagger to stab him; but that gentleman, holding the assassin's hands, prevented his design. An attendant of the resident's now came up, and made a cut at Izzut Ali, which he received on his arm, and let go his hold of Mr. Evans, who fled into an adjoining field. There, however, he was seen by some horsemen, who, firing two or three shots, brought him to the ground, upon which some others of the conspirators ran up and despatched him. Captain Conway, an officer who was living with Mr. Cherry, happened at this moment to ride up to the house, attended by an orderly, and he also was killed by the armed body.

Lord Valentia disproves the statement, that this act of atrocity was a mere ebullition of rage in Vizier Ali, on finding that he must go to Calcutta, and of personal resentment against Mr. Cherry. He states that the insurrection, though accelerated by this circumstance, had been arranged previously; that the nawab vizier, Saadut Ali, represented the fact to the resident at his court, who communicated it to Mr. Cherry, and General Erskine urged this gentleman to have a few companies of sepoy's stationed at Secrole,

but without success. "The massacre," his lordship observes, "had been evidently determined on when the assassins quitted Mahdoo Doss's garden, for, according to the Musulman superstition, they carried with them their winding-sheets, which had been dipped in the holy well at Mecca."* Moreover, the fact that Vizier Ali entered Benares after the massacre, and formally proclaimed his government in the city, shews that the scheme was not a sudden one.

We now extract from the work before us the interesting details of the heroic defence made by Mr. Davis :—

Mr. Davis, whose house was not much more than a quarter of a mile distant, in returning from his morning ride on an elephant, had passed Vizier Ali and his whole train, as they were proceeding towards Mr. Cherry's house ; but their business was not with him *yet*—he providentially escaped, to be the instrument of saving many others. To him the train did not appear more numerous, nor in any respect different from what he had often observed of them, except that they moved in rather closer order than usual. On reaching home, however, he found the cutwal, or head of the police, who stated that he had ascertained the fact of Vizier Ali having sent emissaries into the neighbouring districts to summon armed men, and that some mischief might be apprehended from his present visit to Mr. Cherry.

Mr. Davis immediately despatched a hasty note to Mr. Cherry, and being anxious for the return of his messenger, kept a look out in that direction ; when presently he observed Vizier Ali and his train returning with much more haste than usual ; and that some of the horse, instead of keeping the road, crossed into his grounds, and began firing at a sentry, stationed about fifty yards from the house, whom they shot down. There was now no time to lose. Mrs. Davis was told to repair, with her two children* and their attendants, to the terrace on the top of the house, while he himself ran for his fire-arms, which were below ; but observing, on his way down, that an armed horseman was already in the doorway, he bethought him of a pike, or spear, which he had upstairs, and of the narrow staircase leading to the roof, which he considered defensible with such a weapon. The pike was one of those used by running footmen in India. It was of iron, plated with silver, in rings, to give a firmer grasp, rather more than six feet in length, and had a long triangular blade of more than twenty inches, with sharp edges.

Finding, when on the terrace, that the lowness of the parapet-wall exposed them all to view, and that they were fired at by the insurgents from below, Mrs. Davis was directed, with her two female servants and the children, to sit down near the centre of the terrace, while Mr.

* Travels, vol. i. p. 113.

† Of whom the writer of this was one.

Davies took his station on one knee at the trap-door of the stair, waiting for the expected attack. The perpendicular height of the stair was considerable, winding round a central stem. It was of peculiar construction, supported by four wooden posts, open on all sides, and so narrow as to allow only a single armed man to ascend at a time. It opened at once to the terrace, exactly like a hatchway on board ship, having a light cover of painted canvas stretched on a wooden frame. This opening he allowed to remain uncovered, that he might see what approached from below.

In a few minutes, hearing an assailant coming up, he prepared to receive him. When in full view, and within reach, with his sword drawn, the ruffian stopped, seeing Mr. Davis on his guard, and addressed him abusively. The only reply was—"The troops are coming from camp;" and at the same time a lunge with the pike, which wounded him in the arm.* The enemy disappeared, and Mr. Davis resumed his former position, when presently he observed the room below filled with Vizier Ali's people, and heard some of them coming up the stairs. At the first who appeared he again drove his spear, which the assailant avoided by warily withdrawing his person; but Mr. Davis, being by the action fully exposed to view from below, was fired at by the assassins. The spear, by striking the wall, gave the assailant on the stairs an opportunity of seizing the blade end with both his hands; but the blade being triangular, with sharp edges, Mr. Davis freed it in an instant, by dropping the iron shaft on the edge of the hatchway, and applying his whole weight to the extremity, as to a lever. The force with which it was jerked out of the enemy's gripe cut his hands very severely, as was subsequently observed from their bloody prints being left on the *breakfast table-cloth* below, where he had staunched them. There was blood likewise on the stairs, and some dropped about the floors of the rooms.

Though the present assailant disappeared like his predecessor, the repeated firing from below was discouraging, and Mr. Davis now thought it necessary to draw the hatch on, leaving such an opening at the edge as still admitted of his observing what was going on below. He saw them for some time looking inquisitively up, but not altogether liking the reception that there awaited them, one of the number went out to the verandah of the room, to see if they could get at Mr. Davis from the outside, while no further attempt was made on the staircase.

They presently withdrew in a body from the room, and were heard breaking the furniture and glass wall-shades. To this a silence and dreadful suspense succeeded; for though Mr. Davis could not quit his post for a moment to look out, the two women assured him the insurgents still surrounded the house, and it was a natural suggestion that they might be preparing the means of ascent on the outside. At length one of the women, venturing to look over the parapet wall, was shot

* This proved to be Izut Ali.

through the arm by one of many who appeared like a guard stationed to prevent escape.

They could now only remain where they were, casting anxious looks for the cavalry from General Erskine's camp, which, though Mr. Davis doubted not it would hasten to his relief, he knew could not arrive for some time, not more than an hour having yet elapsed since the attack began. He maintained, however, that they must be at hand, for the sake of encouraging those whom he had to protect.

In about half an hour from this time, he again heard the noise of many persons ascending the stair in haste, and when by the sound they seemed near the top, he suddenly threw aside the cover, and was on the point of driving the spear into the head of the foremost, when most fortunately he recognised the white beard and withered face of an old native servant. The poor fellow, thinking himself endangered by this unexpected reception, roared out who he was, and that he had saved the piece of plate which he held up towards Mr. Davis, adding that Vizier Ali's force had all retired. Others behind in like manner held up different articles they had brought with them, to confirm his assertion; but Mr. Davis still hesitated for a moment to let them come up, for fear of treachery, not knowing but that they might have been tempted to save their own lives, by consenting to be the means of putting him off his guard.

Presently, however, seeing the native officer of his police, and some sepoys, with their muskets, enter the room, whose presence with their arms was alone sufficient to convince him that the enemy had retired, Mr. Davis gladly admitted this reinforcement to his post; and at length finding, on a muster, that he had fifteen men, with their firelocks, bayonets, and fifteen rounds each, besides the cutwal with some of his police, he considered the danger as over.

The danger, however, was not quite over, for intelligence was brought that Vizier Ali intended to renew his attack. Mr. Davis, therefore, mustered his little army, and prepared for operations upon a somewhat larger scale, posting the soldiers, and instructing them in the best mode of defence. The sound of Vizier Ali's drum was presently heard from the town, and parties could be distinguished in motion about the suburbs, where some places, belonging to Europeans, were on fire. Numbers of the inhabitants were joining the insurgents, when about eleven o'clock, an advanced party of cavalry appeared in view, under Major Pigot and Capt. Shubrick, who, finding all was over at Mr. Cherry's, galloped to Mr. Davis's house, in front of which they took post till the arrival of the infantry. Great numbers were beginning to assemble within view of the house; but the remainder of the cavalry, under General Erskine, and the infantry, coming up, after a short skirmish, the insurgents were compelled to fly.

At the first interval of breathing time, the astonished assembly of English inhabitants of the neighbourhood felt and acknowledged that the hour and half, during which Mr. Davis single-handed had kept the assassins at bay in their fruitless attack, had been the means of enabling some to conceal themselves, and others to take refuge in General Erskine's camp. The unfortunate victims to Vizier Ali's barbarous treachery, among the British, were five in number ; for in addition to Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, and Mr. Evans, they had met Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, on their way to the attack on the judge and magistrate's house, and cut him to pieces ; while Mr. Hill, a European, who had a shop in the city, was also put to death. Some of the English made the best of their way to the camp, and others, especially those with families, concealed themselves as they could, and must probably have been discovered and massacred, if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by Mr. Davis's defence. One large party retired into a tall field of maize, or Indian corn, and were completely hidden for the time, though but a short distance from the residence of one of their number.

The recovery of the city was not effected without loss. The troops marched through one of the suburbs, and though the streets were wide, they suffered by the fire from the houses and the narrow lanes on each side. Among others killed, both of General Erskine's orderlies were shot at his side. On reaching Mahdoo Doss's garden, several shots from field-pieces were directed against the fortified house ; but the most effectual operation was blowing open the gate, by which the troops got admission to the principal court. This was effected just as the sun set. Had the contest lasted until dark, the town would in all probability have been pillaged by the numerous banditti and adventurers who were now assembled within its precincts.

Time would also have been given for adherents to have joined Vizier Ali from some of the neighbouring districts, and the final attack on his stronghold, at a later moment, might have been attended with considerably more loss than was actually experienced, situated as it was among narrow streets, and rendered much more defensible of late by the alterations made expressly for his accommodation.

Vizier Ali, pressed by the British force, fled northwards, towards Betaul, beyond the British frontier, accompanied by his horsemen and armed foot. Mr. Davis was authorized by the Government to publish a reward of Rs. 20,000 for his apprehension, alive or dead : this gentleman was thus enabled to retaliate in kind the offer proclaimed by Vizier Ali, of a horse and a thousand rupees for Mr. Davis's head. The fugitive, however, contrived to collect together, in the lower Himalaya country, a force of several thousand men, and at their head, he descended into the plains of Goruckpore, the eastern district of Oude. A British force was soon des-

patched against him; he was abandoned by his followers, and, flying into Rajpootana, he took refuge with the Rajah of Jeypore. He was, however, given up upon condition that his life should be spared, and that he should not be confined in fetters. But for this stipulation, Vizier Ali would probably have expiated his deep offences on the scaffold. Lord Teignmouth said, "I should have no hesitation in making him pay the forfeit of his crime." He was lodged in a bomb-proof at Fort William, divided by iron gratings into three parts; the largest, in the centre, was occupied by Vizier Ali, and the other two by sentries, one English and one native. In other respects, wherein security was not concerned, he was well treated. After many years of captivity, he was transferred to a more suitable prison in the palace, built for Tippoo Sultan's family, in the fort of Vellore, where his females were permitted to join him, and where he died, not, as stated in the *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, "in rigorous confinement in Fort William."

This interesting little work comprises various other particulars concerning this plot, and the fate of the adherents of Vizier Ali, which, being of undoubted authenticity, will gratify the students of Indian history. We have, however, borrowed perhaps, too much of the work already, and shall, therefore, merely add, that the sentiments expressed regarding the defence made by Mr. Davis by Lord Wellesley, who attributed the safety of the English residents at Benares, and the preservation of the city from pillage, to "the successful issue of that arduous trial of his prudence, activity, and resolution," justify the opinion we have given of its character. Nothing tends more to keep alive that opinion of European superiority which, after all, is the foundation of our power in India, than examples of individual courage or sagacity.

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD HAND.

BY CAPTAIN BELLEW.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME time was consumed in making the requisite preparations for the forward movement, and the general, with a laudable desire to protect the inhabitants of the countries we were about to enter from pillage and oppression, issued a solemn warning, in the shape of a general order, to "professional" plunderers and others, whose powers of discriminating between *meum* and *tuum* were supposed to be none of the best (always a pretty numerous class with an Indian army), that, if detected in robbing on the line of march, they would be strung up to the first tree, without benefit of clergy, by that very prompt instrument of justice, the provost-serjeant. In spite of this order, which was of course duly made known through the camps and bazaars, a day's march seldom passed without vociferous villagers entering the camp, loudly exclaiming that they were "kilt, robbed, and murdered intirely," by our camp-followers, and "*Dowai, General Sahib! Dowai, Koompany!*"* were sounds which for the first time became familiar to my ear. The love of *loot* (plunder) is inveterate in the low Hindostanee, and he can no more resist appropriating to himself his neighbour's goods, on such convenient occasions as a march so often affords, than can a gypsy clothes when drying on a hedge, or our countrymen brandy or gin when it is to be had for nothing.

It is somewhere told, that a certain general, a strict disciplinarian, during the Peninsular war, had occasion to harangue his men on the enormity of plundering: he had no sooner ended, than a cock, which he had foraged himself, popped its head out of his pocket, and crowed a very ludicrous commentary on his sermon. I remember to have witnessed a scene in this campaign somewhat of a similar nature. It is usual in this part of India to thrash and pile the grain on hard trodden or beaten spaces, within a short distance of the towns or villages. Two or three of the hospital doolies, or litters for the sick, were passing through one of these spaces at a moment when, lagging behind to course, I and one or two others rode up. On every side were tempting piles of *bajra* and other grain; this was too much for the doolie-bearers; the temptation was irresistible; down went the doolies and the sick, and an active transference, *en passant*, of the grain to their unrolled *cum-bunds* and *doties* immediately commenced. As they, however, shovelled in the plunder, one or two honest Jack Sepoys of the hospital guard, stimulated, perhaps, by our approach, were equally active in whacking them with the butt-ends of their muskets, varied by an occasional kick or cuff on the head, and plentiful volleys of *gollee* (abuse), in which *salah* and *lootera* (robber) were copiously intermingled. This seemed to shew zeal and devotion on the part of Jack, and

* Mercy, general! mercy, Company!

a proper detestation of the practice ; but, alas for poor human nature ! A very suspicious-looking bundle, slung sideways across the back of one of them, excited attention and consequent examination, which revealed the secret, that Jack's organ of acquisitiveness was not a whit less acute than were those of the men whom it was his business to restrain.

At length, about the middle of November, 1817, the army of General Donkin marched from Agra, bending its course in a southerly direction towards Dholpoor, on the Chumbul, the capital of the Rana of Gohud, a prince whose name often figures in Indian history. After five or six pleasant marches, the weather being of that bracing and exhilarating kind commonly enjoyed in the upper provinces of India at this season, we reached Dholpoor, our route having lain through a well-cultivated country. Of this place, which is half-way to Gwalior, I remember no more than some imposing-looking walls and towers visible at a distance from our encampment, and that the neighbourhood towards the Chumbul was greatly cut up by ravines. These ravines, by the way, which in depth in some places rival the appearance of mountain-passes, and constitute for hundreds of miles on the banks of the Jumna and Chumbul an endless labyrinth, afford admirable shelter for wild beasts and robbers. To hunt the latter in them, where the facilities for defence, concealment, and retreat are so great, must have been, as can be readily imagined, a task which required boldness, local knowledge, and perseverance. Nevertheless, the lawless gangs, which once made the ravines of the Jumna their haunts, have been nearly extirpated in our territories. In such ravines, more than one gallant officer has fallen by the well-pointed matchlock of the dacoit ; and, if I have been rightly informed, the deeds of daring and undaunted perseverance performed by the late Mr. Nathaniel Halthed, near these parts, might furnish matter for many a stirring and romantic narrative. Mr. Halthed was a civilian ; but in India, the civil service generally insists on having its share of "honour and hard knocks ;" and, as honest Diggory in the play could never see "eating and drinking going forward" without wishing to play a knife and fork himself, so the civilian is frequently foremost in the foray when fighting is the order of the day. Yes, many a hero's heart has there beaten under the plain attire of the senior or junior merchant—a truth of which the bare mention of the names of Clive, Fraser, Macnaghten, Halthed, Shore,* and others, cannot fail to carry a conviction. The name of Halthed was a terror to evil-doers, and will long be remembered in those countries which were the theatre of his active exploits.

The Rana of Gohud, on whom our *call*, I presume, was intended to operate in the double nature of an honour and a hint, paid the general a visit of ceremony at his tents, which, with those of the head-quarters and principal staff, were pitched in some extensive mango groves. There was, of course, on this occasion, though not on a very grand

* The Hon. Mr. Shore, son of Lord Teignmouth.

scale (the Rana of Gohud being a poor prince), the usual display of Oriental pomp and pageantry ; elephants with splendid accoutrements ; barbaric-looking horsemen, armed with spear and shield ; litters, matchlockmen, hircarrahs, running peons, &c. ; whilst the approach of the cavalcade was, as usual, announced by the beats of the *nobuts*, or kettle-drums, attached to the saddle-bows of the horses bearing them, and the wild and dissonant scream of the long trumpets generally used on these occasions. I do not know how it may have affected others who have heard this music, but to me its rude combination of sounds has ever seemed singularly wild and martial, and just such as I should think fitting to have heralded the approach of some glittering host of Paynim chivalry, winding its way through a mountain defile of the gay and sunny Granada. The deep, rapid, and measured "dub, dub, dub" of the drum alternates powerfully with the piercing scream of the trumpets, and though there is neither harmony nor melody, or the semblance of a tune, in it all, still it seems singularly suited to form the fitting accompaniment to such tumultuous processions. But to return. My recollections of this interview have been rather dulled by the lapse of time : that which I do remember most distinctly is a portion of the Rana's body-guard, habited somewhat after the fashion of our sepoy, though, from its very imperfect nature—the cross-belts being made of white tape, and so forth—the attempt at imitation was ludicrous enough. The Asiatic thinks there is "wisdom in the wig ;" in other words, that he has but to adopt the European costume to become possessed, in some degree at least, of his power and superiority : thus mistaking the shadow for the substance. I am now, of course, referring to those ludicrous attempts of Asiatics to adopt our customs, the fruit of their own crude notions and unaided efforts ; for I am not ignorant of the fine body of troops which Europeans in their service, such as Perron and Duboigne, have raised and disciplined, and which gave us some trouble. Indians—that is, some races of them—are easily disciplined and managed when under the firm and consistent rule of Europeans ; they are, in fact, useful instruments ; the more so, the less intrinsically noble and energetic their character ; and in our hands the feeble are, by dint of organization, made to control the strong for their benefit, or at least for the benefit of those over whom they would (but for us) tyrannize. Subject to chiefs of their own, they almost invariably fall into anarchy and confusion ; for the latter—ignorant, inconsistent, corrupt, impulsive, and weak—know not how to create and preserve that respect which authority, rightly exercised generally commands.

We remained a few days at Dholpoor, during which I had my first immediate or personal experience of the destructive qualities of those pests of India, the dheemuk, or white ants. On opening one of my camel-trunks, which occupied a corner of the tent, I was surprised to observe much of its contents, consisting of books and clothes, encrusted with earth, which, on a closer examination, I found to be the clay or

mud galleries under which these destructive little sappers and miners invariably make their approaches, and without which they never advance an inch. At first, I was puzzled to know how the mud came there; but, on removing a few of the things, shoals of the white ants were dislodged, and the nature of the mischief was fully revealed, by the sight of linen in litters and books nibbled more or less—for these little wretches have a decided literary turn, and will devour you a novel or a poem as greedily as any young boarding-school lady amongst us. After removing the contents of my box, which were what is coarsely denominated in a “pretty pickle,” my next movement was to ascertain how they had got in. On turning up the trunk, however, the *suttrinjee*, or tent carpet, appeared full of holes, having corresponding apertures in the earth, and through these the destroyers had gained access. I have known them, at subsequent periods, to make their way in a short time through the hard terraced floor of a bungalow, in order to indulge their appetites on a box, or some such tempting morsel lying upon it. Nature, I suppose, having made nothing in vain, designed them for a primitive state of society, to aid disintegration and decay by a quicker process, in getting rid of redundant vegetation. If such was their use once, they are now certainly *de trop*, and the sooner they disappear the better. In effecting their destructive operations, they employ means both chemical and mechanical; for the first, a corrosive, acrid liquor exudes from the mouth, which is besides furnished with a stout pair of forceps. In the stillness of the night in India, a sort of snipping or rasping sound may be often heard; this proceeds from the white ants, feasting, probably, on a door or a rafter, or committing other depredations. These insects, like the bees, acknowledge, I have been told, a regal form of government, and their loyalty and devotion to their queen (for they also, for some inscrutable reason, adopt the reverse of the Salic law) is as great as that of their equally industrious, but more innocent, brother insects. The queen is said to be a fat old white ant, who reposes in royal ease in some snug retreat in the neighbourhood of where they abound, and if discovered and removed, the whole community of ants take their immediate departure. I merely give this as what I have heard, and can by no means vouch for its accuracy. It was certainly never my good fortune to find out the royal retreat, or I should have deported her majesty, in the hope of getting rid of her faithful subjects (and few potentates have any more voracious and destructive), who in their time have eaten a good part of two or three houses of mine, to say nothing of smaller matters. Formidable and destructive, however, as are the termites of the present day, they have much degenerated from the bulk and prowess of their progenitors; for, in the time of Herodotus (if we may credit the father of history), they were about the size of foxes, and found no difficulty in chasing and pulling down a camel and devouring him, and sometimes the rider himself. These ancients, like Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, were “liars of the first magnitude,” or, taking the most favourable view of the matter, so credulous that their statements can only be received after

a heavy discount. Perhaps it is not fair to accuse of deliberate deception the recorders of such monstrosities as Herodotus's gold-guarding ants, who no doubt sprung out of the termites or dheemuks.

Biana, the next place of importance which we reached after a few marches in a westerly direction, through a portion of the Bhurtpore territory, is deserving of something more than a passing notice. It was once a city of importance, but, like many other Eastern towns formerly remarkable for wealth and splendour, its day has long passed away, and it now presents to the view little but ruins overgrown with jungle, where the wild peacock suns himself on the dilapidated dome, and the hyena and jackal enjoy their solitary prowlings. The modern town is small, and of mean dimensions, intermingled with foliage, and containing nothing remarkable that I am aware of; the bazaars are composed of the usual mud and kutchia brick buildings, common in this part of the country. Biana is on the frontier of the Bhurtpore state, and at the entrance of a picturesque defile, known as the pass of Biana, which leads through (or rather by the end of) a chain of hills into Rajpootana. At the entrance of this pass, our whole force encamped, fronting the lofty and scarped side of the hills, here and there exhibiting beetling crags and formidable precipices. The front of these elevations has a rough and rugged outline, in some places jutting into the pass in headlands and promontories, their summits exhibiting the remains of some battlemented walls, with a cupola or two on elevated points, and a lofty pillar or minar in the distance, if my recollections do not deceive me. The scene of our encampment in the pass of Biana is one of those of my early Indian life which has left a vivid impression; it was, indeed, a picture not to be easily forgotten. The day was fine, the sky blue and serene, the air cool and bracing; all along the entrance of the pass stretched our snow-white encampment, gay with the distinguishing flags of bazaars, corps, and headquarters, and glittering with piles of arms; alive, too, with the neighing of horses, the cry of camels, the roll of the drum, and the clang of the bugle and trumpet. It seemed a strange thing, this sudden irruption of the life, bustle, and animation of war into the midst of the tranquil beauties of this romantic defile. Before our tent doors, though at some distance, arose, as we before mentioned, the cliffs of the pass, seen through the light grey mist of the morning, those beautiful pearly tints which the painter loves to throw over his picture; the eagle and vulture soared aloft, or, darting from their rocky perches, skimmed across the face of the heights, whilst the screams of the wild peacock, with which the place abounds, came echoing from many a distant grove and ruin.

We had just finished breakfast in the mess-tent, and were indulging in the indescribable luxury of the hookha, never more enjoyed than after a march, when an exclamation from Flannagan, who was standing outside, caused us all to desert our chairs with precipitation. "Come out here, boys," said he, "and yo'll see something that will astonish your wake minds." Out we ran, when Pat directed our atten-

tion to the lofty crags in front, there, about the middle of a sheer precipice, and looking like a spread-eagle nailed to its face, appeared the figure of a European soldier, who, by way of "lark" or bravado, had climbed up the rock to this perilous elevation, from the distance at which we stood some hundred yards. The asperities and projections of the precipice, on which he had found a dangerous footing, were imperceptible, and the situation of the man, who, I believe, at last made his way to the top, seemed most critical and alarming. Lower down was another candidate for a broken neck, commencing the dangerous ascent. We were not the only gazers, for groups of soldiers along the line were admiring the daring of their companion, whilst many a sepoy or camp-follower paused in the midst of his culinary operations, and turned his head with exclamations of "*wau! wau!*" to look up at the adventurous *Gora* (European). "By all that's good," exclaimed Wildfire, "that's a bold fellow; I'd bet a chick that he's one of those reckless dogs, the artillerymen, who have generally seen enough of the black side of life to be pretty well sick of it. I wouldn't now insure the fellow's neck for ninety-nine and a-half per cent., assuming it worth a hundred." "Oh, no doubt he's one of them," said Flannagan, taking up the conversation, "for they're the boys to coort danger in every shape. Sure the artillery and European regiments, but the first in particular, are half of them broken-down gentlemen who've seen better days, and sure they're the lads that fear nothing, and would fight the D——I himself." "Is that really the fact?" I asked. "Capt. Marpeet used to say, I remember, but whether seriously or not I cannot be sure, that it contains lawyers and doctors by dozens, with a considerable sprinkling of parsons, and is as well entitled to be considered a *learned* as a *fighting* body." "I never heard of any parsons," said Pat, "though, to be sure, a Minor Canon or two mighn't be out of place there; but, to my knowledge, there are some of the 'Lancers' in it, and not a few of the 'Devil's Own.' When I was at Dum Dum,* there was the son or nephew of a baronet in one of the companies; but sure didn't my own near relation, that's my fourth cousin, Counsellor Flannagan's second son Morgan, come out as a private in the artillery?" "The deuce, he did," said Wildfire; "why this is the first time I ever heard of your intimate connection with the 'True Blues.'" "It's only because of a sort of *lapsus lingue* that you've heard it now," rejoined our burly friend, "though I care little about it, for accidents will happen in the best-regulated families, and my cousin is not the first descendant of royalty that has bowed to the hard decree of fortune, and taken up with a humble occupation." Wildfire, who was a saucy fellow, and took many liberties with Pat, who, up to certain points was the best tempered fellow in the world, rallied him vivaciously touching his "royal descent;" "but, Pat," said he, laughing, "seriously now, it does seem a little *infra dig.* that your relation, the counsellor's son, setting aside his royal lineage, should have entered as a private in the artillery; how was it?" "Why," said Pat, "I'll tell ye. He was

* Dum Dum, head-quarters of artillery near Calcutta.

always a wild fellow, was Morgan; mad after the gun and following the hounds, and the counsellor was puzzled what to make of him; however, he sent him to Paris to study medicine; but little did he attend to that, and divil help the poor fellow he'd have had the physicking of. Well, he came back one year to see his father in Dublin; and as he and a friend of his, one Terence Macgrath, also a medical student, and a lad of a roving disposition, were sauntering about the streets one day, their eyes lighted on a notice posted against a wall, inviting all aspiring young men to enter the Company's service. It was headed by a picture, the figure of a slashing dragoon, riding like mad through a body of natives, and spinning them like ninepins to the right and left. There were temples and palm-trees in the distance, all very Oriental and beautiful; and the bill promised plenty of gold and glory, and all that sort of thing. 'Flannagan,' said Macgrath, 'that seems a pleasant life of adventure and independence; what say you to bleeding the blacks, instead of the whites, and trying your chance for a nabobship? What say you, shall we give them all the slip, and try our fortunes in India?' 'The very thing I was thinking of,' said my cousin. Wild blood prevailed; the plan was soon matured. A few months found them in India; but the beautiful vision created by the picture was by no means realized; they found life in the barracks rather a hard thing for a gentleman's stomach to digest, and much the same thing in the East as in the West. However, they made the best of it, till my poor cousin was carried off by the cholera, and Macgrath got his *quietus* from a matchlock-ball, which a marksman at the siege of a mud-fort dropped into his eye, as he was reconnoitring out of one of the embrasures of the breaching battery; so that was an end of them; and all the first part I had from poor Morgan himself." This long conversation, into which our people had insensibly fallen, caused us to forget the adventurous climber, who, on looking for him again, had disappeared.

I had nearly forgotten to mention, that somewhere hereabouts we were joined by the Bhurtpore contingent of 2,000 horsemen, commanded by a chief named, I believe, Tara Mund, and which the rajah of that country was bound by treaty to furnish; but of them and other matter more in another chapter.

Critical Notices.

The Hand Book of India; a Guide to the Stranger and the Traveller, and a Companion to the Resident. By J. H. STOCQUELER. London, 1844. Wm. H. Allen & Co.

THE profusion with which knowledge is now poured upon the world through the press, and the consequent multiplication of books, have created a demand for a class of works in which the dispersed elements of information upon particular topics are collected and concentrated. It requires active and extensive reading to enable Englishmen to know, or even to find, all that has been recently written in his own language upon a given subject; and very industrious habits of study to make him acquainted with it. Again, the ease, comfort, and expedition, with which foreign countries can be now visited, have given an impulse to travelling abroad, and travellers discover that it is far more agreeable to be furnished with the information they require beforehand, than to seek it painfully, and purchase it dearly, afterwards. This want gave birth to a new species of works, for which the Germans invented the appropriate name of "Hand-Book."

The work before us combines both these characters; it is an epitome of Indian knowledge, and it is a Hand-Book properly so called, condescending even to such delicate (but not unimportant) particulars, as needles and ladies' corsets. We subjoin a rapid notice of the principal contents.

After an outline of the chronology, history, climate, productions, population, manners, commerce, &c. of India, Mr. Stocqueler describes the frame of the Anglo-Indian government, enumerates the native states, and specifies what are our relations with them. He then gives a very detailed account of the "services," civil, military, medical, marine, and ecclesiastical. The laws, police, and press of British India are succinctly noticed, and having thus, as it were, prepared the traveller before he starts, he furnishes him with instructions for the journey from England, both by sea and overland, and for travelling in India. These, and the sketches of the society, social habits, &c., in that country, which follow, are the most amusing portions of the work. Then we come to a "description and itinerary of the principal places in India," beginning with Calcutta, which is delineated with amplitude, so that the stranger would scarcely find the City of Palaces strange to him. The principal places in the provinces, under the Bengal and Agra governments, are then described, and brief accounts of Bombay and Madras conclude the volume. We fear that the description of the minor presidencies will be considered too brief; but to have treated of them upon the same grand scale as Calcutta, would have distended the work to two volumes.

Mr. Stocqueler's experience and reputation, his facilities for obtaining correct information, and his talents, fit him peculiarly for a work of this kind, and will, we have no doubt, recommend his Hand-Book to strangers, travellers, and residents.

The Affairs of Scinde; being an Analysis of the Papers presented to Parliament, &c., with an Exposition of the Connexion of the British Government with that State. By an EAST-INDIA PROPRIETOR. London, 1844. Smith & Co.

THE author of this analysis of the Scinde Papers professes to have given "a simple narrative" of the facts, allowing the principal actors to "tell their own story." He has, however, unconsciously (not an uncommon circumstance)

made it a party pamphlet, giving his own very strong view of the question, thereby rendering his labour useless, because every one who desires to form an impartial judgment must examine the printed papers themselves.

The Promised Glory of the Church of Christ. By the Rev. E. BICKERSTETH. London, 1844. Seeley & Co.

THE publications of the reverend author of this work have been well appreciated in the religious world. He has written much to warn his fellow Christians of the dangers impending over the church, and, in order to set forth a contrast view to that which he has before given, the present work is published, which is an expansion of sermons preached by him on various occasions.

The author, in unfolding the progress and ultimate triumph of divine truth, shews the church of Christ to be the possessor and dispenser of that truth on earth; and, after setting forth the evils of a divided church,—impeding the conversion of the world, furnishing a plausible excuse for neglecting the gospel, obscuring the truth, weakening zeal, and producing endless evils among Christians themselves,—he proceeds to shew the true principle of union to consist, not in outside form, not in an external uniformity, which may merely mask and cover the most entire and complete opposition and enmity within; but in real living faith in God's word, uniting all hearts amidst every diversity of human form. He maintains that this spiritual union is to be earnestly laboured after, though it can only be perfected hereafter. The reward of works, at the coming of Christ, is connected with the premillennial and speedy advent of our Lord; but it requires an acquaintance with the author's previous writings upon the prophecies to enter fully into his argument, and the opposite opinion, that the millennium will be a spiritual state, and not a personal reign, has been ably maintained.

Whatever may be thought of the author's views upon subjects so sublime and mysterious, the practical lessons which he labours to deduce must be approved as highly judicious and seasonable.

Domestic Scenes in Greenland and Iceland. London, 1844. Van Voorst.

Having looked over this little volume with approbation, we tested it in the surest manner, by putting it into the hands of juvenile readers, and feel ourselves justified in stating that it is written in a very attractive style, and well calculated to excite a desire for further information upon subjects so agreeably introduced to young readers' notice.

We cannot refrain from saying a word in commendation of the size and clearness of the type: inattention to these points frequently occasions a child to throw aside a book in disgust.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, January 26th, 1844.

Capt. *Eastwick* (in continuation).—If misapprehension did exist—if there were grounds for discussion (and he thought he had shewn that even the Ameers of Lower Sindé were not altogether in the wrong—the Ameers of Upper Sindé were decidedly right, as they had given no specific pledge on the subject)—if such was the state of the case, what was the course to be pursued? Surely the British were not justified in proceeding at once to the infliction of the severest penalties, by the confiscation of the territory of those princes, and the abrogation of their rights as independent sovereigns. (*Hear, hear!*) The weakness of the internal government in these states rendered it probable that many of these complaints were owing to the misconduct of the subordinate officers of the Ameers. In many instances, probably, the complainants themselves were in fault, and trusted to the ignorance of British functionaries to avoid detection. (*Hear, hear!*) Indeed, in the Blue Book might be found many attempts to elude the custom-house duties by fraudulent Persian papers. But what was the practice amongst European nations when misconstruction of the clause of a treaty existed? Did the strongest and most powerful take the law into their own hands, and cut the Gordian knot, Napier fashion, with the sword? In the case of the boundary dispute with America, what would have been thought of England (granting that it had the power) if it had not only taken forcible possession of the disputed territory, but confiscated several American towns—those most eligibly situated for the commercial purposes of England—because the Americans had the audacity to raise a question on the subject? (*Hear, hear!*) He feared to take up the time of the Court by entering into too many details, but while on this subject, he begged for one instant to direct attention to Sir Charles Napier's letter, of 26th November, to Meer Roostum—one of the most unjustifiable productions he had ever read. The case was this: a kardar of Meer Roostum levies toll on a boat; according to Sir C. Napier, this is an infraction of the 8th article of the treaty of the 24th December, 1838. Now let the Court advert to the 8th article. It ran thus: "In order to improve by every means possible the growing intercourse by the river Indus, Meer Roostum Khan promises all co-operation with the other powers in any measures which may be hereafter thought necessary for extending and facilitating the commerce of the Indus." Now, was this general declaration (which in the Persian translation was probably still more so) sufficient to entitle the British representative to denounce Meer Roostum as an enemy, if he did not consider himself bound to all the specific measures subsequently entered into with the other powers? Major Outram, in his letter of October 14th, distinctly informed Sir C. Napier that there was no document on record in the office, pledging the Upper Sindé Ameers to any specific measures regarding tolls on the Indus, and until that was the case, he thought Meer Roostum was perfectly justified in refusing to resign so large a portion of his revenue. (*Hear, hear!*) Not so Lord Ellenborough, who decided that the agreements of the Ameers of Hyderabad were to bind the Ameers of Khyrpore, forgetting that this very treaty of the 24th December emancipated Khyrpore from the control of Hyderabad. Why did not Lord Ellenborough refer to the other powers on the Indus—the Khan of Bahawalpore and the Maharajah of

the Sikhs?—because they were still permitted to exact tolls, and it would tell against his decision. Surely Meer Roostum had every right to quote their practice in his favour. In his (Capt. Eastwick's) opinion, Sir C. Napier was decidedly wrong. But what was his next step? He demanded that the kardar (one of Meer Roostum's subjects) should be sent a prisoner to him, that he might determine his punishment. This was a gross infraction of the treaty, as were many other acts of the gallant general. But the question did not depend on these transactions. It would be unnecessary to enter so much into detail, except to shew the arbitrary and unjustifiable nature of the whole of these proceedings; and at the same time expose the untenable ground on which the charges of infraction of treaty contained in the two memorandums, submitted to Sir C. Napier, were founded. Lord Ellenborough himself was, no doubt, aware that misconstruction of the clause of a treaty was no ground for penal measures, and he, therefore, rested his justification on the alleged treasonable correspondence. The whole case, therefore, against the Ameers was made to depend on three distinct propositions, which were to be found in Sir C. Napier's letter of the 17th November, of which Lord Ellenborough approved. The propositions were these: first, was the letter of Meer Nusseer Khan to Beeburuck Boogtie, an authentic letter or a forgery? second, was the letter of Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, to the Maharajah Shere Sing, an authentic letter or a forgery? third, did Futch Mahomed Ghoree, confidential agent of Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, assist in the escape of Mahomed Shurreef? Sir C. Napier considered the authenticity of the letter from Meer Nusseer Khan to Beeburuck Boogtie to depend entirely on the authenticity of the seal. After failing in his comparison with the seals in the office, and falling back on this most ingenious solution of the difficulty, that the Ameer employed two seals, he obtained the cover of another letter, on which was a similar seal, and some writing of Chothram, Meer Nusseer Khan's confidential moonshee, and this carried conviction to his mind. This was what he called "securing firm moral grounds." Was there ever such a perversion of language? (*Hear, hear!*) To any one experienced in native courts, it would be ludicrous (if such frightful consequences were not involved) to contemplate Sir C. Napier gravely sitting down to measure the seal with a pair of compasses, and on this comparison proposing to found his right to enforce measures likely to produce war. (*Hear, hear!*) The forgery of seals in Asiatic darbars was of every day occurrence. In the records of this very Blue Book it would be found that Major Outram's seal was successfully forged by one of the agents of the Hyderabad Court. In the notes of conference, the Ameer alluded to this circumstance. What did Major Outram add? "The hand-writing was also ascertained to be that of one of your confidential scribes." Meer Nusseer Khan replied, that he solemnly denied that it was written by his authority. Why then was not the paper shewn to him? (*Hear, hear!*) He (Capt. Eastwick) as solemnly asserted that he believed Meer Nusseer Khan spoke the truth; for the venality of these confidential scribes was well known. They were paid for furnishing intelligence of the darbar proceedings. But it was a notorious fact, that seals were not used on such occasions; letters were not even written—messages were sent by confidential agents. He found that Nasmull confirmed his statement as to the absence of seals, and in the very letter accompanying the memorandum dated October 20th, Lieut. Mylne wrote: "I am unable to produce documentary proof in support of my assertion; of late his highness has not often trusted the com-

mittal of his ideas to paper, but has despatched trusty messengers furnished with credentials." But the internal evidence of this letter was sufficient to condemn it, and there was one expression which, in his mind, stamped it as a forgery. Nusseer Khan was made to call Beeburuck Boogtie "an especial servant." Now he spoke from personal experience on this point. Beeburuck Boogtie was a petty chieftain of a tribe inhabiting the hills to the north of Shikarpore, and quite out of the influence of the Hyderabad durbar. He was nominally subject to the Khan of Kelat, but in reality independent. He questioned whether Nusseer Khan had ever heard his name. Surely such a trumpery affair, granting the truth of it, was not to be placed on the same footing as a correspondence with a government. But why was the letter not shewn to the Ameer? (*Hear, hear!*) Was this system of condemning unheard to continue? was there to be for ever one law for Englishmen, and another for the natives of India? (*Hear, hear!*) Let him now proceed to the letter alleged to have been written by Meer Roostum to Shere Sing. Major Outram, writing to the envoy at Lahore, stated that he obtained this letter through a party inimical to Meer Roostum, and that he had doubts of its authenticity. The envoy at Lahore, in reply, also doubted its authenticity. It was referred to Capt. Postans, and he wrote, "I should have no hesitation in considering it a genuine production of Meer Futeh Mahomed Ghoree, and in all probability written by himself or one of his sons." In another letter, Capt. Postans stated: "That Futeh Mahomed uses Meer Roostum's seal to his own purposes." There was not a particle of evidence, except the assertion of Lieut. Brown, affecting Meer Roostum. But Sir C. Napier solved the difficulty, by making Meer Roostum responsible for the acts of his minister, and Lord Ellenborough confirmed this decision. Was it possible to conceive any doctrine more unjust? (*Hear, hear!*) If it could be proved that the minister acted under direct instructions from the prince; if he was an understood agent, then the prince was answerable; surely not otherwise. What was the proper course to be pursued by the British representative? To bring the charges against the minister: if they were proved, to demand that he should be dismissed from his office or banished the country, according to the nature of his offence. Would any man maintain that, without any further inquiry, the British Government were justified in confiscating the territories of the Ameer—that Ameer who had evinced his devotion to them on so many critical occasions? But the internal evidence against the authenticity of this letter was still more strong than in the case of the former one. Lord Ellenborough incorrectly charged Meer Roostum "with endeavouring to commence a correspondence, with a view to hostile proceedings against the British Government, with a most faithful and most esteemed ally and friend, Maharajah Shere Sing." But this letter was not the commencement of a correspondence. It must have been one of a series of treasonable letters, as it alluded to a treaty already concluded, and thereby compromised our most faithful and esteemed ally and friend, Maharajah Shere Sing. In the state of our relations with the Sikhs, it was most improbable that such a correspondence ever took place; and Lieut. Leckie, in his letter of 3rd May, officially reported, that a man named Luckoo Mull carried on a wholesale trade in forged letters between the Sikhs and the Ameers. He needed not to enter on the third charge, as he held that Meer Roostum was not compromised by the acts of his minister; but his hon. friend had exposed the absurdity of the charge of compassing the escape of a state prisoner, who in broad day walked down to a boat and embarked with his followers and property, unquestioned and unmolested. (*Hear, hear!*) He had

now done with the grounds put forward by Lord Ellenborough to justify the employment of a "preponderating force" in case the new treaties were not acceptable to the Ameers. He would now turn to the treaties themselves, and here, as time pressed, he would only advert to one or two points. A comparison between the treaty proposed by Major Outram and that of Lord Ellenborough would shew the harsh nature of the Governor-General's new conditions. There was a mistaken impression abroad, that the selfishness of the Ameers, with respect to their hunting preserves, was their chief cause of objection to these new treaties. This was quite unfounded. They agreed to the new treaties; they signed them under a protest. The real causes of the outbreak were the confiscation of the jagheers of the Belooche chieftains, and the impolitic measures of Sir C. Napier in Upper Scinde; for which, however, Lord Ellenborough was responsible, as they met with his approval. A great deal of unmerited obloquy had been heaped on the Ameers on account of these hunting preserves. Sir H. Pottinger, with his usual wisdom and good feeling, placed this question on its proper footing in his despatch of the 10th December, 1836. One fact also ought always to be borne in mind, that there were thousands of acres of waste land in Scinde equally eligible for cultivation as the hunting-preserves. But, by Lord Ellenborough's treaty, it would be found that the whole of the country between Subzulkote and Rohree was ceded in perpetuity to the Nawab of Bahawulpore. Now, as this was contrary to all Lord Ellenborough's instructions and expressed intentions, he conceived it must have been a mistake. Lord Ellenborough proposed to bestow on Bhawal Khan two districts formerly wrested from his father—Subzulkote and Bhoongbara—but nothing more. He stated this distinctly in a subsequent letter of the 13th December. The districts of Subzulkote and Bhoongbara were worth about a lac and 40,000 rupees. The districts actually ceded to Bhawal Khan by the treaty were valued at more than six lacs of rupees, amongst which were absorbed the jagheers of many Belooche chieftains. Was it likely that they would submit to wholesale plunder because their chief had fallen under the displeasure of the Governor-General? Here might be seen one instance of the recklessness of those proceedings. (*Hear, hear!*) He found in another part of the Blue Book, that Sir C. Napier was not aware that we had a ratified treaty with the principal Ameer of the third division of Scinde, Meer Shere Mahomed, nor was he aware that Meer Shere Mahomed had any possessions on the banks of the Indus. It was not very probable, therefore, that he would offer any suggestions in correction of the errors of the Governor-General. Truly it was the blind leading the blind. (*Hear, hear!*) Alas, for the poor natives of India turned over to the tender mercies of such rulers! (*Hear, hear!*) He (Capt. Eastwick) needed not to comment on the disregard of Mus-sulman prejudices evinced in the articles regarding the coining of money. These treaties were sent to the Ameers, and these unfortunate princes, overawed by "the preponderating force," expressed their willingness to accept them. It was impossible to read the letters of Meer Roostum and Meer Nusseer Khan without feelings of the deepest sorrow, shame, and indignation. (*Hear, hear!*) Then occurred the episode of the succession to the turban, into which he had not time to enter fully. Ali Morad, the most designing of the Upper Scinde Ameers, completely deceived Sir C. Napier, and succeeded in effecting the ruin of his elder brother, Meer Roostum. That old and venerable chieftain, bewildered with the menacing and insulting letters of the British representative, and by the artful insinuations of his brother, expressed his wish to throw

himself into the hands of Sir C. Napier. Did this look like a desire to resort to force. (*Hear, hear!*) Was this a proof of his contumacy and hostile feeling to the British Government? What was the answer of Sir C. Napier? He recommended Meer Roostum to seek refuge with his worst enemy, Ali Morad. A recommendation, under such circumstances, was of course a command. What was the result? The slightest knowledge of native princes might have foretold. Ali Morad took advantage of the opportunity to practise on the fears of the helpless old man, who by force or fraud was induced to resign the turban, and then was persuaded to fly. The hon. proprietor then contended that Sir C. Napier was not justified by any article in the treaty in sending the Ameers orders to disperse their troops; but this was not sufficient, for Sir C. Napier then marched upon Esmanghur, a fort situated in the desert, belonging to Meer Mahomed Khan, to prove, as he stated in his letter of December 27, "that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could protect them from British troops." After detailing the proceedings taken against the Ameers, the hon. proprietor maintained that the wrongs of their old and venerable chief, Meer Roostum, the invasion of their rights, and the series of unjust and impolitic arrangements for the benefit of Ali Morad, were the chief causes of the excitement. With regard to the decisive victory by Sir C. Napier at Meannee, probably few achievements had been more brilliant; but, looking at the results, morally, a more disgraceful transaction never stained the history of our country. Lord Ellenborough, in his proclamation of March 5, 1813, said, "The Governor-General cannot forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty." Both these assertions distorted the truth. The treaty was signed on the 12th, incorrectly stated by Lord Ellenborough the 14th, and the attack on Major Outram took place on the 15th; and in the intermediate time, Major Outram was distinctly warned that the Ameers could not control the Beloochees. After this, could the attack be called treacherous? And Major Outram himself did not so call it. The Ameers had not the power to prevent the attack. With regard to the charge of hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty, he contended that the whole conduct of the Ameers shewed that their preparations were strictly defensive; that they had not the least notion of resorting to aggressive measures. His blood boiled at contemplating the wrongs of that old and venerable chieftain Meer Roostum. It was surely those determined to convict against all evidence that would pronounce judgment against the unfortunate Ameers of Scinde. On the 11th of April last, he happened to be in the House of Commons, when a noble lord, an honour to his country, gave utterance to the following sentiments. He quoted from memory, but the words made a deep impression at the time, and found a responsive echo in his own breast: "England," said the noble lord, "with one arm resting on the East and the other on the West, is, in too many instances, trampling under foot all moral and religious obligations. If such is to be the excuse of our future policy—if our superiority in arts, in arms, in science, and in strength, is to be turned to the injury, and not to the advantage, of mankind, I would much prefer that we should shrink within the proportions of our public virtue, and descend to the limits of a third rate power." While these words rang in his ears, he cast a rapid glance at the events which, within a brief space of time, had thrown such a fearful interest over our Eastern empire. He called to mind our wild king-making crusade to Afghanistan; its reckless expenditure of trea-

sure—its vast amount of human misery—its last fatal catastrophe; he called the attention of the Court to the tragic episodes that arose out of that ill-fated expedition—a dynasty overturned at Kelat; an usurper seated on the throne by the force of British bayonets; he again driven into exile by an indignant people; and the son of the slaughtered chief resuming his hereditary rights. He (Capt. Eastwick) called to mind the hardships and sufferings of our gallant and devoted native army, our detachments surrounded by an overwhelming superiority of numbers, cut up in detail by their fierce and warlike enemies; the disastrous fields of Surtof and Nafosk, where men found a soldier's grave, whose names were unknown to fame, but who yet deserved well of their country. It was painful to reflect on the gallant lives thus uselessly sacrificed; on the misery caused to hundreds of English families. And if we had suffered misery, we had inflicted misery ten times greater. That might be a consolation to some, but to him (Capt. Eastwick) it only conveyed deeper shame and sorrow. War was at all times a great evil, but an unnecessary and unjust war it was fearful to contemplate; and fearful was the responsibility of those who threw their sanction over a crime of such magnitude. No wonder then, that his mind had turned with some sort of satisfaction to the reflection, that these execrable wars were at an end—that a new era was dawning on Hindostan—and, that profiting by experience, we should direct all our energies to the maintenance of peace, and to the moral and physical advancement of the millions over whom we were permitted by a gracious Providence to preside. But little did he imagine that the very next mail would bring accounts of an act of aggression, to which our Indian annals, so fertile in such acts, could afford no parallel. Little did he imagine that the man who had denounced the Afghan expedition as a crime, who had gone out of his way to mark his total dissent from the policy of his predecessor, who had so recently put forth to the world that memorable declaration, that, “content with the limits which nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the Government of India would devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace,”—little did he (Capt. Eastwick) think that the author of this declaration, without even the plea of an imaginary or real danger to the state, with all the aggravation of ingratitude for services rendered during a season of unwonted trial, would have grasped at frivolous and flimsy pretexts to goad a barbarous, but brave, people to desperation, and again let loose all the horrors and calamities of war. It was his (Capt. Eastwick's) conscientious conviction, that if the thinking part of this great Christian nation, if the independent portion of the public press, could once be aroused to the consideration of this question, such a storm of indignation would burst forth, that no ministry would be hardy enough to refuse a full and searching inquiry. The time was past, at all events, in this free country, when the follies or passions of an individual could plunge the nation into all the calamities of war. Was it, then, to be permitted that the servants of the East-India Company should wantonly have recourse to such an extreme arbitrement? Was there to be no end to these wars of aggression? If the ministry of this country, oppressed with business, were unable or unwilling to grapple with Indian questions; if the great council of the kingdom had neither leisure nor inclination to enter upon an inquiry involving the rights of justice and humanity—involving the good name and good faith of the British nation—it was easy to predict that these acts of tyranny and aggression would continue; that one iniquity would only lead to another; and that, to use the emphatic words which one of the unfortunate Ameers of Scinde applied to his own case,

"There would be no justice for the natives of India until the Almighty sat upon the judgment seat." Every Englishman shared the responsibility of these acts; and the East-India Company, especially—as the intermediate body between the British public and the natives of India, bound as it was to that country by so many ties of friendship and gratitude—was the East India Company to remain silent, and make no effort to awaken public attention to questions of such overwhelming national importance? He, for one, could not reconcile silence to his conscience. He believed it to be the duty of every member of that Court to record his opinion against a line of policy reflecting so much discredit on the British name, and entailing so much misery upon our fellow-creatures. In that belief he seconded the motion, and he called upon every independent member then present to support it.

The *Chairman* said, he most fully appreciated the ability which the hon. proprietor had displayed in opening this question; but he could not feel that the information before them, on some of the points to which the hon. proprietor had referred, was both conflicting and incomplete. Under these circumstances, and in the confident expectation that the forthcoming papers would be found to have a bearing on the points in question, and supply some of the deficiencies which the hon. gentleman had pointed out, he should forbear at present making any observations on the subject. He was in favour of an adjournment, and therefore he would not now say any more, but propose that the Court do adjourn to Wednesday, the 21st of February.

The motion having been agreed to, the Court immediately adjourned to the 21st of February.

East-India House, Feb. 21st, 1844.

ANNEXATION OF SINDE.

A special general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day, by adjournment from the 26th of January, for the purpose of resuming the debate on the following resolutions, contained in the requisition under which the Court was originally convened:—

"1. That from the printed papers recently laid before the proprietors on the subject of Sindé, it is the opinion of this Court that the proceedings of the Government of India, which ended in the dethronement, exile, and imprisonment of the Amciers and the seizure of their country and private property, were uncalled for, impolitic, and unjust.

"2. That this Court does, therefore, most earnestly recommend to the Court of Directors the immediate adoption of such steps, by representation to her Majesty's Government or otherwise, as may cause all practicable reparation to be made for the injustice already committed, and enforce the abandonment of a line of policy inconsistent with good faith, and subversive of the interests of the British rule in India."

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The *Chairman* (J. Cotton, Esq.) said,—Gentlemen, we have met to-day pursuant to adjournment. At the last meeting of this Court we were favoured, and I am sure I may say gratified, with able and forcible speeches from two hon. gentlemen (Mr. Sullivan and Captain Eastwick) who had signed the requisition in consequence of which the Court was specially convened. It is by no means my intention to trouble the Court with any lengthened observations of mine upon the statements contained in those speeches, or upon the question of the

policy that has been pursued in Sindé. The papers which have been laid before the Court on this subject embrace all the proceedings that have taken place in Sindé, whether under the Government of Lord Auckland or under that of Lord Ellenborough. Gentlemen, I have no hesitation in saying that I see in those papers great cause for regret in much that has occurred. (*Hear, hear!*) We have not now before us the question of the expedition to Affghanistan, that is gone by: but it is to that expedition that we must ascribe the first coercive proceedings towards the Ameers. Then, again, we have not before us the question of the retirement of the British forces from Affghanistan; yet, undoubtedly, the second course of coercive proceedings towards the Ameers must be ascribed to that step. In both cases, it appears to me, that we ought, in reason and in justice, to make due allowances for governors-general acting at such a distance from home, under a solemn responsibility to do what may seem to them upon the whole best, in view to the great interests committed to their charge. (*Hear, hear!*) Lord Auckland was of opinion that it was of the utmost importance to the interests of British India to secure a barrier in Affghanistan, and thence he deemed it necessary to occupy certain positions in Sindé. Lord Ellenborough, on his arrival in India, had to encounter the Affghan disasters, and determined to withdraw the British armies from Affghanistan; he, in his view of the interests of India, came to the resolution that he ought not also to withdraw them from Sindé, and thence ensued those negotiations with the Ameers which have ended so fatally to them. Such, gentlemen, I conceive to be the plain facts to be deduced from the papers before us. I do not state them for the purpose of justifying the proceedings of our Indian government. On the contrary, I repent that there is much in these proceedings of which, whilst I consider with respect the patriotic motives which have undoubtedly influenced the Governor General, still I cannot approve. (*Hear, hear!*) On the other hand, I am not prepared to concur, as an act of this Court, in the proposed resolution; and I most earnestly entreat the Court to pause before they pass a resolution which is calculated to paralyze and weaken the Indian Government at the very time when it requires all the support we can give it. (*Hear, hear!*) Neither does the resolution appear to me to be necessary. Its practical effect is a reference of the subject to the Court of Directors. (*Hear, hear!*) Gentlemen, the attention of that Court has long been given to the subject. Your Court of Directors have felt, with much regret, that they could not, consistently with their duty, approve of the general course of proceedings in Sindé. (*Hear, hear!*) Whilst the question of the annexation of Sindé to our possessions in the East was pending, the Court of Directors did not fail to enter into communication with her Majesty's ministers, and to state their views on the subject; the question, of course, resting with her Majesty's Government to decide. And, now that the question is decided, the Court do not consider that their duty is ended. They are now engaged in reviewing the whole of the proceedings; and, above all, they will give their serious consideration to the case of the deposed Ameers—(*hear*)—with a view to ameliorating their condition—(*hear, hear!*)—especially such of them as may be free from any imputation of treachery. (*Hear, hear!*) Under these circumstances, I would submit to the Court the propriety of abstaining, at present, as a body, from expressing an opinion on the subject; they had better, I think, leave the matter in the hands of the Court of Directors (*Hear, hear!*) Before I sit down, it is proper that I should apprise the Court, that there is at present no question regularly before them. The question at the last Court, raised by an

hon. proprietor (Mr. Clarke), previous to the discussion, was for an adjournment. The resolutions proposed by the requisitionists have not consequently been formally moved. From what I have said, the Court will understand that I think it better these resolutions should not be moved, and that our best course would be to adjourn. Still I beg to say that I have not the slightest wish to prevent discussion, which may take place as well on the motion of adjournment as on the resolutions, if they should be formally moved. I am myself prepared to move an adjournment, but I will not do so until the requisitionists have had an opportunity, if they should think fit, of first proposing their resolutions. (*Hear, hear !*)

Mr. Sullivan.—If there is no question before the Court, how is it that we are assembled here at present?

The *Chairman*.—We are assembled by adjournment from the last Court.

Mr. Sullivan.—I proposed a motion, and my hon. and gallant friend (Captain Eastwick) seconded it.

The *Chairman*.—I think the hon. proprietor will recollect that these resolutions were not regularly read as his motion at the last Court. The minutes of the proceedings will shew clearly that the proprietors separated on the question of adjournment to this day.

Mr. Sullivan.—Then I shall persist in moving these resolutions. We cannot stop here. There must be discussion. Has justice been done? (*Hear, hear !*) Has inquiry taken place? (*Hear, hear !*) What, I ask, occurred elsewhere, the other night, with reference to this subject? Did we not see the two parties in the House of Commons combined against these unfortunate Ameers? Were not the public told, for the purpose of exciting indignant feelings against these oppressed princes, profligate and improbable stories of their making use of brass-wire whips to chastise their women? (*Hear, hear !*) It is therefore imperatively necessary that their case should be investigated, and that justice should be administered to them. (*Hear, hear !*)

The *Chairman*.—I beg to state that there is not the most distant wish or desire on the part of the Court of Directors to put an end to the discussion. Let the question be put formally before us, and let us proceed regularly. (*Hear !*)

The Clerk then read the resolutions.

Sir J. L. Lushington.—Permit me to observe, that the Court was adjourned because it was stated that further papers would be immediately produced. An hon. proprietor (Mr. Clarke) said at the time it was but fair that the Court should be adjourned till those papers were produced. The papers are now before us, and we can go on regularly.

Mr. Lewis wished the minutes of the proceedings to be read.

The Clerk read them. They set forth the requisition, including the resolutions to be proposed, and went on to state, "that after considerable debate, it was resolved, that the further consideration of the subject be adjourned till Wednesday, the 21st of February."

Mr. Weeding then addressed the Court. He had, he said, heard with much attention at the last Court, the speech of the hon. gent. who had brought forward this important question, who was supported in a very able address by the gallant officer below him. It was, however, in his opinion, impossible to come to such a conclusion as they had arrived at, on the grounds they had advanced. The facts adduced, and the resolutions founded on them, did not, in his apprehension, stand in the relation of cause and effect. Although both the mover and seconder agreed to these resolutions, yet it appeared that there was con-

siderable discrepancy of opinion between them. The hon. mover blamed the proceedings of the British Government towards the Ameers from the first, whereas, the hon. seconder argued that, up to 1839, our conduct was marked by moderation and good faith, while that of the Ameers, on certain points, was calculated to excite suspicion. Indeed, the hon. mover might be said to have gone the full length of approving of the policy of Lord Auckland. It was necessary, in order to elucidate his opinion on this subject, that he should commence with the year 1809. We were at that time threatened by French interference, and on the 22nd of August 1809, a treaty was entered into, declaring "that there should be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sinde; and that the government of Sinde would not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in that country." He should next advert to the treaty of April, 1832, with the state of Khyrpore. It was there set forth, that "there shall be eternal friendship between the two states." The British Government having requested the use of the river Indus, and the roads of Sinde, for the merchants of Hindostan, &c. the government of Khyrpore agrees to grant the same within its own boundaries, "on whatever terms may be settled with the government of Hyderabad." The anxious wish of the British Government was to carry out that great and noble object, in which all India was interested, the throwing open the navigation of the Indus. In his opinion, whatever might be said to the contrary, he believed that the opening of the navigation of that mighty river was calculated to do more for the civilization of mankind, for the dissemination of Christianity, and for the extension of useful arts, than any project that had been heretofore undertaken. That object, by a wise and comprehensive policy, was ultimately obtained, different treaties having been entered into on the subject. Things went on thus quietly for some time—when, in 1836, our ally, Runjeet Sing, declared his intention to invade Sinde. Now, if he had been allowed to do so, it was quite clear that, with his enormous force, he would easily have subjugated the Ameers. On that occasion, however, the Ameers found their security in British connection. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, acting on his own wise views of the case, offered the mediation of the British Government to the Ameers (who had previously, he might observe, represented their peculiar situation to the British officer resident at Cutch). That mediation was gladly accepted—and the danger apprehended from Runjeet Sing was avoided. This took place in 1836—but, owing to delays on the part of the Ameers, it was not until April, 1838, that a treaty was concluded with them. That treaty set forth that "In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace which have so long subsisted between the Sinde state and the British Government, it is agreed that an accredited British minister shall reside at the Court of Hyderabad, and that the British minister shall be empowered to change his ordinary place of residence as may, from time to time, seem prudent, and be attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by his government." Matters so far proceeded harmoniously. But when the Ameers found that they had got rid of all danger from Runjeet Sing, then they changed their opinion, and no longer saw any necessity for having a British resident at the Court of Sinde. The papers would plainly shew, that, in return for an act of interference in their behalf, for which they ought to have been grateful, they refused a site for a place of residence to the British agent. While he deplored any error of judgment which the Governor-General might have been betrayed into, still he was bound

to declare his firm belief that a necessity existed for prompt measures. The Governor-General no doubt felt that the welfare of India was at stake, and he therefore deemed it to be his duty to take vigorous measures for the preservation of those important interests that were intrusted to his care. It arose from this feeling that, at a later period, the present Governor-General had found it necessary to remove the individual who had previously carried on the negotiations with the Ameers, for the purpose of substituting a more active and energetic officer (Sir C. Napier) in his place. When the combination of Mussulman powers in the north-west of India threatened the safety of our Indian empire, it was, of course found necessary to meet the danger by corresponding exertions. We were obliged to call on the Ameers to allow the passage of a British army through their territories. And how was our request met by these friendly allies? Why they threw every species of difficulty in our way. Our army, it was found, could not proceed towards Affghanistan so safely as through the Ameers' territories; and those men, forgetful of the benefit they had received at our hands, in protecting them from the designs of Runjeet Sing, offered every opposition in their power to our progress. The papers before the Court shewed, that they sent out orders to prevent the purchase of grain and of camels on our account. They threw every possible obstacle and difficulty in our way; and the British Government found them most active in annoying and thwarting us. The consequence was, that the Governor-General found himself compelled to call on them for explanation. Why did he do so? because he saw that it was impossible for the British army to go on, unless the Ameers altered their hostile attitude—and he did not wish to proceed unnecessarily to extremities, notwithstanding their palpable breach of faith. What was the opinion of Col. Pottinger under these circumstances? On the 22nd of August, 1838 (*Sinde Papers*, p. 46) he wrote thus:—"I do certainly entertain considerable doubts whether, when the two divisions of troops which are to accompany the king to Cabool shall have passed through Shikarpore, we could confidently depend on their not throwing obstacles in the way of communication with, and transmission of stores, &c. to, the armies, unless they saw and knew that we were prepared to enforce our wishes, and to punish all opposition to our plans." What then could the Governor-General do? When a British resident made such a statement as this, was it not necessary that it should be acted on? It had been argued, that there was no necessity for proceeding to take strong measures—that the conduct pursued was uncalled for. He denied it; and it appeared to him quite clear that the British Government, having a due regard to the safety of India, could act no otherwise than they had done. The Governor-General felt himself compelled to act on the information which he had received; but still he shewed that he was not actuated by any ambitious desire to appropriate any part of the Ameers' territories. On the 23rd of November, 1838 (p. 121), Col. Pottinger recommended that we should take possession of certain portions of those territories. He said, "I am of opinion that we should demand from the Ameers the cession of all the country lying on the right bank of the Indus, south of an imaginary line to be drawn due west from that river, at a point ten miles (more or less) north of Tatta, until it meets the frontier of Belochistan, at the base of the mountains. This would give us a compact territory, the complete command of the river, and possession of the only sea-port." And, farther on, he says—"I shall also propose, that a strong detachment of Bengal troops should be kept at Sukkur, on the Indus, to which, I presume, the Khyrpore chiefs would gladly

give their assent. With these troops, and British agents, residing at Hyderabad and Khyrpore, I look on it that our perfect supremacy throughout Sindh will be as fully established as though we had entirely subjugated it." The Governor-General, on the 13th of December, 1838, in answer to this proposition, said, in effect, "No, I am not going to take forcible possession of these places. I do not wish to form a barrier in that manner. I am anxious to establish a barrier with a friendly government, and I will do so. I do not desire to take possession of territory in this manner, because it might lead to suspicion in the minds of the Ameers. But our whole object was one of aggrandizement—and our only view, on the contrary, should be the establishment of good and peaceable government." (*Hear, hear!*) The Governor-General, therefore, only required the temporary possession of Sukkur, during the continuance of certain warlike operations of ours; and, at the end of the war it was to be given up. That was all he desired—and that only on account of operations that were essential to our welfare. With respect to the expedition to Afghanistan, he was not going to offer any judgment on it. That formed quite another case. But, he believed that the Governor-General thought, *bonâ fide*, that it was necessary for our safety, and that the march of troops through Sindh was indispensable. For his own part, he could not see what injustice there was in this proceeding. All he demanded was, that an ally should afford us such facilities as we might fairly claim under the faith of treaties; but how far the Ameers were willing to treat us as allies, he had already shewn. So far from assisting us, they used every means of annoyance. Much allusion had been made to the treaty between the British Government, Runjeet Sing, and Shah Soojah, of the 26th of June, 1838. And it might be proper here to take a short view of certain circumstances, intimately connected with that treaty. (The hon. proprietor then gave a sketch of the history of Sindh from the year 1590, to shew, that Sindh formerly was not an independent state, but formed part of another kingdom.) The Governor-General saw that the treaty of June, 1838, was essentially necessary to the interests of British India. It was agreed to; and he should now very shortly advert to the reclamation made by the Governor-General under its provisions. It was said, that, by this treaty, very great injustice had been inflicted on Sindh. But if they looked over these papers, they would find that nothing was demanded by us that could fairly be considered as injurious. Col. Pottinger, in his memorandum to the Ameers, 27th of September, 1838, explains the views and wishes of the British Government in these words:—(the hon. proprietor read the memorandum from the printed papers, p. 55). But, notwithstanding this appeal, what was the conduct of the Ameers? Why they interposed impediments of every kind to the advance of the British force. They prevented the purchase of camels, of grain, of supplies of any and every kind. This, surely, was a most scandalous breach of faith, and necessarily led to strong measures. It was admitted, and never had been denied, that, where friendship and amity prevailed between two states, every sort of facility should be granted by the one to the other, provided no loss was likely to be thereby sustained by one of the parties. Now, in this case, what loss were the Ameers, or their subjects, likely to sustain? It was distinctly ordered, that every thing supplied to us should be immediately paid for. There was plenty of money to meet every demand. Did the Ameers then shew a friendly feeling towards us in procuring supplies? Quite the contrary. Col. Pottinger wrote, that the army was reduced, in its progress, to exceeding distress, by the hostile conduct of those persons. Col. Pottinger, writ-

ing to Capt. Burnes, at Khyrpore (p. 60), on the 8th of October, 1838, says—“The events of every succeeding hour satisfy me that we have nothing to look to from the cordial co-operation and sincere friendship of the government of Sinde.” Again (p. 64), under date of the 9th of October [Reads from the printed papers, p. 64.] Would the Marquess Wellesley or the Marquess of Hastings have acted with forbearance under such circumstances? Assuredly they would not have been contented with half-measures. They would have seen the folly of temporizing, and they would have acted with befitting promptitude. Col. Pottinger was of the same opinion. He was not for half-measures, but wished to do what the exigency of the case seemed to demand. On the 13th of October, 1838, he thus writes to the Governor-General [Reads from the Printed Papers, p. 64]. Here then was at once a direct violation of treaty; a decided refusal to do that which they had previously agreed to perform. Noor Mahomed farther said, “that that question must lie over until the British troops were clear of Sinde, and that, with respect to the *ukbar*, he had sent it to me as a friend, and saw no advantage in my reporting such things to Government.” What was this but gross treachery on the part of the Ameers? They thought that we were in difficulties, and that, therefore, they might treat us as they pleased. Col. Pottinger made known his feelings on the subject to the government, and shewed that it was necessary to act. He found it impossible to comprehend the proceedings of those people—those poor, harmless, complaining men, as they had been described—so variable and vacillating was their conduct. He wrote thus to the Governor of Bombay (p. 67) on the 16th of Oct. 1838:—“The great difficulty I have in arriving at any positive conclusion as to what Noor Mahomed Khan will do, springs from his utter and abandoned want of either truth or shame. The plans and evasions of the Ameers have varied a dozen times each day.” Every thing which Col. Pottinger saw, convinced him of the intriguing disposition of the Ameers, and of their determination, if possible, to destroy us. As a proof of their talent for intrigue, he should refer to Col. Pottinger’s letter of the 18th Oct. 1838, to the Governor-General [Reads from p. 70]. Again, on the 22nd Oct. 1838, Col. Pottinger, in his letter to Lieut. Burnes, adverts to the hostile and unfriendly conduct pursued towards the British agents [Reads from p. 75]. At p. 81, under date Oct. 25th, 1838, Col. Pottinger adduces, in his letter to the Governor-General, further proofs of the hostile intentions of the Ameers. On the same day, the 25th of October, Col. Pottinger expresses his opinion to the Governor-General. [Reads the letter.] The gallant officer who spoke in these strong terms was a gentleman whom they all honoured. (*Hear, hear!*) He was a man of great talent, of deep foresight, and of the utmost integrity. (*Hear, hear!*) He had greatly distinguished himself by his conduct in 1838, and he had since, in another quarter, essentially served his country. (*Hear, hear!*) Such, however, was the decided opinion of Col. Pottinger. The Governor-General did not wish to precipitate matters. He said, “I will be merciful. I will take no advantage of these people. Let them give me the facilities I require, and which they are bound to give by treaty—let them prove that they are actuated by feelings of friendship towards me, and I ask for nothing more.” At p. 90, on the 29th of October, 1838, Col. Pottinger again expresses his distrust of the Ameers, in writing to Sir A. Burnes. [Reads the letter.] That the Ameers did all in their power to prevent our carrying an army through Scinde was clear from the communication made by Col. Pottinger on the 15th of December, 1838, to the Governor-General. [Reads from

the papers, p. 131.] Was not such conduct as was here described, in manifest violation of the treaty of amity between the two powers? Col. Pottinger's observation on the conduct of Meer Shere Mahomed was equally unfavourable. [Reads from p. 132 and p. 147.] Things now wore a decidedly hostile aspect. It could not be mistaken; and Col. Pottinger, on the 13th of February, 1839, wrote thus: [Reads from p. 182.] In his letter of the 7th of March, 1839, Col. Pottinger adverts to the declaration, the treacherous declaration, made to him by Noor Mahomed Khan, and the other Ameer, when they were planning our destruction, of their inviolable fidelity. [Reads from p. 194.] On the 11th of March, 1839, Col. Pottinger thus explicitly states his sentiments, as to the course which, under all the circumstances, the British Government ought to pursue. [Reads the despatch.] The hon. proprietor then adverted to our occupation of the port of Kurachee, the necessity for which step he defended; and in support of his argument quoted (p. 168) a letter from Col. Pottinger to Rear-admiral Sir F. Maitland, and the postscript of a letter (p. 174) from Brigadier Valiant to Lieut.-col. Macdonald. Having thus far proceeded, he (Mr. Weeding) must be allowed to express his regret that the Affghan war, that melancholy event, in which the lives of so many great and excellent men had been uselessly sacrificed, had never commanded such a deep and searching inquiry as its importance demanded. He could not but declare his sorrow, that some strict inquiry had not been instituted as to the disasters at Cabul. However, regret was now unavailing. Our army retreated—was treacherously slaughtered—and we had since then very properly relinquished Affghanistan. Lord Ellenborough, as Governor-General, arrived out in India in 1842, and here let him (Mr. Weeding) remark upon the inconsistency of the hon. proprietor who seconded the motion, who approved one part of the noble lord's line of policy in one respect, and in another condemned that very same line. In the correspondence before the Court, it was stated to be one part of Lord Ellenborough's policy not to occupy any territory west of the Indus, except as far as might be necessary for the maintenance of commerce. He would now proceed to shew from the documents before the Court, that while the Ameer were holding a fair face, and using a friendly tone towards us, they were at the same time carrying on all sorts of intrigues, for the purpose of expelling us from the country. The first extract he should read was from a letter addressed by Major Outram to the private secretary to the Governor-General, dated January 21st, 1842. [Reads the letter from the printed papers.] The next paragraph to which he should call the attention of the Court, was from the same political agent in Sindh to the secretary with the Governor-General, dated Sukkur, May 8th, 1842. [Reads from p. 348.] The next was an extract from a purwana, from Meer Nusseer Khan, to his kardar, Teyt Mull, kazim of the pergunnas of Shikarpore, dated August 19th, 1842. [Reads from the papers.] It had been said that the information obtained by the Indian Government was from our own partisans; from whom else could it be so well obtained? Information of this kind was of the most valuable description, and of the utmost importance, as would be shewn from a letter from Lieut. Postans, dated at Shikarpore, May 25th, 1842. [Reads the letter.] This Mahomed Shureef (referred to) was overtaken by the British Government, and there could be no doubt in the world that old Meer Nusseer Khan was privy to his escape, and that, therefore, having been guilty of a breach of faith to us, he was justly punished; yet this was the old man for whom so much sympathy had been excited, and who was said to have suffered so much and so unjustly, as he had been acting in our favour.

How fairly he had acted, however, would be seen from the extracts he (Mr. Weeding) had read. The fact of the order received to stop all the boats laden with grain coming down the Indus was, he repeated, a sufficient proof of their treachery, and the want of good faith by the Ameers towards us, and if he had no other grounds than these, they would fully warrant him in approving the policy pursued by the Governor-General, and therefore in opposing the motion. But there were other and ample grounds. The first document to which he would beg the attention of the Court was a letter from Major Outram to Sir Charles Napier, dated Sukkur, October 30th, 1842. [Reads the letter.] He would now call the attention of the Court to the proposed agreement between Meer Roostum Khan and Meer Nusseer Khan, enclosed in the foregoing. [Read the document from the printed papers.] With respect to these and similar transactions, he knew it would be said that some of our young political officers were more remarkable for their zeal than their discretion. He would not dispute that statement. Many of our young diplomatists were in great want of that article—advice—and if more of it had been given to the late lamented Sir A. Burnes, the fatal catastrophe by which he fell might have been avoided. He would now read to the Court a few extracts from a despatch of Lieut. Eastwick to the Resident in Sind, dated Jan. 26, 1839. [Read from the papers.] Would any one have supposed that the author of this very glowing picture of what Sind might become, and the great advantages which she might derive from the introduction of a British force—would any one, he repeated, suppose that the author of this picture was no other than the hon. and gallant officer the seconder of the present motion? (*Hear, hear!*) What a change had come over the hon. and gallant proprietor's opinion since he wrote the description of Sindian prosperity under the influence of English domination, from which he (Mr. Weeding) quoted! The Court had heard much of the sympathy excited by the fate of those Ameers, as if, instead of being conspirators against England, they were the most refined and delicate of rulers. But who and what were they? What was the opinion expressed by Sir A. Burnes of them in 1838? The passage he was about to read would shew. [Reads.] It would be difficult to conceive a more unpopular rule than that of the Ameers of Sind, nor was that feeling disguised. The people looked upon the British as the forerunners of conquest, and they expected to be returned to their original rule, which was any thing but satisfactory; but he would quote the whole passage from Lieut. Alex. Burnes' despatch in 1831. [Reads.] The last quotation with which he should trouble the Court was from a lady, and he was sure the Court would not object to hear it. It was from a lady of great experience and of very accurate knowledge of the subjects on which she wrote. The lady to whom he alluded, was Mrs. Postans, who, speaking of the manner in which the people were ruled by the Ameers, gave in illustration the following very graphic account of a transaction of which she was herself an eye-witness:—"I remember well the coming of the agent of the Ameers to Shikarpoor, and his requiring 15,000 rupees, fixing on particular persons certain sums, and leaving the balance to individual tastes. In an hour all the Hindoos had left the city, and seating themselves in a garden, had declared their intention to remain there and starve, until the agent of the Ameers withdrew. Poor people! they well knew the vanity of opposition, although they instinctively made it, rather than submit willingly to robbery; but in another hour armed men dispersed the crowd, seized the wealthiest of them, hung cows' bones round their necks, compelled them to eat flesh, and heaped upon them every outrage to their religious feelings

that Moslem intolerance could devise, and these were neither few nor merciful. The result was the payment of the sum; but while the curse of the agent's presence remained, every Hindoo shut himself in his house, except the few whose public business compelled them to go forth, and these escaped remark as much as possible." He had now concluded his extracts from the large volume, and he thought the extracts were sufficient to shew that the deposition of the Ameers had been brought upon themselves by their own misconduct and their treachery to the British Government. He thought he had also sufficiently shewn that these chiefs were wholly unfit to be continued as the rulers of Sind. He trusted, therefore, that with these facts before them, the Court would not consent to the motion. He would not fatigue the attention of the Court, or trespass on its indulgence by quoting to any extent from the second volume, yet there was one extract which if the Court permitted him he would read, because he thought it set the whole question completely at rest. He (Mr. Weeding) did not mean to say that every part of the policy of Lord Ellenborough with respect to the government of India was correct, but he must observe that if any of the noble lord's views with respect to India were erroneous, he had made ample atonement for them by the abolition of slavery in Sind. It was well known that a great part of the trade of Kurrachee consisted of slaves, of whom from 600 to 700 were imported every year. The putting an end to that detestable traffic was a measure for which the friends of humanity owed the noble lord a debt of gratitude. [Reads the despatch from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Allahabad, June 23rd, 1843.] The next extract he should refer to was from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Allahabad, June 26th, 1843. [Reads.] It was not his (Mr. Weeding's) intention to say any thing of the much talked of transportation of the gates of Somnauth, but this he would say, that the noble lord, the Governor-General of India, deserved great praise for upholding the British interests after the sad disasters they had sustained in Affghanistan. The whole of this letter shewed a most important improvement in the policy of the Governor-General, and also afforded the most satisfactory evidence of his disposition to carry out that policy in the tone and spirit which would be most agreeable to the Government at home. Had we permitted those violations of solemn treaties to pass with impunity, we might as well have retired from the country altogether, and declared at once our inability to hold it. Every thing which the trick and treachery of the Ameers could do was done to place us in a false position, and if possible to bring on hostilities, for which they imagined that we could not be prepared, considering the great disparity between the force which they could bring into the field, and the comparatively small body of men at our disposal. (The hon. proprietor went on reading the remainder of the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee, contending, as he proceeded, that every step taken by the Governor-General with respect to the Ameers was justified by sound policy, with, perhaps, this slight drawback, that our measures against them ought to have been taken somewhat earlier.) The collection of a large army was permitted on the slight pretence that the force was required for the protection of the ladies of the Ameers. The fact was, the Ameers wanted to bamboozle Sir C. Napier, but it would not do. These were the opinions of the noble lord the Governor-General of India, possessing the most ample means of forming a correct judgment as to the matters on which he wrote. It must be gratifying to the feelings of the hon. and gallant officer who seconded the motion, that his views as to the future pros-

perity of Sindé and other parts of India were coincident with those of the noble lord the Governor-General; at the same time he (Mr. Weeding) must observe that while the correctness of the hon. and gallant officer's opinions on these points did credit to his judgment on a former occasion, such a wide departure from those opinions as was now evinced in seconding the present motion was not at all flattering to his consistency. (*Hear, hear!*) He had now brought his extracts to a conclusion, and he must contend that the last one which he had read set the question as to the policy of the Indian government with respect to Sindé completely at rest. The exposition by the noble lord the Governor-General of India of his views was as masterly in its style as it was satisfactory in its general import. One thing was quite certain, that it left no ground whatever which would justify the Court in giving its assent to the present motion; under these circumstances he hoped the Court would meet it with a direct negative. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Lewis said that, notwithstanding the attempt which the hon. proprietor who had just spoken had made to ridicule the sympathy universally felt for the Ameers of Sindé, he entertained, and should never cease to entertain, the deepest sympathy for their sufferings, and still hoped that there was a possibility of their being restored to their sovereignty. (*Hear, hear!*) He was glad to hear the statements of the hon. chairman, and to find that the Directors had disapproved of the proceedings which had been adopted towards the Ameers of Sindé. He was glad also to hear that they intended to assist and protect the Ameers as far as they could, and to exert their best endeavours in procuring for them a provision suited to their rank, in case they were not restored. (*Hear, hear!*) He hoped they would still persevere in that course; he was sure they would meet with the cordial co-operation of that Court; and he trusted that the division of that day would aid and second the efforts so properly made by them on behalf of the Ameers. With regard to the question before the Court, he thought, that in order to arrive at a correct judgment upon it, they must take into consideration and examination every transaction that had transpired between the British Government and the Ameers, from the year 1832 up to the time when we took possession of their country, after the battles of Meannee and Hyderabad. These transactions appeared to him to constitute an entire drama, the earlier scenes of which were acted under the auspices of Lord Auckland, the latter under those of Lord Ellenborough. The plot, if he might say so—the fable of the tragedy—was the merit of Lord Auckland; its fatal catastrophe, that of Lord Ellenborough. (*Hear, hear!*) He had read these papers, and he confessed that the only character he could give of the proceedings against the Ameers was this:—that the papers exhibited, on the part of the British Government, a series of exactions becoming more and more oppressive and tyrannical in the same proportion as the Ameers evinced a ready compliance with its demands. (*Hear, hear!*) He saw on the one hand nothing but encroachments and usurpation; on the other, nothing but submissiveness: until at last the Ameers became utterly powerless, and were unable to raise their arms against it. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought that a brief survey of the circumstances would satisfy the Court that he had not overdrawn or exaggerated the picture. (*Hear, hear!*) The hon. proprietor who had just spoken had alluded to those circumstances, but had studiously kept some of them back; and with regard to some of the most important documents, he had altogether left them unnoticed. He wished, then, simply to state these facts, and to contrast the conduct of the British Government, on the one hand,

with that of the Ameers of Sindé on the other, and then leave the Court to draw their own conclusion. In the year 1832, the British Government, as the hon. proprietor had truly stated, formed a project of throwing open the navigation of the Indus. That project could not be carried into execution without the aid and co-operation of the Ameers of Sindé. Application was accordingly made to them for that purpose,—and what was their conduct on that occasion? Did they refuse to aid us in those views? No; but readily and cordially co-operated with us. (*Mr. Weeding.*—“Quite the reverse.”) He repeated it: they readily co-operated with us. They assented to our dictation, and signed a treaty, by which they agreed to give us the use of the roads of Sindé and of the river Indus, and to levy only a moderate duty upon goods and merchandize carried up and down that river; but at the same time they required from us, and we assented to it on our part, that we would not allow any armed forces or military stores to be carried up the roads or the rivers of Sindé. (*Hear, hear!*) They would see, shortly, how, when it answered our purpose, we entirely disregarded the engagements we had entered into by that treaty. After having assented to the treaty, we found it somewhat inconvenient, it seemed, that the duty should be levied on goods and merchandize going up and down the river, and proposed and desired that a fixed duty should be levied, instead, on the boats themselves. What was the conduct of the Ameers then? Was there any resistance, any reluctance, on their part? None whatever. They signed the treaty of 1831, and by that agreed to the alteration we proposed. The next transaction was that of 1836. At that time Lord Auckland was anxious to extend the influence of the British Government in Sindé—to place it, as he said, on a solid basis. Just about the same period, it accidentally occurred that Runjeet Sing invaded a part of Sindé. He made an attack on the Mazarees. Lord Auckland very adroitly and ingeniously made use of that circumstance to promote his own views in Sindé. Knowing the influence the British Government had with Runjeet Sing, that we had only to ask, or command, and to obtain, Lord Auckland proffered to the Ameers the mediation of the British Government, and undertook to use his influence with Runjeet to withdraw his troops, on condition that the Ameers would admit a British resident at their court. They accepted the mediation of the British Government, and consented that a British resident should be admitted, not at their capital, but at Shikarpore. They naturally felt averse to the reception at their capital of a person who was to exercise a constant inspection over all their proceedings and actions. The British Government, however, persevered—the Ameers yielded—and, in 1838, the British resident was allowed to take up his abode and station in the capital itself. Shortly after this piece of policy was effected, Lord Auckland projected the invasion of Afghanistan; that, in his opinion, most unjustifiable and wicked attempt was put in practice by the British Government. (*Hear, hear!*) In furtherance of that scheme, preparations were made, forces were got ready, a large armament was collected and prepared to march into Sindé, and then, and not till then, were the Ameers officially informed of the intentions of the British Government. (*Hear, hear!*) They would find the document in which that intention was announced at p. 24 of the blue book. They talked of insults offered to the British Government;—let them look at this document in which the announcement was made. What were the Ameers told in that document? “That a great crisis had arrived which, in the opinion of the Governor-General, imperiously demanded the interference of the British Government;—that the

Governor-General relied on their friendship to render every assistance, by ordering boats to be collected for crossing the river, and camels and grain to be furnished as far as they were required; — to pay a sum to Shah Soojah as tribute; — to suspend the condition in the treaty of 1832, which prohibited arms and military stores being carried up the Indus." They were called upon and directed to do all this, and then were informed, in the most insulting manner, that, unless they complied, a British force would march into their country. Let him not hear of insults offered to the British Government after that. (*Hear, hear!*) But he would read the language of Sir H. Pottinger:—"That any hesitation on their part to comply with what was asked of them, would be deemed a refusal, and immediate steps would be taken to remedy it; which, it was obvious, could only be done by calling in additional troops, which were all ready, both in the Bengal and Bombay territories." The worst enemies of Sindé—even the hon. Proprietor himself (Mr. Weeding), would not, he thought, deny that, up to that moment, the Ameers had conducted themselves with all good faith. But was an announcement like that calculated to rement the ties of friendship between them and the British Government? What, however, was their conduct upon this occasion, harsh and insolent as ours was? Notwithstanding those insults, what did they do? They had the letter of Sir Alexander Burnes of the 19th October, 1838, in the blue book, and he told them that when the announcement of the intended invasion of Afghanistan by the Governor-General, was made by him to Meer Roostum Khan, the chief of the Ameers of Upper Sindé, he received him with great cordiality, and told him that the resources of his kingdom were at the disposal of the British Government; and in another letter, Sir Alexander says, "I did not expect that I should find such attachment and fidelity as this in the day of trial." (*Hear, hear!*) The Ameers of Lower Sindé, however, felt reluctant to permit an invasion of their territories, specious as the pretext was on our parts; and was it not natural, considering the nature of the demands we made upon them,—the admission of a large force into their territory? Could one nation make a more important or trying demand on another? Consider the great inconvenience a nation must necessarily be subjected to, which consented to such a proposition as that. Consider again (what was much more important), the possibility, not to say probability, of a collision between the invading army, and the nation which permitted that army to pass through their territory. He considered, then, that the Ameers of Sindé were perfectly justified in their reluctance to accede to Lord Auckland's proposal; but that reluctance at length yielded, and the Ameers conceded what he required. We proceeded to Kurachée; with our troops we entered Sindé, and then what did we endeavour to do? To go onward to our destination? No; but the British resident and agents were employed in hashing and raking up all sorts of charges of treasonable conspiracy against the Ameers. We found a letter, stated to be written some time before this by Meer Noor Muhomed Khan to the Shah of Persia, said to be of a treasonable nature; and the various impediments opposed to our progress are treated as the acts of the Ameers, and are assumed to have been committed in breach of treaty. The letter to the Shah of Persia he had read, and he could not find any thing of a treasonable nature in it—it was the most unintelligible jargon and nonsense he had ever read; filled with the most fulsome compliments to his Persian Majesty. But upon this and the like petty charges and discoveries (which a great government might well have overlooked even if they had been true), Lord Auckland came to the determination of obtaining from

the Ameers of Sindé what he was pleased to call a "revised treaty." It was a very convenient mode of imposing stringent terms on the Ameers, under the soft appellation of a revised treaty; but let him call their attention to the words of the treaty, and then they would see the tender mercy of the British Government towards those unfortunate princes. Before, however, he proceeded to state the terms of the treaty, there was a circumstance he begged to call their attention to. They would recollect that, in 1838, the British Government entered into a treaty with Shah Shoojah and Runjeet Sing, and in that treaty proceeded in the most unceremonious manner to deal with certain property belonging to the Ameers of Sindé, namely, Shikarpore. The British Government took upon itself to carve out that district as it pleased. But the Ameers, who were most interested in the matter, were no parties to that treaty. When they heard of it, was it not calculated to excite a feeling of ill-will towards us, and would it not account for those difficulties which we met with in procuring supplies of provisions on our way to Affghanistan? and were not those difficulties brought on, not by the acts of the Ameers of Sindé, but by our own unjustifiable proceedings? In March 1839, the treaty was agreed to by which a British force not exceeding 5,000 men was to be admitted into Sindé. Each of the Ameers was to pay one lac of rupees towards its expense; they were not to enter into any negotiation with any foreign state without the sanction of the British Government; they were to furnish for the service of the British Government (it not being sufficient that 5,000 persons should be maintained at the Ameer's expense) a body of 3,000 men, whenever required, at their expense. But it was not sufficient that the Ameers should provide the means by which these forces were to be maintained, they must consent to abandon part of their revenue besides; and accordingly we find another stipulation by which it was provided that no tolls should be levied on boats passing up and down the rivers through their territories. He would put it to the members of that Court whether the terms of that treaty were not most unjust, oppressive, and humiliating to the Ameers of Sindé? (*Hear, hear!*) He need only refer to the construction of the Governor-General himself of that treaty. And what was it he said in his letter to the Secret Committee of the 13th March, 1839?—"Our political and military ascendancy is now finally declared and settled;" and, again—"The Ameers are reduced to a state of abject apprehension and submission." (*Hear, hear!*) That was the testimony of the Governor-General himself as to the effect of the treaty of 1839. Now having seen, on the one hand, these unjustifiable terms forced upon the Ameers of Sindé, let them return to the army and see what it was doing in the meantime. They found that Kurachec was taken possession of, Tatta was converted into a barrack, Shikarpore was invested, and Bukkur conceded; and all this was done under the name and pretext of a temporary occupation, and only to assist our ulterior views with reference to Affghanistan. The British force advanced, surmounted the difficulties of the passes, and in its early efforts succeeded in Affghanistan. Sad and humiliating reverses followed.* At length, by the favour of Providence, those reverses were retrieved. The British forces surmounted all difficulties, and having asserted their supremacy in that country, they marched back towards India. They arrived at the borders of Sindé. Now, mark the conduct of the British Government. We were permitted a transit through the territory of the Ameers; we were allowed to occupy three different posts as temporary possessions, and to have a large force in Sindé for a temporary possession.

(*Hear, hear!*) . What did justice and common honesty require?—and let them recollect that the Ameers of Sindé, in the day of our trial, were faithful to us. (*Hear, hear!*) They did not attack us when they heard of our disasters in Affghanistan. What, he said, did justice and honesty require? That we should have receded from this territory with as much despatch as possible—that we should have given up the places of which we held temporary possession—that we should have thanked the Ameers of Sindé for having proved themselves our faithful friends. But our defeat in Affghanistan seemed to sharpen our appetite for domination. Having been defeated by our enemies, we took vengeance on our friends. The functions of all the residents and political agents were directed to one purpose, and one purpose only, and that was, to rake up something like a treasonable correspondence carried on by the Ameers. For what purpose? Why to found again some charges upon which they might force from the Ameers another revised and more stringent treaty. What was it Sir Charles Napier said? Let them never forget the memorable expression; it was a key to all that followed: “I have maintained,” says Sir Charles, in his letter of the 25th of Oct. 1842, “that we only want a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers.” (*Hear, hear!*) That was what we wanted, and were determined to have. He found in the course of his experience that, whenever pretexts were wanted, we were very adroit in finding them, and very unscrupulous as to the propriety of the grounds on which they were founded. The result was, that various petty and absurd charges were brought against the Ameers of Sindé. The hon. Proprietor (Mr. Wedding) had treated the Court at great length with most of these, which he (Mr. Lewis) thought unnecessary; because Sir C. Napier and the Governor-General threw overboard the greater part of them. (*Hear, hear!*) They selected three charges only, and considered those a sufficient pretext upon which to coerce the Ameers. And what were these three charges? He was not going to enter at great length into them; after the statement of the hon. mover, that unanswerable statement he should say, it was unnecessary. His hon. friend entered fully into them, and shewed what was the evidence brought forward for their support. The first was a letter alleged to have been written by Meer Nusseer Khan to Beebruck Boogtic. The principal, if not the only evidence upon which that charge rested, was the examination of the seals of two letters by Sir C. Napier, and the resolution come to by him from that examination, that the letter was authentic. The next charge was a letter alleged to be written by Meer Roostum Khan to the Maharajah Shere Sing. Lieut. Brown, it is true, was of opinion that the letter was genuine; but, on the other hand, Mr. Clerk (the resident at Lahore), and a person far more competent, from his experience, to be a judge of such matters, doubted its authenticity; and Major Outram himself did not believe it to be the production of Meer Roostum. The third and last charge was the connivance of Futteh Mahomed Goree in the escape of Mahomed Shereef from prison; and that rested, as his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan) had stated, almost entirely on the evidence of a discarded servant. Upon these three charges, in themselves somewhat trivial, Lord Ellenborough thought himself justified in obtaining from the Ameers what he is also pleased to call a *revised* treaty. This expression seems peculiar to Oriental diplomacy. When one hears of a revised treaty, one imagines that there was something in existing treaties that required a little alteration—not dreaming for a moment that such stringent terms as those which are contained in this treaty were to be imposed. Let him call

the attention of the Court to the terms of that treaty, and see what the Ameers were called upon to surrender. The Ameers of Upper Sind were to give up in perpetuity to the Nawab of Bhawalpore the pergunna of Boong Bhara, the third part of Subzuleote, the villages of Golkee, Maludu, Chaonga, Dudoola, and Uzzeepore, and all the territories between the dominions of the Nawab and the town of Roree. They were to cede in perpetuity to the British Government the town of Sukkur, the islands of Bukkur and the adjoining islets, and the town of Roree. They were also to renounce the privilege of coining money in their own dominions. By the same treaty, the Ameers of Lower Sind were to cede in perpetuity to the British Government Kurrachee and Tatta, and the right of passage over the territories of the Ameers between those towns. They were further to cede to the Nawab of Bhawalpore all their rights and interests in the territories between the frontiers of Bhawalpore and the town of Roree, and they were also required to renounce the privilege of coining money in their own dominions. Now let any person assume for a moment that the charges upon which the Governor-General proceeded were true, and compare the penalty with the offence, and he asked whether the punishment was not severe in the extreme. The Governor-General himself seemed to have entertained some suspicion upon that point, and to have thought that those terms would not be submitted to by the Ameers without opposition. In his letter of the 19th November, 1812, to the Secret Committee, he says:—"I cannot but apprehend that the Ameers of Hyderabad and Kyrpore will resist the imposition of the terms I have deemed it just and expedient to demand from them, in consequence of the violation of treaty and the acts of intended hostility of which they *appear* to be guilty." This letter appeared to him not only to shew a consciousness, on the part of the Governor-General, of the severity of the terms intended to be imposed on the Ameers; but was it not somewhat extraordinary that the Governor-General should have made up his mind to enforce this treaty upon certain defined charges, and yet afterwards, writing upon the subject, he should speak of the Ameers as appearing only to be guilty of those charges? What did this shew? Did it not lead them to suppose that his lordship himself was not satisfied of the guilt of the Ameers? It was from the apprehension that the Ameers would resist the terms of this treaty that the subsequent proceedings from that time were taken. What did Sir Charles Napier do? He marched from the position he occupied—he advanced towards Emaum Ghur—took possession of that fort, blew it up—entirely demolished it, and proceeded in hostile array with his troops towards Hyderabad—and the British army being then in that menacing position, the Ameers of Sind were called upon and required to sign that treaty. They did sign it; but before they signed it, they protested their innocence of the charges upon which this treaty was alleged to be founded. They told Major Outram that the Beloochees were in a state of great excitement, and so exasperated against the British Government, for conniving at the transfer of the turban from Meer Roostum to Ali Morad that they (the Ameers) could not control them, unless the British Government would give them a pledge either to do justice in that case or to leave them to obtain justice for themselves. Those were the circumstances under which the treaty was signed. Shortly after, the attack took place upon the residency. It was said that that was a treacherous act. He denied it entirely; there was not the slightest treachery on the part of the Ameers. (*Hear, hear!*) They gave full information to the resident of what was likely to occur

—Major Outram did not venture to say that it was a treacherous attack. The treachery as it appeared to him was on the part of the British Government. Was it not treacherous to obtain from the Ameers permission to pass through their territories, and when we got there, to enforce the treaty of 1839? was it not treacherous when we returned from Afghanistan, instead of withdrawing our forces, as we were bound and ought in common justice to have done, at the point of the bayonet to enforce the treaty of 1842? We were from beginning to end the aggressors. It was aggression unprovoked in its commencement, continued in perfidy and violence, and in the end it was stained with blood. By repeated acts of oppression, we goaded them to desperation—in that desperation they committed an act of violence, and we took advantage of that act of violence which we ourselves had occasioned, and are now mean and base enough to insist on it as a reason for seizing and retaining possession of their territories. There was no justification—there can be no justification for such conduct as this. But weak and pitiful as the grounds of justification are which are put forward in the printed papers, weaker and still more pitiful are those on which the conduct of the British Government is attempted to be supported by political parties in this country. It was said by one that the Ameers of Sind had always been a deceitful and treacherous race. He denied it. The statements contained in the papers contradicted it. (*Hear, hear!*) By another it was said that they were cruel tyrants and oppressed their subjects. Where was the evidence of that in the papers before the Court? His hon. friend (Mr. Weeding) might read the papers from beginning to end and would find nothing of the kind. Had he known that such a charge as that was to have been made, he had no doubt he could have got from the papers counter-statements without end. But if such doctrines as those were to prevail, who was to draw the line between that point at which liberty ceased and oppression commenced? (*Hear, hear!*) But another party said, that Lord Ellenborough was justified in what he did, because, forsooth, Lord Auckland had done the same thing before him. But surely Lord Ellenborough was the last person upon whose conduct that could be advanced: because the very first moment he landed in India, he renounced the policy of Lord Auckland, and boasted that his own policy would be entirely different. (*Hear, hear!*) He only lamented that there was too great a similarity between the policies of the two noble lords. But there was another reason given for Lord Ellenborough's conduct—one that would not have merited a remark except from the high authority from which it proceeded. It was said that when civilization came in contact with barbarism, all the laws of nations must be superseded; or, in other words, that the immutable, eternal principles of justice upon which the liberties of nations are based, are to be utterly destroyed. (*Hear, hear!*) He regretted to hear that from such a source. It shewed great want of caution, and he regretted it because it would be attended with disastrous consequences unless it was repudiated: but he hoped that the Directors would not allow that day to pass without recording their remonstrances against it. (*Hear, hear!*) Let it not go forth that they were acting in such principles as those. If they did, what must be the consequence?—Suspicion, distrust, and the destruction of all feelings of confidence towards us in India. It appeared to him that the position of the Ameers called for a far different treatment, not only on the justice of the case, but for our own selfish interests. (*Hear, hear!*) We had possession of Sind now. Did we intend to retain it? Did we see the difficulties in which we were placing ourselves? Was

it not probable, and more than probable, that we might come into collision with the government of Lahore, and a second time with Afghanistan? If we were successful, what would be the political results of it? Would not the jealousy of Persia be raised? Would not the jealousy and fears of Russia be excited too? (*Hear, hear!*) And if the effect of our success would but lead to an European war, was it not a necessary consequence that it must affect the relations of amity that existed between us and those two nations? But if we were unsuccessful—if such reverses as occurred in Afghanistan should again assail us, might it not lead to the weakening, and ultimately the destruction of an empire in India? We were in point of territory, no doubt, extending our possessions, but we were in reality weakening our power. It was for those reasons, that he trusted the Court would record their votes in favour of the motion of his hon. friend. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. *Marriott* said, the hon. proprietor (Mr. Weeding) had stated that he hoped the hon. proprietors would read the papers before the Court. He (Mr. Marriott) had read the 689 pages contained in the two blue books, and he must admit that the question before them was, as the Governor-General called it, a very complicated one; but at the same time he considered that we were the first aggressors—(*hear, hear!*)—and he should, therefore, vote for the resolutions, though they did not exactly please him. He would merely say, that he had listened with considerable attention to the hon. proprietor who brought forward this motion, and thought he had displayed astonishing talent in the examination of the evidence contained in the papers. He knew it was said that the hon. proprietor had looked at the question judicially and not politically. He was glad that the hon. proprietor had looked at it judicially, and had shewn them where the defects in the evidence lay. He was glad also to hear the hon. proprietor who had seconded the motion, for he considered that there was a sort of deference to be paid to those who had held official situations abroad. Now, both the mover and seconder had been residents in Upper Sind, and their evidence, therefore, might be as well received as the documentary evidence before the Court; and though, with the hon. proprietor (Mr. Weeding), he would defer to the councils of the Court of Directors, yet at the same time he would stand up for those rights which the Act of Parliament gave them. (*Hear, hear!*) He must regret that they had not heard the opinion of any of the Court of Directors on this subject—(*hear, hear!*)—and that they had not heard the voice of any director in another place. He would only further detain the Court by saying, that he thought that in the 21st chapter of the First Book of Kings there was a parallel case to this. We had given way to a desire of extending our territory—we desired to have Sind—and no means must be left untried to accomplish it. In the chapter to which he had alluded there was a similar case. The object was attained, but let them mark the retribution that followed. For these considerations he should vote for the motion of the hon. proprietor.

Mr. *Clarke* would have given a silent vote, but for one or two observations which had been made by the hon. proprietor (Mr. Weeding). That hon. gentleman had gone very much into detail, taking them back 150 years into the history of Sind, but in his opinion that had very little to do with the matter. Upon the treaty of 1839, which appeared to him to be a most important part of the case, the hon. proprietor had not said one word. There were one or two points that strongly impressed his mind with regard to this lamentable affair. One was, that he did not see any ground to justify Sir C.

Napier's attack upon Emaum Ghur. He knew that the gallant officer gave one reason for it, but that was a military one, and perhaps, in a military point of view, it was right; but he wanted to know what specific acts of violence had taken place previous to the destruction of that fort. (*Hear, hear!*) He could not find one. There was, however, one reason assigned, and it was this—that unless he could deprive the Ameers of every place of successful retreat, he could not get any treaty from them; he then destroyed Emaum Ghur, and deprived them of that retreat. He (Mr. Clarke) had read those papers, he hoped, with as much attention as the hon. proprietor, but he had certainly put a different construction upon them; he had read them, and he most conscientiously declared that there appeared to him to be an aggressive tendency on our part, which had led to various acts on the part of the Ameers, and then they were charged with raising an army to attack us. (*Hear, hear!*) But was it not the most reasonable thing in the world for the Ameers to adopt such measures, when they were branded with charges they denied, and suspicions against which they protested? But although they did make that protest, yet he could not find in the whole of the blue book that there had been any desire to investigate those charges. He said that the Ameers had never had a fair tribunal before which to vindicate themselves. Look at the attack on Major Outram. He was one of those who thought that the circumstances previous to that attack, as well as those connected with it, were not of such a nature as to justify the great penalty inflicted on the Ameers. (*Hear, hear!*) He had really endeavoured to look conscientiously at the whole matter, but he could not see any justification for what had been done. But assuming, for a moment, that the whole case stated in the blue book was true, what did it amount to? Nothing. There was no justifiable ground for dealing with the Ameers as they had been dealt with, dethroning them, confiscating their property, and taking possession of their territory. (*Hear, hear!*) It did not justify that extremity. (*Hear, hear!*) On the contrary, the Ameers, according to his view, had exhibited the greatest forbearance throughout the whole of these transactions. They had lost territory to a great extent; they bore that, as well as all the aggressive encroachments of the troops, and of policy, and the destruction of Emaum Ghur; and he should like to ask, what act of criminality they had committed. Ought we not, indeed, to designate their conduct as marked with the greatest forbearance? But then, if that were so, and the attack which took place was to be attributed to the violence of the Beloochees, and which, indeed, appeared from the despatch of Lord Ellenborough himself, in which he announced the victory of the army, he would ask, whether the Ameers deserved the punishment they had received. Did not the Ameers distinctly state to the Resident that if he remained there, they could not answer for his safety, as they had no control over the Beloochees? There was one point more. He would call the attention of the Court to the notes of the conference between the Ameers of Sind and the Resident previous to the taking of Hyderabad. He considered them of the most affecting character. The Ameers at that conference said, "it was written that treasonable letters had been sent to Beebruk Boogtie, and Sawun Mull. Why were those letters not produced? Why do not you give us an opportunity of disproving them? We never wrote them." (*Hear, hear!*) Then again the Ameers would have been perfectly satisfied if we had only consented to this. But if they proved that Meer Roostum Khan had been cheated out of his turban, we would put him back again in possession of it. He said that these notes of the conference were most affecting, and when the hon.

gentleman said that if Major Outram had retired, all these consequences would have been avoided; perhaps they might, but he (Mr. Clarke) thought differently. He thought that Major Outram could not have had that conference with the Ameers without feeling himself deeply interested in their position, and he remained at Hyderabad to avert those ruinous consequences which he saw hanging over them (*Hear, hear!*) and had rather lose his life, and have that satisfaction in his heart, than give up the opportunity of settling their affairs if possible. Well, then, what was the result of all this? there was an attack upon Major Outram. By its taking place, the Indian government had been insulted. It became necessary to retaliate. But he would ask whether the circumstances previous to that attack, and those connected with it had been such as to justify the dethronement of the Ameers, the confiscation of their property, and the loss of their territory. (*Hear, hear!*) He confessed it did appear to him to be of a most unjustifiable nature. We might have attained military victories, but what must be the moral effect of all this upon our other colonies, and in fact upon all civilized Europe? He was perfectly aware that the principle of political expediency was generally advanced for those invasions which would not be otherwise justified. Even in the days of Buonaparte, all the acts he ever did were under the principle of expediency, and for that which there was no substantial cause to justify, the term of expediency was used. (*Hear, hear!*) But he thought there was no ground even for expediency here. There were one or two observations of the hon. proprietor as to the advantage to Sind from our possession of that country, to which he wished to advert. The hon. proprietor said, that religion and civilization would go hand in hand to benefit Sind, and that they would almost thank us for what we had done. He thought that if we wished to produce a moral effect upon Sind, at least we should have commenced with example and precept; and it would be strange if the present generation, and indeed successive generations, in Sind, had not a vindictive feeling against us for our conduct. We should find it difficult to prevent it, and he could not help thinking that, twist and turn this subject as they might, there was always one thing uppermost—a moral wrong. (*Hear, hear!*) He could not be a co-operating party to any transaction like this. He would therefore give his vote for the resolutions, admitting, however, that if he had framed them, he should have made them different from what they were.

Mr. *Serjeant Gaselee* said, he had been waiting most anxiously in the hope that they would have heard the opinion of some of those who were at the head of their affairs in India; that some gentlemen within the bar would have come forward and defended the conduct of the Governor-General of India, if he thought it defensible, and more especially so, because those amongst the Court of Directors who had seats in Parliament had not raised their voices in the House of Commons against the doctrine, which he confessed he regretted to hear come from so high a quarter, that they were to have one principle of action for civilized nations and another for barbarians. To that unjust doctrine he could not subscribe, and it was because he wished to raise his voice against it, and because he felt he should be disgracing himself if he were to give a silent vote on this question, that he was induced to trouble the Court. No argument had been brought forward against the motion, and he should suppose, therefore, all the Directors would vote with the hon. mover, especially as they had put off the motion in order that the advocates of Lord Ellenborough might read the papers and see what his defence was, and that but one had come forward to de-

fend him. He felt, therefore, that he ought to apologize for addressing the Court ; but more so, perhaps, after the speech of the hon. proprietor, who had taken a great part in the debate, and had made a speech of nothing but extracts from papers, and references to letters. Much better would it have been if the hon. proprietor had endeavoured to have answered the unanswerable speech of his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan)—if he had answered that beautiful speech, and the able and lawyerlike criticism on the evidence, he might have satisfied some of the hon. members of that Court. But no, document after document, extract after extract formed his speech, and yet never once had he mentioned the treaty of 1839. If the hon. proprietor had read these papers with the same attention which he himself recommended to the Court, he would have swept away the whole of his speech, and hon. gentlemen long before that time would have been on their road home. (*A laugh.*) He had heard the saying of "God defend us from our friends," and this might Lord Ellenborough say now of the hon. proprietor. (*Laughter.*) He supported the resolutions ; and here he (Mr. Serjeant Gaselee) might observe, that he did not quite agree in the way these resolutions were worded—he thought they might have been less severe,—less stringent. He felt that, as the Chairman said—the usual argument in the House of Commons, when any distant person was attacked—will you judge of a man so far distant, and not give him credit for his motives? He did give Lord Ellenborough credit for his motives, and therefore would be careful in passing judgment upon him : but at the same time, he did not feel so much difficulty in the case, from the way in which Lord Ellenborough himself had passed judgment on his predecessor. He thought that the directors ought to come forward and state their sentiments. (*Hear, hear !*) He thought the Court had a right to hear them. The directors were the guardians of their affairs in India ; and when he remembered that the motion for this adjournment emanated from the Chairman, out of great regard for those who were willing to advocate the cause of Lord Ellenborough, he had a right, he said, to assume that every hon. director within the bar had read these papers and thought the conduct of the noble lord indefensible, and that, therefore, their votes would be in favour of the motion. He regretted, too, the way in which this question had been shuffled over in the House of Commons. He stood there an independent man, not caring for any minister or House of Commons (*Hear, hear !*), and he said that this question had never been fairly put in the House, and, considering how both parties were mixed up with it, he had no doubt that, between the two, it would be burked. (*Hear, hear !*) It was, therefore, the more important that in that Court, where they could speak out, bound by no political party, they should discuss this question ; and he hoped that the discussion which had taken place there might go forth to the public, and might shew the nations of India that there were some who did not subscribe to the doctrine, come from whatever quarter it might, that there was one principle of action for civilization and another for barbarianism. The next point of the case was contained in the three charges stated by his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan). Even taking them as true, did they justify the conduct of the Governor-General? He would not go through the evidence ; he would not weaken the way in which his hon. friend had commented on it. But why would not the hon. proprietor answer him? It was unanswerable. He had waited—he challenged—he courted an answer to his hon. friend. He wished to hear what could be said in opposition to it. There was the evidence cut to shreds. (*Hear, hear !*)

He did not wish to speak harshly of military men ; he thought they were very much indebted to them ; but he did not think them good judges of evidence. He did not like to see them with a sword in one hand and a treaty in the other. Look at Sir C. Napier's comments on the correspondence. Of one of the letters he said, that although the seal is not that of the Ameer, by whom it was said to be written ; yet it must be his letter, because it was the handwriting of one of his scribes. And, then, of another letter he said, it must be the letter of the Ameer, because it has his seal. So that in the one case it was his letter, because it had his seal ; and in the other, although it had not his seal, still it must be his letter, because it was written by one of his scribes. (*Hear, hear !*) Did it not shake one's ideas of the principles of justice to find the Ameers, young and old, when they had done nothing, taken away from their country, and imprisoned upon such evidence—the evidence, indeed, of a man who he would admit was one of the greatest commanders in this country, but therefore the least qualified to be a politician ? (*A laugh.*) He would call their attention to the notes of the conference. The Ameers were charged with writing treasonable letters. They denied it, and said, “ If they are our letters, why not produce them ? ” The answer was, “ They were with the Governor-General.” Could the Court conceive any thing so dreadful, as that a man should be imprisoned for life upon such a charge, without producing the proofs against him on his trial, and when he said, “ I am innocent, I never wrote the letter—I charge you to bring my accusers face to face against me—bring forward those letters,” to receive for answer—Oh ! no ! they are in the hands of the Governor-General ? He thought that was conclusive—that there was nothing upon which to found this treatment. The whole system followed out what was said by Sir C. Napier, “ We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers.” It was all very well to say that Sir C. Napier's army was in danger—that he had but 2,200 men, and that thousands were before him, but how did he justify the taking of Emaum Ghur ? Why, to shew the Ameers that there was no place where they could be safe—that he would follow them to the desert. He therefore took possession of their forts, and then commenced a series of charges of acts of hostility on the part of the Ameers, and only because those men upon whom a treaty had been forced, and when they had given up all that was asked of them, had, when still more was demanded, armed troops in their defence. Was that aggression ? But he would ask any man who read these papers carefully, whether he believed for one moment that the Ameers were ready to fight ? He denied that the attack upon the resident's camp was treacherous : but if so, Major Outram was warned of it. It was said the treaty was signed on the 12th, and the attack took place on the 13th. That was not the fact. There was a difference in the dates of three days—the treaty was signed on the 12th, and the attack was on the 15th. When the resident was warned that the Ameers could not controul the Beloochees, he thought he would have done well if he had retreated, and not put the Ameers in that condition. But perhaps it might have been that a pretext was wanted. Still the resident was warned, and there was no proof of treachery on the part of the Ameers. Why was he not destroyed on the 12th ? but, on the contrary, they sent a most powerful escort to him, to see that a proper place was chosen for the conference, and that he was safe. He should like to see in what order he could keep the Beloochees. But the argument of his hon. friend was quite conclusive as to the Ameers not being ready to fight. If they had meant to fight, would they not have removed their wives and their treasure from Hyderabad. (*Hear, hear !*) Whatever might be said of some high in power of this

matter, still he believed there were some who could look upon it as an unjustifiable act, which nothing could compensate, and so long as we were a nation would be a stain upon our character. (*Hear, hear!*) He wished the chairman had gone into the subject more fully, but from his speech he understood that something should be done for the Ameers, both those who were guilty, and those who were not implicated in the guilt. (*Hear, hear!*) He confessed that he was most anxious to hear from the gentlemen behind the bar, whether or not they were going to support the Governor of India in his conduct, and what they thought upon the points which had been discussed. He should like to have heard whether the Directors thought the conduct of the governor just or not; and whether they condemned it or not. As to the policy of the question, he should like to have heard the hon. proprietor (Mr. Weeding) answer the arguments which had been advanced by his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan). He wished that hon. proprietor had attended to the statement of Lieut. Foster, who had stated that our income there was twenty lacs of rupees, and our expenditure forty lacs. (*Hear!*) How could we keep possession of a country at that rate? If instead of reasoning one speech against another, the hon. proprietor had attended to the facts of the case, his address to the Court would have been more satisfactory. His hon. friend had told them that our men were dying there by thousands; and how were we to restrain the Belooches, who hated us with a dreadful hatred? Why did not the hon. proprietor look to that fact? But above all he should like to have heard the hon. proprietor answer this question. What advantage have we gained? It was all very well to talk of moving our troops up the Indus, and to attempt to throw ridicule upon this discussion; but the hon. proprietor must have sadly misjudged the feelings of that Court, if he supposed that ridicule would overcome argument and gain votes. (*Hear, hear!*) His friend was too sensible a man not to know himself the weakness of his case; because he started with this extraordinary remark, that there must be something weak in the resolutions, since the mover and seconder differed from each other about the terms. Why that was no proof of weakness. How often did similar instances happen in the House of Commons! Movers and seconders might differ about terms, and be perfectly agreed in principle. (*Hear!*) He repeated his intention of votin' in support of the resolutions, but could not sit down without again expressing his regret that the gentlemen behind the bar had not given utterance to their opinion; because he had most earnestly hoped to have the benefit of their advice, and he might have derived, in common with the proprietors at large, great advantage from it. He was disappointed too, particularly after the papers that had been issued, that no attempt was made to answer the arguments of his hon. friend; he must conclude, therefore, that they were unanswerable. (*Hear!*)

Mr. *Weeding* explained. The hon. gentleman could not have listened attentively to what he had said, or he would have known that, so far from having overlooked the treaty of 1829, he did most distinctly refer to it, and state some transactions connected with it.

Mr. *Astell* said, the appeal made by his hon. friend who had last addressed the Court was too forcible to allow him to remain silent. (*Hear, hear!*) He had thought, and permit him to say, he thought still, that this question had better be left to the proprietors than be taken up by the directors. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought that the discussion in that room had better be confined to the proprietors, and that the directors should not be called upon to give any advice in the matter, especially after what the Chairman had told the Court, that the sub-

ject had been, and would be, under the consideration of the Court. (*Hear, hear!*) He was far from wishing to arrogate too much on behalf of the Court, but in their position they were bound by the solemn obligation of an oath to a particular course of duty, and they would be conscientious in the observance of their oath. The Chairman had told the proprietors what he (Mr. Astell) believed to be right, that they had better leave the matter in the hands of the executive body. They had heard enough to convince them that the directors did not differ from their opinion. (*Hear, hear!*) The Chairman had declared that the directors do not approve of what has been done. (*Hear, hear!*) The hon. gentleman the second from the bench (Mr. Sullivan) had with great judgment and talent laid bare the whole proceedings; an hon. friend who had followed had taken a different view from that of the mover and the seconder of the resolutions; but after that no one had come forward to throw his shield over the conduct of the Governor of India, and therefore the proprietors might know what the opinion of the Court was. (*Hear, hear!*) Well, then, would they advance their object by passing resolutions which might not be acceptable to the whole body? (*Hear, hear!*) There were comparatively few proprietors present at that Court, and from that circumstance it might be assumed that the proprietors at large were willing to leave the matter in the hands of the directors. Would it not be better to follow up the advice of the Chairman? This discussion would strengthen the hands of the directors, because his hon. friend must allow him to say, that no argument in favour of the Governor-General had been advanced. (*Hear, hear!*) He believed, therefore, they would best advance their cause by going no farther. He did not move the adjournment of the subject, for he thought that motion had better come from the other side of the bar. Some observations had been made in reference to himself. Now, he did not represent the East-India Company in the House of Commons; it would be well, perhaps, if it were represented in that House; but he did not interfere in the discussion upon the subject—he did not vote; but he did not approve of the conduct of the Governor-General, and he had said so before, in that room and out of it. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Tucker said he wished to assure the Court that the Directors had not been inattentive to this question, but it was better that the proprietors should take up the subject in that place than the Directors. Had the Directors introduced the subject, and anticipated the proprietors, had they pre-occupied the ground, then they would most probably have lost some most admirable speeches, not excepting that of the hon. proprietor who had spoken against the resolutions. Nothing could have tended more to forward the object of the resolutions than that speech. (*A laugh.*) It was quite clear that the hon. proprietor had a bad case when it took a man of his talents three hours to say nothing. (*Hear and laughter.*) If the first resolution were put, he (Mr. Tucker) should vote for it. (*Hear, hear!*) But the second had been anticipated six months ago. (*Hear, hear!*) Had not the Directors done their duty upon this vital question they would have deserved the censure and public reprobation of the proprietors: but six months ago resolutions were passed declaring their sentiments upon the proceedings in Sindé, and those resolutions were conveyed to the Governor-General of India. (*Hear, hear!*) Upon that occasion he had expressed his own individual opinions upon the subject; they were upon the public records, and he would be answerable for them whenever he might be called upon. (*Hear, hear!*) The second resolution then, he contended, was unnecessary. If the papers were called for, he would not object to their pro-

duction. (*Hear, hear !*) Some hon. proprietors complained of the chairman ; they ought not to do that. The fact was, that the modesty of the chairman prevented him from doing justice to himself.

“ The charlest maid is prodigal enough,
If she unmask her beauty to the moon.”

(*A laugh.*) The chairman with a becoming modesty had refrained from telling all. Yet he had said enough to convince the proprietors that the Directors had not been inattentive to the sacred trust confided to them, which he hoped they had exercised with due discretion, according to their sense of public duty, and the present position of India. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. G. Thompson wished to remark upon two points only. In all the voluminous papers of the blue books he did not see one solitary line expressive of the opinion of the Directors at any time touching the affairs of Sindé. He must be permitted to say, after the assurances which he had heard from more than one hon. Director that they had not been inattentive to this subject, it was to be regretted that their opinions were not before expressed, more especially as the hon. proprietors had been so frequently told to repose their confidence in the Court. It was a matter of regret that the proprietors should have remained entirely ignorant of the views of the Directors, until a declaration was extorted by the solemn appeals made from outside the bar. (*A cry of “ No ! no ! ”*) He must express his astonishment that when an adjournment took place some time ago for the purpose of enabling them to come into the possession of a volume of papers of more recent interest, and when the day arrived, and when, as he thought, the chairman was bound to forward and not retard discussion, that then it was agreed that the Court would be adjourned and the debate superseded, and that there should not rather have been a desire to indicate what was the opinion of the board. He for one did not concur in the cheers given from that side of the bar to the sentiments uttered from within it. Every thing had been done to smother discussion on this question. (*Several cries of “ No ! no ! ”*) He judged only from what had taken place in that Court as recorded in the public papers, when he was at a distance from this country, and from what had taken place that day, which he had himself witnessed. While he rejoiced, however, to hear from behind the bar not only words spoken, but indications given expressive of approval of the just sentiments delivered before the bar, while he was willing to give all possible praise to the gentlemen behind the bar, he could not but regret that they had not directed their sentiments to be placed on record, and that there should be something like an attempt to prevent the discussion of statements of facts, which would tell there and elsewhere, and have the effect of restraining those acts of violence and injustice which were a disgrace to this country. (*Hear, hear !*)

Mr. Sullivan. — My learned friend (Mr. Lewis) has animadverted in terms of just severity on a declaration made in another place—that all these proceedings in Sindé originated in an uncontrollable principle. I will also take the liberty of rebuking the author of this declaration, not in my own language, for that would be the acme of arrogance, but by a voice to which he will listen, and which will be heard with respect by every man in this house and in this kingdom. It happened some thirty or forty years ago, that a great man was anxious to stretch the stipulations of a treaty beyond its legitimate bounds, in order that he might retain possession of a place which he much coveted ; it happened that there were other gentlemen serving under this great man, who were also anxious to stretch the same treaty in order to enlarge the boundaries of the province under

their control, that the people might be brought within the influence of the British government. Intimation of their wishes and endeavours reached another great man, who had negotiated that treaty, who thus expressed himself upon them. "It appears that the commissioners in Cuttack are not aware, or not sensible, of the circumstances under which that article of the treaty was concluded which must be a guide in its application. They have a natural desire to extend it to as many cases as possible, because they feel that in proportion as they extend its benefits, they increase the chance of the peace, the happiness, and prosperity of the people whose country is committed to their management. But these, although important objects, *are not to be compared to the importance of preserving the national faith!* (*Hear, hear!*) I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and the peace; and we must not fritter them in arguments, drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations which are not understood in this country. What brought me through many, many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations for peace? *The British good faith!* (*Hear, hear!*) We shall have another war, and the worst of it will be, that all their questions will not bear inquiry. It is not even denied that the treaties were signed many days after the treaty of peace was known at Cuttack; but all that is nothing: the previous verbiage is thought sufficient to bind us, as if the signing of the treaty was not that which concluded and bound the parties, and as if, in the treaty of peace with Ragojee, we had not so far insisted upon this point as to countenance our operations till he had ratified his treaty. I declare that I am dispirited and disgusted with this transaction beyond measure. God send that he may (concede), for the subject will not stand discussion. I am disgusted beyond measure with the whole concern, and would give a large sum to have had nothing to do with the treaties of peace, and if I could now get rid of all anxiety upon the subject. All parties were delighted with the peace, but the demon of ambition appears now to have pervaded all, and each endeavours, by forcing constructions, to gain as much as he can." (*Hear, hear! and cries of "Name, name!"*) The Court will not, I am persuaded, be long in finding a father for this language. It was in this stern and uncompromising language that the illustrious Duke rebuked his great brother, who was anxious to retain possession of Gwalior; it was in this language that he grappled with that great brother, and never would let him go till he had pinned him to his treaty: it was in this language that he expressed his regret and disgust at the least intimation that any thing was to be done at variance with national faith. Here is nothing of "uncontrollable principle." Here we see a man whose every impulse and feeling is under the control of principle—who will not listen to the whispers of ambition when its promptings would lead him into any violation of solemn engagements. Sir, the whole life of this illustrious man has been a bright transcript of these principles and sure I am that if he was really aware of the events of these Sindh proceedings, he would rather cut off his hand than sanction them; but, pressed down with his many avocations, he has not time to inquire into them himself—he is obliged to take them upon trust; his information therefore comes to him from interested sources, and we have therefore the misfortune to see his great name arrayed against us. After the very able speeches which have just been made, it will not be necessary for me to do more than read one short, but most important letter, which appears to have escaped general observation. [Mr. Sullivan here read

Letter No. 79, from p. 46, 2nd series of *Sinde Papers*.] Now, sir, I was under the impression—every one was under the impression, I believe—that the battle of Meeanee was the consequence of the attack upon Major Outram's camp, just as cause follows effect—no such thing; hence it is clear, that attack or no attack, the battle of Meeanee would have been fought. What then became of the charge of treachery against the Ameers? that they had prepared hostile aggression when they were in the act of signing a treaty? What shall we say of him, who in the knowledge that the Ameers had signed the treaty, actually commenced hostilities against them? What becomes of the justification of those who endeavour to justify the gallant general? and who say that he had no alternative; that the Ameers having commenced hostilities, he was compelled to attack them. I will now advert briefly to a remark made by the hon. proprietor (Mr. Weeding), that vast benefit would accrue from the surveys which the Governor-General had ordered to be made of *Sinde*, and for the restoration of its water-courses. Now, sir, every person who has been employed in investigating the resources of India knows, that we have, within our own empire, millions of acres which only require capital and science to be converted from a desert into a garden. Can any thing, therefore, be more preposterous than to divert the capital and science, which are urgently needed in our own territories, for the purpose of resuscitating the fertility of *Sinde*. Again, the hon. proprietor remarked, that the Governor-General had conferred a great benefit on mankind by his emancipation of the slaves of *Sinde*. No one can hold slavery in greater detestation than I do; but, let me ask, did these slaves all belong to the offending Ameers? or did the majority of them belong to the unoffending inhabitants of *Sinde*? to the chiefs and others? What right, then, I would ask, had the Governor-General thus summarily to deprive these people of their property without compensation?

The *Chairman* declared that his opinion, that this matter had better be left in the hands of the proprietors, remained unchanged; but that it was not desirable for them to come to an expression of their opinions by a formal resolution. It was certainly clear that some hon. proprietors differed from others upon the terms of that resolution. He thought it would be better, therefore, to move the adjournment of the Court, than to have the proposition put and a divided opinion recorded. (*Cries of "Hear" and "No!"*) He should venture then to move the adjournment of the Court.

Mr. *Lewis* said there was no doubt about the first resolution, and that might therefore be put.

An Hon. *Proprietor* said, that though he concurred in the principle, he was not prepared to agree to the terms of the resolution. After what they had heard from Mr. Astell and from the chairman, he thought the hon. mover and seconder would do well to agree to the adjournment of the Court.

Mr. *Astell* seconded the motion for the adjournment.

A pause ensued, during which,

Mr. *Clarke*, addressing the chairman, said he and his friends were considering what course they should take.

Mr. *Sullivan* (in a few minutes afterwards) announced that he would withdraw the resolutions. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. *Clarke* begged to state distinctly, that that course was taken in consequence of the statements made from behind the bar. (*Hear, hear!*)

The motion of adjournment was then put and agreed to, and the Court adjourned accordingly.

Royal Asiatic Society.

A GENERAL meeting of this Society was held on the 20th January; Professor H. H. Wilson in the chair. The proceedings of the day were declared special for the purpose of making provision for the more ready admission into the Society of gentlemen visiting England on temporary leave of absence from their services in India. The result of the discussion was, that the existing regulations of the Society were declared to provide sufficiently for the object in view, as it would be competent, under a liberal interpretation of Article XLIX., for any members of the services of the Crown or the East-India Company, whose usual abode would be in the presidencies and settlements to which they are permanently attached, to become non-resident members; for which privilege the annual payment would be two guineas. A general hope was expressed that this resolution would become extensively known, and that it would lead many persons to avail themselves of the benefits which it holds out. It was further resolved that, in modification of Article XXII. of the Regulations, all candidates for admission into the Society, proposed at one meeting, should in future be balloted for at the following meeting.

Lieut. Col. James Outram, C.B., was unanimously elected a non-resident member of the Society.

3rd of February; Professor Wilson in the chair. Various donations to the library were presented.

James Fergusson, Esq., concluded the reading of a paper, commenced at a former meeting, written by himself, on the rock-cut or cave temples of India. For the purpose of antiquarian research, the author, in his various journeys, visited almost all the rock-cut temples of India, as well as all the important cities and buildings of that country. He observes that few subjects of antiquity have attracted more attention among the learned, or have elicited a greater variety of conflicting opinions, than the cave-temples; and, as regards the age of these mysterious monuments of human labour and art, the conclusions generally arrived at have been equally unsatisfactory—writers not unfrequently giving them a priority in time to Egyptian remains; whereas, in reality, Egypt had ceased to be a nation before any of the cave-temples were formed. In considering the best methods to be taken in elucidating the history and fixing the dates of these remains of ancient India, Mr. Fergusson is of opinion, that the deciphering the inscriptions they may contain will not alone be sufficient, as in many instances the inscriptions are of a subsequent and different origin; and that the most satisfactory results will be arrived at by the course he himself has pursued,—that of critically examining the styles of the whole series of the caves and rock-cut temples, and carefully comparing one with another, as well as with the different structural remains in their vicinity, the dates of which have been ascertained from other evidence.

Although not attempting to decide the disputed points of Buddhist and Brahman chronology, he is of opinion that ancient Brahmanism differed very little from the Buddhism founded by Gautama, who died B.C. 543; and that probably they were two forms of the same religion. They could not have differed much, he observes, as we find kings and their subjects changing backwards and forwards from one to the other without difficulty or excitement.

He considers that from the time of the Buddhist king Asoka (250 B.C.) until the beginning of the fifth century of our era, Buddhism was the dominant religion of the north of India; but that it never gained a permanent footing in the south. It appeared evident to him, that the earliest cave-temples were the work of Buddhist ascetics; but that none of them are so old as the inscriptions on the pillars erected by Asoka, which date from the middle of the third century before Christ. Nor was he aware of any structural building in India whose date reached as high as the third century of our era.

Mr. Fergusson divides the cave-temples into five classes: ground-plans of examples of which are appended to his paper. The most ancient of the first class are the *Viharas*, or monastery caves, which principally consist of natural caverns, slightly improved by art. These are sometimes further improved by a verandah, opening into cells for the abode of the monks, but are without sanctuaries or images. Another subdivision of this class comprises those caves which have been so enlarged as to require pillars to support the roof; and these have always a deep recess facing the entrance, in which is generally placed a statue of Buddha. The most remarkable of these caves are those at Ajunta, Salsette, and the Dherwarra at Ellora.

The second class comprises the Buddhist *Choity* caves, one or more of which is found attached to every set of caves. The plan and arrangement of all the *Chaityas* are precisely the same; doubtless from a strong religious attachment to a particular form for these places of worship. They appear to be of rather a more modern date than the Viharas.

The third class are Brahmanical imitations of the Buddhist Viharas; but they are never surrounded by monastic cells, as the latter are. The walls are generally ornamented with sculpture, whereas the Viharas of the Buddhist are almost invariably decorated with paintings. The finest specimens of this class are found at Ellora and Elephanta.

The fourth class consists of models of Brahmanical temples cut out of the rock. The celebrated Kylas, at Ellora, is of this kind; as are also the Sivite temple at Doornar, and the *Ruths* at Mahavellipuram. Except the last, which are cut from isolated blocks of granite, these temples discover the defect of standing in pits, which prevents their being seen to advantage. Although highly interesting, the taste displayed in their execution is inferior to that found in the examples already mentioned.

The Jaina caves are comprehended in the fifth class: of these, the examples are neither numerous nor very ancient. It is difficult to decide whether the splendid group at Ellora, called Indra-Subha, are Brahmanical or Jain: if the former, they rank under the third class above-mentioned.

The author proceeds to describe various cave-temples in detail, remarking that, in speaking of the Buddhist Chaitya caves, he has used terms applied by antiquaries to the different parts of Christian churches, because in form and arrangement they bear a great resemblance to the choirs of the latter, particularly of the Norman churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. After describing the caves in Behar, probably the oldest in India—that country being the first seat of Buddhism—he gives an account of those of Khandajin, situate about twenty miles from Cuttack. Most of these are difficult of access, as they are inhabited by fakeers and byrajis of various classes. These people, in order to increase their accommodation, have built up mud walls between the pillars of the verandahs, rendering the interior dark and gloomy; whilst the accumulated smoke of a thousand years' cooking has blackened the whole so as to render the details of the sculpture almost invisible.

The earliest of the Cuttack group is that called *Hathi Gumpah*, or 'Elephant Cave.' On the face of the rock above the cave is the long inscription in the *lat'h* character, deciphered, so far as its imperfect state would allow, by Mr. Prinsep, and printed in the 6th vol. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The date is conjectured, upon good evidence, to be about 200 B.C. After mentioning other caves of this group, Mr. Fergusson observes a singular circumstance connected with them, namely, the total absence of all images of Buddha, and, indeed, of any apparent object of worship; from which he infers that the adoration of images belongs to a later and more corrupt era of the Buddhists. The Chaitya temple is also absent. It is likewise worthy of notice that, although all the roofs of the caves are flat, some form of the arch is employed as an ornament wherever it could be introduced. The arch does not appear to exist in any Brahmanical building of ancient date.

The Cuttack group seem to be the only caves on the eastern side of India of any importance: it is on the western side that the most numerous and magnificent specimens exist. Those at Ajunta are the most complete of the Buddhist caves. Twenty-seven of them were carefully examined by Mr. Fergusson, and are described in his paper. Concerning one of the largest—67 feet 6 inches wide, by 65 feet 2 inches deep, exclusive of the sanctuary—he states that the centre hall is surrounded by twenty pillars of an octagon form, the sides of which are adorned with a Roman scroll, alternating with wreaths of flowers. All the details of the architecture are described as being particularly elegant: there are no side chapels, but eighteen cells surround the great hall. Buddha is seated in the sanctuary, with his feet down, and with the little finger of his left hand in the other hand. The paintings are very interesting, and tolerably entire, but not so much so as those of another cave of nearly the same size, which is next mentioned. The subjects of these paintings can generally be made out, although the colours are in some places a good deal faded. On the right-hand wall, as you enter, is delineated a procession of men on horseback and on foot, with three elephants—black, brown, and white. There is a large retinue of men, some of whom bear flags and umbrellas; and others are armed with spears, swords, and shields. On another wall is a hunting-scene, in which a lion, well drawn, is the principal object: there are also deer, and dogs, and men on horseback and on foot without number. Other paintings peculiar to this temple are mentioned, particularly the number of black people figured therein, although the women comprised in them are generally fair. The style of execution, Mr. Fergusson thinks, more resembles Chinese than European art.

After mentioning the caves situated near the town of Bareilly, an account of which is given in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, he proceeds to describe the great cave at Carlee, situated between Poona and Bombay. This is the largest Chaitya cave in India, its greatest length being 102 feet 3 inches. A minute description of the sculpture and ornaments of this cave is given, all of which are of good design and workmanship. It is now used for the Sivite worship, the Buddhist *dagopa* performing the part of a gigantic lingam. The Chaityas, however much they may vary in size, are always the same in detail; and the mode of admitting light, which is done with much scenic effect, is in all precisely identical. The disposition of the parts is, as has been before mentioned, exactly the same as those of a Gothic round or polygonal apse cathedral.

The caves at Salsette Mr. Fergusson considers much less interesting than

those of Ajunta, Ellora, or Carlee, although more numerous, amounting to nearly a hundred. The largest of them greatly resembles the great cave at Carlee.

The next caves described are those of the Dhoomnar series, situated about forty miles south-east of Neemuch. The excavations are comparatively small and uninteresting. A Brahmanical rock-cut temple here first led the author to a clear distinction between the Brahman and Buddhist formations.

The Ellora group is then mentioned. This series contains, according to Mr. Fergusson, examples of almost all the other kinds, and is therefore very complicated. Exaggerated notions both of the magnificence and antiquity of these caves have been generally entertained in Europe. It has been asserted, too, that they are cut from a hard granite, whereas the rock is a kind of greenstone, or amygdaloid, soft, and easily worked. The whole series consists of about thirty excavations, of which ten are Buddhistical, fourteen Brahmanical, and six belong to neither of these sects, though savouring of Jaina worship. At Ellora is the far-famed Brahmanical rock-cut temple of Kylas. This is the largest and most superb rock-cut temple in India, and is supposed by Mr. Fergusson to have been executed to mark the triumph of the Sivite over the Buddhist faith. The type he is of opinion is southern, from the similarity of its style with that of the great pagoda at Tanjore. He thinks it probable, even, that the architects of that temple were the excavators of the Kylas.

Mr. Fergusson afterwards mentions the great cave at Elephanta, so well described by Mr. Erskine, in the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society. No traces of Buddhism exist at Elephanta.

The last series described are those at Mahavellipuram. Here, too, there are no traces of Buddhist worship, Siva everywhere appearing as the presiding deity, though with a singularly liberal admixture of Vishnuism.

In concluding his paper, Mr. Fergusson made some remarks on the expediency of some measures being taken to preserve the interesting relics he had described from further dilapidation, especially the antique paintings in the Buddhist caves at Ajunta, which were rapidly undergoing the process of destruction from various causes, particularly from the pilfering propensities of amateur curiosity-hunters. He thought that, if a formal application were made by the Society to the proper authorities, here and in India, they might be induced to take up the subject of their preservation; or, at any rate, to depute competent persons to copy the paintings in those caves, which must otherwise soon be lost to the world for ever.

After some observations by the learned chairman, the meeting came to a resolution to recommend the consideration of Mr. Fergusson's suggestions to the council of the Society, with a view to the accomplishment of their object.

Chronicle.

Parliamentary.—Parliament was opened on the 1st Feb. by the Queen in person. The following passage in the Royal Speech leaves no doubt that the permanent occupation of Scinde has been determined upon. "The hostilities which took place during the past year in Scinde have led to the *annexation* of a considerable portion of that country to the British possessions in the East." Her Majesty noticed the services of the army in these terms:—"In all the military operations, and especially in the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad, the constancy and valour of the troops, Native and European, and the skill and gallantry of their distinguished commander have been most distinguished." Her Majesty alluded to China as follows:—"I have directed that the treaty which I have concluded with the Emperor of China shall be laid before you; and I rejoice to think that it will in its results prove highly advantageous to the trade of this country. Throughout the whole course of my negotiations with the government of China, I have uniformly disclaimed the wish for any exclusive advantages. It has been my desire that equal favour should be shewn to the industry and commercial enterprise of all nations."

On the 5th February, the Lord Chancellor, having read a letter from Sir W. Parker, the naval commander-in-chief in India, acknowledging a vote of thanks of the House to him and the forces which had served under his command, Lord Minto complained that the same mark of her Majesty's approbation had not been conferred upon Sir W. Parker as upon Sir H. Gough. Lord Haddington justified the course which the Government had taken in the distribution of honours, and said it was intended to give Sir William a baronetcy on his return from his command.

On the 8th February, Lord Ashley, in the House of Commons, moved an address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to consider the situation and treatment of the Ameers of Scinde, and that she would direct their immediate restoration to liberty and the enjoyment of their estates, or, in lieu thereof, a just equivalent. The noble lord contended that these unfortunate princes had been treated most cruelly, and that the annexation of Scinde was perfectly unjustifiable. Mr. Roebuck insisted at great length, that the unjust and impolitic conduct of Lord Auckland had made the policy of Lord Ellenborough towards Scinde absolutely necessary. Mr. E. Tennent considered that the conduct of Lord Ellenborough could be justified without any reference to that of his predecessor. The conquest of Scinde was not the result of any premeditated scheme of territorial aggrandizement on the part of either the former or the present Governor-General, but had been forced upon Lord Ellenborough by the treachery and bad faith of the Ameers. Sir J. C. Hobhouse vindicated Lord Auckland from the charges of Mr. Roebuck. Sir R. Peel could not consent to rest the defence of Lord Ellenborough on a charge against Lord Auckland. Having justified the policy pursued towards Scinde, he concluded by saying that no considerations of economy would be allowed to stand in the way of the personal comforts of the Ameers, and that it was the wish of her Majesty's government that they should not be subjected to unnecessary restraint. After a few remarks from Lord J. Russell, who, in voting against the motion, did not wish to be considered as pronouncing an opinion upon the policy of Lord Ellenborough, the House divided, against the motion 202 to 68.

We collect from the reply given by Lord Stanley to a question put by Sir G.

Staunton, on the 10th February, that Government are determined to discourage, as much as possible, any smuggling trade in opium between Hong-kong and the coast of China. With regard to the importation of opium into Hong-kong for the purposes of consumption, there will be no restriction, but in order to discourage, as far as may be, its exportation, a moderate duty will probably be imposed on importation, and no drawback be allowed. Lord Stanley said that of course there could be no interference with the Chinese police, but merchants had been warned, that if they chose to violate the laws of China, either by the introduction of prohibited goods into a legalized port, or of any goods whatever, into ports not legalized, they were not to expect the protection of the British Government, but must be exposed to the penalties inflicted by the laws of China.

On the 12th February, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to Major General Sir C. Napier and the officers and men participating in the late military operations in Sind. During the debate in the House of Peers, the Duke of Wellington declared that, after the fullest consideration of the events of the campaign, he had never known an instance in which a general officer had displayed in a higher degree than Sir C. Napier all the qualifications necessary for enabling him to conduct great operations. In the Commons there was some discussion upon the conduct of Sir C. Napier, not in his military, but in his civil capacity, between which some hon. members professed it impossible to distinguish; however, the vote was carried by a majority of 164 to 9.

John Francis Davis, Esq., has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the colony of Hong-kong, also her Majesty's plenipotentiary and chief superintendent of British trade in China.

John Walter Hulme, Esq., has been appointed chief justice, and Robert Dundas Cay, Esq., writer to the signet, registrar, of the Supreme Court at Hong-kong.

The Hon. F. W. A. Bruce has been appointed secretary to government, Major W. Cane, police magistrate, sheriff and provost-marshal, Alexander Gordon, Esq., surveyor general, and Lieut. W. Pedder, harbour master, at Hong-kong.

An account of the bounty money granted to the *Pylades*, 16, for the destruction of a piratical junk on the coast of China, on 29th July, 1840, by Com. S. V. Anson, his officers and crew, has been deposited in the Court of Admiralty.

On the 5th November last, Admiral Dupetit Thouars, having landed some 500 men, deposed Queen Pomare, and took formal possession of the island of Tahiti in the name of the King of the French.

Captain Bax, of the E. I. C. S., has succeeded the late Capt. Stanley Clarke as an elder brother of the Trinity House.

The following appeals have been heard by the judicial committee of the privy council, viz., Jussunt Singhjee Ubby v. Jet Singhjee, from Bombay, dismissed; the heirs of Reibeiso v. May, from the Mauritius, reversed; Kouadry Valubha v. Valia Tambura, from Madras; Maharaja Tij Chund v. Sri Kaunt Ghose and others, from Bengal.

The Queen has granted apartments in Hampton Court Palace to the Misses Pottinger, sisters of Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., and to the orphan family of Sir Lionel and Lady Smith.

The amount of bills drawn by the East-India Company in the month ending

5th February, 1844, is as follows :—Bengal, 129,436*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*; Madras, 6,843*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.*; Bombay, 1,801*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* Total, 138,062*l.* 7*s.*

The accounts which reach this country from time to time, leave the fate of Col. Stoddart and Capt. Conolly a matter of some doubt. A despatch received at the foreign office from St. Petersburg, states that the Russian envoy at Teheran had reported, under date 27th December, that he had obtained information indirectly from the envoy of the Ameer of Bokhara, who had arrived at Teheran, to the effect that Capt. Conolly had been executed for having shewn on many occasions great partiality for the Khan of Kohan, and that Col. Stoddart met with a similar fate in consequence of the discovery of a secret correspondence which he kept up with his countrymen at Cabul. On the other hand, a letter from Dr. Wolff, dated from Ashkalah, 8th December, states that he had met three dervishes, who had left Bokhara four months previously, and they reported that two Englishmen, a short and a tall one (supposed to be Conolly and Stoddart), who had been kept in prison for some time, had been released by the king, and were engaged in teaching his soldiers European exercises.

Accounts state that several gentlemen have left St. Petersburg for Cabul, and that some of them are spies under the guise of naturalists.

The Post-office has given notice that, from and after the 15th February, the postage on all letters posted in the United Kingdom, and addressed to India, if marked to be forwarded *viâ* Southampton, may be paid for in advance or not, at the option of the sender. This regulation applies only to letters for places within the territory of the East-India Company, *viâ* Southampton; the postage on all other letters addressed to India, as well as on all letters addressed to countries beyond India (Hong-kong excepted), by whatever route they may be forwarded, must be paid in advance, as at present, or the letter cannot be forwarded.

The steamer *Fire Queen*, which is to open the line between Calcutta and Singapore, takes out from Cork some Roman Catholic priests and nuns.

In consequence of the secession movement in Scotland, a meeting was lately held at Glasgow for the reorganization of the "Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India in connection with the Established Church."

The case of Mr. Dyce Sombre has been mentioned several times in the Court of Chancery, in some proceedings preliminary to the hearing of his petition for setting aside the finding under the commission *de lunatico inquirendo*. Mr. John Pascal Larkins, late of the Bengal civil service, has been appointed committee of the property, and the wife of Mr. Sombre committee of the person, but as the lunatic is still in Paris, whither he escaped from the custody of Mr. J. Grant, of the Bengal medical service, it may be a question whether the court will entertain his petition while he continues to reside beyond its jurisdiction.

As all matters calculated to affect our trade with the Celestial Empire are at present of peculiar importance, the following particulars respecting Java tea are of interest. The importation of China tea into Holland during the last year was 17,000 quarter chests; the Java teas amounted to 6,300 packages, which sold to such disadvantage, as compared with prices obtained in 1842, that it has become a question whether cultivation can be prosecuted with advantage to the public and profit to the planter, especially as the importations of teas from China are likely to increase, and they are more highly esteemed than those from

Java, the latter having a peculiar earthy flavour, which with the greatest attention cannot, or has not, been overcome. This renders the black tea in particular not only unpalatable by itself, but unfit for mixing with the same descriptions of Chinese; and though the green teas are less objectionable, they are of secondary importance in continental consumption, and are also undervalued when compared with the Chinese productions. Whether the objections against Java teas have arisen from soil, climate, or manufacture, they have not been overcome, after several years' experience, so that, under present circumstances, it is probable that the cultivation will be abandoned as a complete failure.

The budget of the Dutch East Indies for 1843 shews a deficit of revenue in India, as compared with expenditure, of 8,445,253 florins in silver, but the income in the mother-country, arising from the sale of produce, has been 10,806,712 florins, so that the surplus is 2,361,459 florins. The estimates for Surinam give an equal sum for revenue and expenditure, but all the other colonies shew a deficit.

Military.—It is said that Colonel Bainbridge, quartermaster-general in Ireland, will shortly proceed to India. The barrackmastership of Tralee has been vacant by the death of Oliver Stokes, Esq., father of Lieutenant colonel J. D. Stokes, E.I.C.'s service. Major Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, of the 1st Bombay grenadiers, has been appointed a companion of the Bath. Lieut. col Sanders, c.n., Bengal engineers, has been permitted to wear the insignia of the second class of the order of the Durand empire. Capt. Strange, 13th light dragoons, who escaped from the Military Lunatic Asylum, Fort Clarence, Chatham, on 15th January, has been recaptured at Sanbach, in Cheshire. Mr. Duncan Trevor Grant, said to have been second to Lieut. Munro, in the late fatal duel, was tried at the Old Bailey, on 14th February, charged with aiding and assisting in the murder of Lieut. col. D. L. Fawcett. The evidence failed in shewing that the prisoner was present when the fatal shot was fired, and he was accordingly acquitted. Cornet Lord J. Browne, son of the Marquess of Sligo, has proceeded to India to join the 9th lancers. The Duke of Wellington has presented an ensigny in the 15th regt. to Mr. C. Sayers, whose brother, Mr. H. K. Sayers, of the 31st regt., led the storming party through the Tezeen pass, and subsequently died from fatigue. Lieut. Bourke, 17th regt., is appointed recruiting officer at Maryborough. The depôt of the 35th has moved from Youghall to Templemore. Capt. Teale, 4th regt., has taken command of the depôt in succession to Capt. Bell, embarked for Madras. Lieut. W. W. Bond has arrived from India, as have. Lieut. Stopford, of the 22nd regt., and Capt. Layard, of the 25th. Major Hornby's company of the royal artillery, are under orders for St. Helena. Lieut. Lovett, of the 50th succeeds Lieut. Pakenham, of the 7th regt., as recruiting officer at Mullingar.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

War Office, Feb. 2.

9th Lt. Drg.—Cornet P. Antrobus, lieut., purch., v. Dixon; C. E. Law, cornet, purch., v. Antrobus:

13th.—Lieut. R. J. Elrington, from 47th, paym., v. Leech, appointed to 9th lt. drg.

4th Foot.—Lieut. J. Cumming, from 26th, Lieut., v. Campbell, exc.

95th.—Capt. T. St. L. Alcock, major, purch., v. Trevor, prom. in 59th; Lieut. H. O. C. Master, capt., purch., v. Alcock; Ens. T. Davis, lieut., p., v. Masté; F. T. Patterson, ens., purch., v. Davis.

Feb. 16. 9th.—Capt. C. R. Shuckburgh, h. p., capt., v. Brev. maj. W. H. Hartman, exc., receiving diff.; Capt. J. Johnstone, h. p., capt., v. C. R. Shuckburgh, exc.; Lieut. V. V. Ballard, capt., purch., v. Johnstone; Ens. Edwin Morton, lieut., purch., v. Ballard; C. R. Richardson, ens., p., v. Morton.

12th.—Capt. W. Bell, major, v. Sir R. A. Douglas, bart., dec.; Lieut. F. G. Hamley, capt., v. Bell.

22nd.—A. G. Walch, ens., v. Hyde, res.

90th.—Capt. F. H. Hart, h. p., capt., v. J. D. G. Tulloch, exc.; Lieut. C. M. Chester, capt., p., v. Hart; Ens. J. W. B. Peddie, lieut. p., v. Chester; T. J. Meredith, ens., p., v. Peddie.

98th.—Assist.-surg. C. Cowen, from 18th, surg., v. Bardin, dec.

Cape Mounted Riflemen.—Brev. maj. A. B. Armstrong, major, v. W. Burney, ret. on full p.; Lieut. G. E. Cannon, capt., v. Armstrong; Ens. J. T. Bissett, lieut. v. Cannon; C. E. Phillpotts, ens., purch., v. Hartshorn, app. to 24th.

Feb. 23. 3rd Foot.—Major C. E. Eaton, from 29th, major, v. Barr, exc.

21st.—Paym. G. P. Erskine, from 45th, paym., v. Jean, dec.

22nd.—Capt. D. R. Smith, major, v. Wm. Raban, ret. on full p.; Lieut. W. B. Kelly, capt., v. Smith.

25th.—Lieut. H. T. Walker, adj., v. Priestley, prom.

28th.—Capt. F. Adams, major, v. Parker, dec.; Capt. G. R. Cumming, from 78th, capt., v. M'Murdo, exc.; Lieut. E. Lugard, from 31st, capt., v. Adams; Ens. J. A. Macdougall, from 62nd, lieut., v. MacLachlan, dec.

29th.—Major M. Barr, from 3rd, major, v. Eaton, exc.

40th.—A. R. Rundle, ensign, v. Roberts, app. to 62nd.

50th.—Lieut. R. E. De Montmorency, from 7th, lieut., v. Clarke, prom.

55th.—Lieut. H. Edwards, capt., v. De Havilland, dec.; Ens. T. R. Hickson, lieut.; Ens. W. J. J. Smith, lieut., v. Edwards.

To be Ensigns.—G. J. A. Cameron, v. Hickson; G. S. Home, v. Smith; Lieut. J. Friend, adj., v. Magrath, dec.

62nd.—Ensign C. Roberts, from 40th, ensign, v. Macdougall, prom. in 28th.

78th.—Capt. W. M. G. M'Murdo, from 28th, capt., v. Cummin, exc.

98th.—Ensign S. H. H. Edwards, lieut.; C. B. Browne, ensign, v. Edwards, prom.; Lieut. F. T. Wade, adj., v. Ormsby, prom.

Cape Mounted Riflemen.—Ens. J. Borrow, lieut., purch., v. Le Touzel; Ens. R. G. G. Cumming, from Royal Newfoundland companion, ens., v. Bissell, prom.; J. S. Francis, ens., p., v. Borrow.

OBITUARY.

Major Eldred Pottinger.—This young, but highly distinguished officer, died at Government House, Victoria, in the island of Hong-kong, of the fever which has been so destructive at that settlement, aggravated by an unhealed wound, received at Chareekar, on the 7th November last, at the age of 32.

Major Pottinger was the eldest son of Thomas Pottinger, Esq., of Bushband and Kilmore, Ireland, brother of Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. He became first conspicuous for his assistance in the defence of Herat, in 1837-38, when the Persian host was foiled and compelled to retire. We are very imperfectly acquainted with the details of the siege, and in a great measure in the dark as to the nature of Major Pottinger's achievements, further than that he is admitted on all hands to have done the state good service, and to have contributed, by his skill and prowess, to protract the resistance till the threats of our government, the occupation of Karrack, and the obstinacy of the defence, foiled the purposes of the King of Kings, though they could not alter the mad policy of the government of India, then bent on tramontane war. The glory he had won was unable to secure the favour of such wretches as Kamran Shah and his vizier, and, accordingly, the defender of Herat was quickly obliged to

retire from its perfidious court, then no longer requiring his assistance. Shortly after the death of Dr. Lord, at Purwan Durrah, in December, 1840, Major Pottinger was appointed to the political charge of Kohistan, and in this he continued till the insurrection, a twelvemonth afterwards, when he and Lieut. Haughton almost alone escaped from the fearful slaughter of the gallant Ghoorka corps at Chareekar, in the beginning of November, 1841. On the death of Sir W. Macnaghten, Major Pottinger, as the only surviving officer in this department in Eastern Afghanistan, succeeded to the political charge at Cabool, and appears stoutly to have resisted all idea of convention with the enemy, or of retreat towards Jellalabad, so long as it was possible to resist: considering any hazard that could be incurred in remaining less than that of endeavouring to thread the passes—any contingency preferable to that of committing the government, by formal convention, to a final retirement from the country. On these points he was unhappily overruled. When in the hands of the enemy, he continued unremittently to exert himself for the advantage of his fellow-prisoners, and on the 20th of April, while captive near Tezeen, forwarded to General Pollock, then at Jellalabad, the terms offered by Ukhbar Khan for their release—the most feasible of which was, that the British detained in Affghanistan, whether as captives or hostages, should be given up unconditionally, in exchange for Dost Mahomed and his family—the issue of the war, if our government had resolved to persist in it, for the subjugation of the country, to be dependant on the sword. In the same high and honourable tone, he endeavoured to conduct subsequent negotiations betwixt the Affghans and his government, expressing his conviction that the sirdar was moderate in his demands, and sincere in his purposes, and striving to prevent that system of duplicity and bad faith which had begun at this time to stain British diplomacy. He was anxious to release by exchange, but averse to the method of ransom then in contemplation, even though aware that the detention of the prisoners through another winter would to most of them prove fatal. By the exertions of Major Pottinger, who succeeded in persuading Saleh Mahomed to halt on his way to Khooloom and return to Cabool, the captives were ultimately released. Like the other officers of the expedition, Major Pottinger was tried by Court-martial, and honourably acquitted, on his return to India. He was requited for the valuable services he had conferred by being remanded to his corps, as a lieutenant of artillery, stripped of employment and denied acknowledgment. He shortly after was permitted to proceed to China, and when just in a position where he might have been compensated by the influence of his relative, the plenipotentiary, he was cut off in the flower of his age. Though his regimental rank was only that of lieutenant, he had received from her Majesty the brevet rank of major and the honour of being named a companion of the Bath.

His father has had within a short space of time to mourn the loss of three gallant sons, namely, Thomas, who fell in the retreat of the Cabool force at Gundamuck, in November, 1841; Henry, a victim to the Scinde fever in June, 1843, and Eldred.—*Abr. (with additions) from the Bombay Times.*

Major Patrick Craigie.—This excellent officer, the deputy adjutant general of the Bengal army, died at Dinapore, on the 8th October last, at the age of forty-four.

Distinguished at an early period of his service by laudable ambition for professional advancement, Major Craigie obtained employment on the staff,

where his ability soon made him conspicuous as an officer of the highest promise. As assistant adjutant-general of the Meerut division, he gained the confidence and approbation of General Sir Thomas Reynell, and the late Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, and was soon called to a more extended sphere of usefulness, as adjutant-general of the army. From his nomination to this responsible position until the hour of his death, he devoted himself entirely to official duties, gaining the confidence of all under whom he served. He was selected by Sir Henry Fane as principal staff to the army of the Indus, and Lord Keane, duly appreciating his services, recommended him on his return to India in the strongest terms. His perfect knowledge of the multifarious details of the service, his facility in transacting business, his constant anxiety to improve the discipline of the army, his urbanity and readiness to afford information to those who sought it, peculiarly fitted him for this important situation. The promptitude and activity displayed by him in the field equalled his intelligence and assiduity in office.

His energies were strained to the very last, and even when the hand of death was upon him, he was with difficulty persuaded to quit his post.—*Abr. from Englishman.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Jan. 25. At Sandling Park, the lady of William Deedes, Esq., daughter.

26. At Dulwich, the wife of F. Clarke, Esq., son.

Feb. 1. At Paris, the lady of Lieut. Henry, adjutant, 3rd Bombay, N. I., son.

— At Quimperle, the lady of Capt. Hughes, late Bengal artillery, son.

2. At Clapham, the lady of Edward Thornton, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, son.

3. At Grosvenor Place, Lady Mahon, daughter.

4. At Cavendish Square, the lady of E. Majoribanks, jun., Esq., son.

— At Leicester Street, Mrs. Charles Delmar, son.

5. At Kensington, the lady of Capt. Barlow, 61st regt., daughter.

8. At Little Hedingham, Essex, the lady of Henry Wood, Esq., late Bombay engineers, daughter.

10. At Spring Gardens, the lady of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq., daughter.

— At Pakenham-lodge, Suffolk, the lady of Thomas Thornhill, jun., Esq., daughter.

11. At Mount Clements, near Stanmore, the lady of Capt. Palairat, late 29th regt., daughter.

12. At Edinburgh, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Duncan, professor of Oriental languages, daughter.

15. At Plymouth, the lady of Lieut. col. John Campbell, son.

19. At Great George Street, the Hon. John Talbot, son.

20. At Morne Park, the Viscountess Newry, son.

— At Upper Tulse-hill, the lady of A. C. Ionides, Esq., daughter.

22. At Whitehall place, Lady James, daughter.

— At Nottingham Place, the lady of Charles Frederick Huth, Esq., son.

— At Norwood, the lady of Bazett David Colvin, Esq., son.

MARRIAGES.

Jan. 18. At Dublin, the Rev. Armitage Forbes, to Charlotte Emily, daughter of E. Litton, Esq., Master in Chancery, Dublin, late M. P. for Coleraine.

Feb. 1. At Llantarram Church, Capt. Clutterbuck, 38th Madras N.I., to Amy, daughter of John James, Esq., of Llantarnam Cottage.

— At Hampstead, R. Beachcroft, Esq., to Henrietta, daughter of J. C. Melvill, Esq., Secretary to the Hon. East-India Company.

— At Titchfield, Hon. Sir E. Butler, son of the Right Hon. Lord Dunboyne, to Urania Elizabeth, daughter of the late Vice Admiral, the Right Hon. Lord H. Paulet.

8. At Taunton, the Rev. Henry John Buller, rector of West Parley, to Mary Theodosia Rickards, daughter of the late John Rickards, Esq., of Ailston Hill.

— At Radford, John Dymoke Elliott, Esq., to Jane, daughter of John Thackeray, Esq., Nottingham.

10. At All Souls' Church, the Rev. Sir J. H. C. Seymour, Bart., to Maria Louisa, sister to the late Sir C. J. Smith, Bart., of Suttons, Essex.

15. At Buckland Church, near Dover, Henry Potts, Esq., to Cecilia Ann, daughter of Major Martin, of Buckland house, and niece of the late Right Hon. Sir W. Grant.

19. At St. James', Westminster, the Hon. J. F. Strangeways, to Amelia, daughter of E. Majoribanks, Esq.

— At St. George's, Capt. Whitelock, Hon. E. I. C.'s army, to Annie, daughter of late A. G. Storer, Esq., of Purley Park, Berks.

20. At Beaumont, Windsor, Henry Every, Esq., son of Sir H. Every, Bart., to Jane, daughter of the late Rev. Sir John Robinson, Bart., and relict of Geo. Powney, Esq.

DEATHS.

Dec. At St. Helena, Lieut. Col. C. A. J. Weight, late commandant of the St. Helena regt. E. I. C.'s service.

19. At Worcester, in her 53rd year, Anne, wife of John Goldingham, Esq., F.R.S.

Jan. 21. At Fochabers, Mrs. Loban, widow of late Gen. W. Farquhar, E. I. C.'s service.

— At Thames Ditton, Robert Duncan, son of Major R. Stewart, Bengal army.

26. At Combermere Abbey, Cheshire, R. Gibbins, Esq., of Gibbing's Grove, Limerick.

— At Ealing, the Hon. Lady Carr.

27. At Battersea, Jane Isabella, wife of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart.

29. At Egham, Capt. R. Storer, late 51st regt.

— At Harrowgate, Mrs. Ewart, widow of late Wm. Ewart, Esq., of Liverpool.

Feb. 3. At Portland-place, Anne, wife of the Right Hon. Sir James Wigram.

4. At Little Waltham, Elizabeth, widow of late Wm. Napier, Esq.

6. At Boulogne, Bernard, and on the 16th, Arthur Edwardes, sons of the Rev. Alfred Lyall, vicar of Godmersham.

7. At Thayer-street, Manchester-square, Louise Johnstone, widow of late Lieut. col. Sneyd, Madras army.

8. At Kingsdown, Eleanor, relict of the late Capt. J. Morley, E. I. C.'s service.

9. At Barnstaple, Susanna, widow of the late Capt. George Richardson, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

10. At Twickenham, Diana Harriott, widow of the late Major Thomas Harriott, of West-hall, Mortlake.

13. At Sloane-street, Abraham Lalande, Esq., brother of the late Gen. Lalande, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

— At Worthing, Major gen. W. Nedham, col. late 4th vet. batt.

15. At Bath, Lieut. col. C. H. Baines, Hon. E. I. C.'s service.

— At Richmond Park, Henry, Viscount Sidmouth.

Feb. 16. At Manchester-square, Edmond Henry, Viscount Glentworth, grandson of the Earl of Limerick.

— At Brighton, Jessie Raikes, youngest child of John Brightman, Esq., of Lavender-hill.

19. Lieut. gen. Sir Gregory Way, Bart.

26. At Carshalton Park, Surrey, aged 22, Lieut. John Liddell Aitken, 3rd Bombay cav., eldest son of the late J. Aitken, Esq., H.E.I.C.'s service.

Lately. In Oxford-street, James Erskine, Esq., Bombay civil service.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

JAN. 29.—*Siam*, China, Swanage.—30. *Mary Sophia*, Bengal, *Edward Thorne*, Bombay, Downs; *James Moran*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Hope*, Bombay, Liverpool.—31. *City of Poonah*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Union*, Mauritius, *Brunette*, Ceylon, Downs; *Peru*, Mauritius, Liverpool. Feb. 1.—*Patna*, China, Falmouth; *Robert Small*, Bengal, Downs; *Antigua Packet*, Ceylon, Downs; *John Dugdale*, Singapore, Cork.—2. *Samarang*, Bengal, Dover; *Argylshire*, Bombay, Liverpool.—5. *George Armstrong*, Batavia, Downs; *Nautilus*, Mauritius, Downs; *Dorothy*, Mauritius, Isle of Wight.—6. *Galatea*, Cape of Good Hope, Dover; *Mary Ann*, Cape of Good Hope, Portland.—8. *Cordelia*, China, *Paragon*, Bengal, Liverpool.—9. *Helena*, Singapore, Portsmouth; *Ganges*, Mauritius, Dover; *Athens*, Mauritius, Clyde.—10. *Cingalese*, Singapore, Dover; *Amity*, Zanzibar, Gravesend.—12. *Mary*, Bengal, Gravesend; *Blair*, Bengal, Leith.—17. *Timandra*, Bengal, Wight; *Admiral Van Heemskirk*, Batavia, Torbay.—20. *British Sovereign*, Bengal, Downs; *Anglesea*, Manilla, Liverpool; *Levenside*, Angra Pequena, Liverpool; *Star of the West*, Angra Pequena, Plymouth.—21. *John Cooper*, Bengal, Downs; *Templar*, Bengal, Dover; *Avoca*, Singapore, Hastings; *Flora Keer*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Columbine*, Mauritius, Liverpool; *Albert Edward*, China, Dublin.—22. *Eliza*, China, Downs; *Quentin Leitch*, China, Cork; *Aden*, China, Liverpool; *Belle Creole*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *John George*, Bengal, Portland; *Susannah Christina*, Batavia, Beachy Head.—23. *Chronometer*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Hope*, Java, Plymouth; *Sarah Maria*, Algoa Bay, Downs.—24. *Montrose and Brooke*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Syren*, Bengal, Waterford.—26. *Portly*, Reed, China; *Cumbrian*, Dring, and *Cambria*, Shaddock, Bengal, London; *Edwards*, Singapore; *Lady Margaret*, Thompson, Mauritius; *William Gales*, Venus, Ceylon; *Helen Mary*, Palmer, Mauritius, all in the Downs; *Tanjore*, Stuart, Bengal; *Exporter*, Anwyll, New South Wales, Dover.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—JAN. 29. *Gazelle* and *Equestrian*, Hobart Town; *Token*, Bombay.—FEB. 1. *Water Witch*, Mauritius.—3. *Agile*, Cape.—5. *Mary Sharp*, Sydney.—6. *Diana*, South Seas.—10. *Lynher*, Algoa Bay; *Tulloch Castle*, Ascension; *Bengal* (from Shields 4), Ceylon; *Allerton* (from Shields 5), Ceylon; *Rockliffe*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.—16. *Taglioni*, Adelaide; *Sons of Commerce*, Singapore; *Inchinnan*, Bombay; *George*, Bengal; *Robert Stride*, Bordeaux and Bengal.—20. *Amazon* (from Shields 14), Bengal.—22. *Enmore*, Sydney; *Lord Stanley* (from Shields 16), Aden; *Orwell* (from Shields 14), Cape.

From Liverpool.—FEB. 3. *Uruguay* and *Elvira*, China; *Larne* and *Windsor Castle*, Bombay; *Mary Ann Webb*, Singapore; *Patriot Queen* and *Chatham*, Bengal; *Ada*, Cape.—5. *Bidston* and *Bland*, Bengal.—6. *G. H. Harrison*, Singapore; *Herculean*, Bombay; *Ann*, Cape of Good Hope.—14. *Vindicator*, Manilla.—17. *Meg of Meedon*, Bengal.—20. *Haidee*, New South Wales.—21. *Mona*, Batavia; *Isis*, Bengal.—22. *Universe*, Bombay.

From Portsmouth.—FEB. 9. *City of Derry*, China.—10. *Chanticleer*, Algoa Bay; *Walmer Castle* and *Lord Hungerford*, Madras and Bengal; *Lady Clarke*, Bengal.

From Plymouth.—FEB. 5. *Bella Marina*, New Zealand.

From Shields.—FEB. 5. *Emma*, Bengal.

From Cork.—FEB. 9.—H.M.S. *Isis*, Hong-kong.

From the Clyde.—FEB. 1. *Margaret Poynder*, Batavia, &c.—10. *Lady Bute*, Bengal.—16. *Persia*, Bombay.

From Ardrossan.—FEB. 9. *Mary Ann*, Aden; *Gem*, Cape of Good Hope.

From Bordeaux.—FEB. 12. *Pallas*, *Jessie*, and *Narcissus*, Mauritius.

From the Downs.—FEB. 25. *Eudora*, McMeckan, Hobart Town; *Royal Tar*, Bell, Batavia; *Erin*, Maine, China.

PASSENGERS FROM INDIA.

Per *Pasha*, steamer, from Malta:—Capt. Layard, 26th reg.; Lieut. Colville, 9th lancers, Bengal; Lieut. Stopford, 22nd reg.; Lieut. col. Graham, Major and Mrs. Poole and child, Capt. Gifford, Lieut. Orr, Lieut. Ficke, Lieut. Money, Lieut. Ogilvie, Lieut. Briggs, Mr. Bates, Messrs. Wingate, Carlisle, Murray, Larksteene, and Elliot; Mrs. Rattary, Mrs. Huntley, Mrs. Hoskin and two children, Mrs. Smith and one child, Mrs. and Miss Turton and four children, Mrs. Mancore and two children.

PASSENGERS TO THE EAST.

Per *Iberia*, for Malta and Alexandria:—Mr. Chapman, Mr. West, Mr. Orlaber, Mrs. Orlaber, Capt. Young, Mrs. Young, Mrs. Ferris and four children, Mr. Anderdon, Mary Ann Ockford, Mr. Shortt, Mrs. Milne, Mr. Craig, Lieut. Lye, Mrs. Warburton, Miss Mant, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Kenedy, Lieut. Gordon, Capt. Bringham, Mrs. Mullaly, Mr. Gordon.

Per *Walmer Castle*, to Madras and Bengal:—Miss Harriott, Miss Jackson, Mr. Barker, Mrs. Colonel Elderton and daughters, Dr. Morrieson, Capt. Moultrie, Mr. Woolley, Mr. Morton, Mr. Pack, Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Dun, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Elderton, Mr. Wilkinson, Ens. Leckie, Capt. D. Pott, Mr. Jones, Mr. Ellis, Lieut. Taylor, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Hodgson, Dr. Stewart, Capt. Trail, Mr. F. Cruikshank, Mr. Staples, Mr. H. Blackwell, Assist. surg. Macbeth, Mrs. Bulmore, Mr. J. R. Campbell.

Per *Taghoni*, to Adelaide:—Cabin—Mr. Penfold and family, G. and E. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Newman. Intermediate—Mr. Huckey, Mr. Howe, Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Redpath, Mr. M'Mullen, Mr. Hayes, Mr. and Mrs. Norman and infant, Mrs. Norman, sen.

Per *Oriental*, to leave Southampton on 1st March:—China—Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Mr. Leslie, Mr. Newall. Bombay—Miss Clemens, Mr. Bell, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Bainback, Mrs. Crawford, Miss Willoughby, Mr. Cay, Mrs. Tucker, Mr. Tucker, Miss Tucker, Miss Nasmith, Mr. Manson, Mr. Ward and servant, Mr. Hardy, Miss Ross, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Heath and child, Mrs. Heath, Dr. Scott. Calcutta—Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Mr. Crimp, Mr. Hemery, Col. M'Donell, Lieut. Anderson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Bennett, Rev. Mr. Boustead, Mr. Funny, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Chistie, Mr. Fullerton, Mr. Buckland, Mr.

Davies, Lord J. Brown, Capt. Leech, Mr. Rostock, Mr. Scott, Capt. Garrot. Madras—Major and Mrs. Duke, Mr. Wellington, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Kershaw. Ceylon—Mrs. Hume.

Per *Lord Hungerford*, to Cape of Good Hope, Madras, and Bengal:—Mrs. Colonel M'Neil and party, Capt. Luxmore, Mr. Montague, Miss Thompson, Capt. Tyssen, Mr. M'Recknie, Mr. Gowan, Mr. Lamb, Miss Docking and servant, Mr. Sherard, Mr. Coombe, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Hills, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Kating.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1842-43.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>vid</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>vid</i> Marseilles.)						
Oct. 4	Nov. 14.....(per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	41	Nov. 20..	47	Nov. 26.....	53
Nov. 4	Dec. 13.....(per <i>Atalanta</i>)	40	Dec. 21 ..	46	Dec. 23	50
Dec. 6	Jan. 14.....(per <i>Victoria</i>)	39	Jan. 20 ..	45	Jan. 24	49
Jan. 6, 1843	Feb. 14.....(per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	39	Feb. 19 ..	44	Feb. 23	48
Feb. 6.....	March 15.....(per <i>Atalanta</i>)	37	March 18 ..	40	March 23	45
March 4	April 14.....(per <i>Victoria</i>)	41	April 20..	47	April 23.....	50
April 6	May 13.....(per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	37	May 20 ..	44	May 23	47
May 6	June 6.....(per <i>Sesostris</i>)	31	June 12..	37	June 14.....	39
June 6	July 7.....(per <i>Victoria</i>)	31	July 14 ..	38	July 17.....	41
July 6	Aug. 7.....(per <i>Sesostris</i>)	32	Aug. 15 ..	40	Aug. 18.....	43
Aug. 5	Sept. 9.....(per <i>Atalanta</i>)	35	Sept. 16..	42	Sept. 20.....	47
Sept. 6	Oct. 11.....(per <i>Victoria</i>)	35	Oct. 13*..	37	Oct. 17*.....	41
Oct. 6	Nov. 15.....(per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	40	Nov. 21..	46	Nov. 24.....	49
Nov. 4	Dec. 11.....(per <i>Berenice</i>)	37	Dec. 17 ..	43	Dec. 20.....	46
Nov. 15.....	Dec. 23.....(per <i>Akbar</i>)	38				

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *vid Southampton*, at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 1st, and *vid Marseilles* on the evening of the 4th March.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1843	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Feb. 7.....	38	Feb. 13	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 44
Feb. 3	<i>Atalanta</i>	March 13	38	March 16..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 41
March 2	<i>Victoria</i>	April 7	36	April 11.....	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 40
April 1.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	May 8.....	37	May 13....	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 42
May 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	June 5	35	June 10.....	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 40
May 20	<i>Victoria</i>	July 3.....	44	July 10.....	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 51
June 19	<i>Semiramis</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 7	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 47
July 20	<i>Mennon</i>	Lost			
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46	Nov. 13 ..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 67
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 ..	(per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>) 46
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 47
Dec. 1	<i>Sesostris</i>	Jan. 5	35	Jan. 15.....	45
Jan. 1, 1844	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 8.....	38	Feb. 14	(per <i>Oriental</i>) 44

* These Mails were conveyed by the steamer *Hindustan*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Scindian</i>	650 tons.	Terry	W. I. Docks ...	March 9.
<i>Parsee</i>	390	Chivas	—	March 10.
<i>Parland</i>	481	Smith	St. Kat. Docks	March 15.
<i>George Fyfe</i>	460	Pike	W. I. Docks ...	March 15.
<i>Timandra</i>	432	Skinner ...	Lond. Docks...	April 1.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Pekin</i>	562	Laing	E. I. Docks ...	March 2.
<i>Robert Small</i>	655	Williams...	—	April 20.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Orestes</i>	529	Fenwick ...	E. I. Docks ...	March 10.
<i>Worcester</i> (troops)	636	Bickford ...	—	March 12.
<i>City of Poonah</i>	551	Hight	—	March 20.
<i>Samarang</i>	582	Geere	—	March 31.
<i>Mellish</i>	500	Fawcett ...	St. Kat. Docks	April 2.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Rosberry</i>	312	Young	Lond. Docks...	March 2.
<i>Earl Durham</i>	453	Cabel	St. Kat. Docks	March 8.
<i>Dowthorp</i>	450	Marwood...	Lond. Docks...	March 10.
<i>Oriental</i>	507	Wilson ...	W. I. Docks ...	March 12.
<i>John Knox</i>	540	Cleland ...	—	March 15.
<i>Sophia</i>	586	Johns	—	March 25.

FOR CHINA.

<i>Lady</i>	315	Marshall ...	St. Kat. Docks	March 8.
<i>Marquis of Bute</i>	542	Miller	Lond. Docks...	April 1.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Sumatra</i>	353	Tindall ...	W. I. Docks ...	March 2.
<i>Africa</i>	277	Hart	St. Kat. Docks	March 10.
<i>Arabia</i>	360	Shelton ...	W. I. Docks ...	April 1.
<i>Brunette</i>	326	Cousins ...	St. Kat. Docks	April 2.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Thomas Blyth</i>	372	Hay	Lond. Docks ..	March 2.
<i>Sea Nymph</i>	178	Barclay ...	—	March 10.
<i>John Hullett</i>	299	Austen ...	—	March 10.
<i>Nautilus</i>	419	Thomas ...	—	March 16.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Eliza Scott</i>	150	Beale	W. I. Docks ...	March 5.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. VI.

THE last intelligence from India, whilst it supplies a valuable comment upon our past policy in India, shows the delicate nature of our tenure of that country, and should inculcate a little modesty and restraint upon those self-sufficient critics who pass precipitate judgments upon public measures there. The accounts brought by the preceding mail announced that the affairs of Gwalior were peaceably adjusted; that the Dada Khasgee,* the cause of all the mischief, had been delivered up by the Bhæ to the British authorities, apparently with the concurrence of the troops, and that the Army of Observation had lost the opportunity of gathering easily the laurels promised by dispersing the mob of cowardly and mutinous Mahrattas. The last mail has shewn that, whilst all is apparently calm and tranquil,—when the sky is serene and the earth in repose,—storms and earthquakes may burst forth without warning. The march upon Gwalior has proved that, unless prudence and foresight had provided against the result, the sudden paroxysm of resistance experienced from an enemy who had been despised might have thrown our empire into convulsions, for the defeat of the British forces would have acted like an electric spark upon the Punjab, Bundelkhand, Rajpootana, and above all, Scinde.

The proclamation of the Governor-General (dated 20th December) details succinctly, and no doubt accurately, the relations subsisting between the Government of British India and the state of the once-powerful Scindeah. Upon the decease of the late Maharaja Junkojee Rao Scindeah, our government acknowledged the present ruler (a minor), who was nearest in blood to Junkojee, and had been adopted by the young Maharani, the widow of the late prince, with the approbation of the Sirdars. So far the proceedings of the British Government must have been perfectly satisfactory to all parties in the state. The youth and sex of the Maharani unfitted her for being the sole regent, and she and the chiefs concurred in conferring the dignity and power of regent, during the minority of the Maharaja, upon the Mama Sahib (as he is termed), who is, we believe, the uncle of the Maharani. This measure, again, was approved by the British Government, and our resident, in communicating this approbation, explained to the Mama Sahib, in the presence of the Sirdars, that he would receive the support of the

* The name of this individual is Gungadhur Bullalee. He was the Treasurer of the Mahratta Raj, in which character his embezzlements are supposed to have supplied him with large funds. He is commonly known as the Dada Khasgee-walla.

British Government, as the responsible head of the Gwalior state. This declaration appeared to give general satisfaction ; and if so, our government contracted an obligation to sustain the authority of the regent, unless he forfeited his title to the promised support.

After a short time (the state paper proceeds to declare), the Mama Sahib was violently ejected from his post, and forced to quit the Gwalior state, in spite of the remonstrances of the British resident, and in defiance of the pledge given by our government, sanctioned by the Mahratta chiefs. The individual who succeeded to his office, or rather who gained the favour of the young Maharani, was the ex-treasurer, the Dada Khasgee-walla, a man of a mischievous disposition, and who, though supported by a party, did not possess the confidence of all the chiefs. This act was followed by others, indicating a hostile feeling towards the British Government of India. By the influence of the intrusive regent, various measures were adopted injurious and insulting to it ; and, as his representations were not attended to, the British resident was instructed to withdraw from Gwalior.

It appears that, when these offensive measures of the Dada Khasgee indicated the substitution of hostile for friendly feelings on the part of the Gwalior Durbar, the British resident was authorized to intimate to the Maharani the opinion of his government that some signal punishment should be inflicted upon that chief, in order to mark her disapprobation of his proceedings, and it was suggested that he should be delivered as a prisoner into the charge of the British Government. This was undoubtedly a strong measure, to be justified only by extreme necessity. That necessity is attempted to be made out, by stating that "it was not thereby intended to derogate from the honour of the Gwalior state, but solely to provide effectually for the security of the Dada, for which, under the circumstances of the Gwalior state, it did not appear to be possible to provide within the Gwalior territory." This, however, seems rather a shallow pretence. We had a right to demand the removal of the Khasgee-walla, but not, at that time, his surrender. It afterwards appeared, indeed, that this person had withheld from the Maharani and the Durbar a letter addressed to the former, conveying the sentiments of the British Government, which was a virtual usurpation of the sovereign authority, and then our government, bound by treaty to maintain that authority in the house of Scindeah, was fully entitled to demand the surrender of the Dada,—who was in fact a rebel, intent upon the overthrow of the state,—as an indispensable preliminary to the re-establishment of the

customary relations with Gwalior. This requisition was, at length, complied with, and the Dada Khasgee-walla was escorted to Agra.

The removal of this person, after he had disordered the relations between the two states, and sowed the seeds of mutiny and insubordination amongst the Mahratta soldiery and populace, was now not the only measure requisite to establish peace and order in a country bordering upon the British dominions. The spirit of the administration had become changed; hostile conflicts took place in the Mahratta camp, before the palace of the Maharaja, and the authority of the prince was practically suspended in his territories. The officers of the Gwalior state had long evinced a want of cordial co-operation in the maintenance of order upon the common frontier, in spite of the instructions of the late Maharaja, and the British Government, upon grounds of public policy as well as from the ties of treaty—having an army on the spot, brought thither by the conduct of the Durbar—could not permit that the territories of Scindeah, which it was bound by treaty to secure to that house, should be destitute of a government capable of coercing its own subjects and of maintaining the relations of good neighbourhood with ours and those of our allies. By the treaty of Boorhanpoor, with Dowlat Rao Scindeah (in 1817), the government of British India engaged “to maintain a force to be at all times ready, on the requisition of the Maharaja, to protect the person of the Maharaja, his heirs and successors; to overawe and chastise rebels or excitors of disturbance in his Highness’s territories, and to reduce to obedience all offenders against his Highness’s authority.” The tender age and helpless position of the present Maharaja rendering it impossible for him to make the formal requisitions for aid which circumstances would justify and compel him to demand under this treaty, it would be inconsistent with the good faith and injurious to the good name of the British Government to allow this inability to demand aid, which only gave the Maharaja new claims to its protection, to deprive him of the support intended to be secured to him by the treaty, and, therefore, the Governor-General directed the advance of the British forces, in order to effect objects within the spirit, if not the very letter, of the treaty:—“to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states; to protect the person of the Maharaja; to quell disturbances within his Highness’s territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience.”

We have been occasionally forced to join those who have censured

the style of Lord Ellenborough's public papers ; but it is impossible to find just fault with this. The reasoning is as fair and conclusive as the language is free from exaggeration and affectation. The virulence of party-hostility,—which seems, for some reasons, which it would be invidious, and is scarcely necessary, to examine, to expend its concentrated venom upon Lord Ellenborough,—will doubtless find much in his policy respecting Gwalior, and something, perhaps, even in his proclamation, to condemn ; but when the historian hereafter weighs that policy in an impartial balance, it will not be found wanting in those essential recommendations which constitute a case of necessity in the eyes of a statesman. With a country like Scinde, occupied, but only half-conquered, on the extreme west of our territory ; with the Punjab in the condition of a volcano, ready to explode, in the vicinity of Gwalior, the restless spirits in that state waiting the result of the proceedings of the Mahrattas, to determine upon peace or war ; with Bundelkhand yet unsettled, and unsettled only because Gwalior is so,—it would have been pusillanimity and folly, and the sacrifice of an opportunity that might never after have occurred, to lead away a fine army, within seventy miles of the refractory state, without dispersing that nucleus of future mischief, the Mahratta army, the partisans of the deposed Khasgee-walla, and the virtual rulers of the state.

The British army entered the territory of Scindeah, as the Governor-General declared, not as an enemy, but as a friend to the ruler, with no other object than that of seeing re-established a strong and friendly government ; and, that being secured, it would return to its own territory. This object, however, contrary to the evident expectations of the Governor-General and the military authorities, was not to be accomplished without a severe struggle.

The old city of Gwalior (74 miles distant from Agra, and 176 from Cawnpore) is a strong fortress, seated upon a hill, the sides of which are so steep as to be nearly perpendicular. It has been in all ages a military post of strength and importance, from its site and position. The Mahrattas took it, in the first instance, from the Rana of Gohud, but in 1780 it was taken from them by Major Popham, who obtained possession of it by escalade, one of the remarkable feats performed by the British Indian army. The Mahrattas afterwards re-possessioned themselves of the place, when it had been re-delivered to the Rana of Gohud, and it was re-occupied by the British in 1804. By the treaty of 1805, it was given up to Scindeah. The modern Gwalior, however, is a new city, which has arisen on the site of the "Camp" of Scindeah, outside the old

capital, which it has surpassed in magnitude and population. No other obstacle was expected to the occupation of Gwalior than the opposition of the troops in its neighbourhood, and they were supposed to have abandoned all intentions of resistance.

The British army moved from Agra immediately on the arrival of the Governor-General at that city, which appears to have been on the 11th of December. The advance reached Dholpoor, on the Agra side of the Chumbul, on the 17th. The Dholpoor raja paid a visit to Lord Ellenborough, who accompanied the main body of the army. The two divisions had crossed the Chumbul on the 23rd, and halted at Hingona, about twenty miles from Gwalior. Here the Mahratta vakeels met the Governor-General, and the army halted for five days, to allow time for the completion of the negotiations; but it would appear that, in the meantime, the Gwalior Durbar, whilst proffering submission, were in reality meditating resistance; that whilst the vakeels, deceivers or deceived, were consenting to every demand, the leaders of the troops were placing their troops in the strongest positions for offering the most determined opposition to the advance of the British. Had the Governor-General pressed on, he might have met with less resistance; but he would then have been charged with wantonly sacrificing life, when the same end might have been attained by negotiation. The general opinion, not merely in the British camp, but in Gwalior itself, was that the question was settled. Many respectable inhabitants of the city came on a visit to our camp, where preparations were made, it is said, to receive the Maharani, who was expected on the 28th. A letter from the camp, which appears in the *Bombay Times*, ascribes the change in the resolution of the Mahratta Sirdars to an alteration in the terms proposed by the Governor-General.

The Governor-General, who had originally been moderate in his demands, requiring the restoration of the Mama Sahib and his friends—the surrender of the Khasgee-walla, and dismissal of his partisans—the exchange of certain portions of country, so as to improve the condition of the mutual frontier—and the disbanding of the mutinous portion of the troops—is said to have risen in his terms, and to have now resolved on the entire revision of the military establishment, and the surrender of the magnificent park of three hundred pieces of artillery, brought into existence about forty years since by Dowlut Rao Scindeah, and regarded as the palladium of the state. This was looked upon as implying the entire destruction of the army and surrender of the independence of the nation. There is every reason to believe that, throughout, the professions of the Mahratta Durbar were hollow and insincere—that so soon as it was found that the surrender of the Khas-

gee-walla was insufficient to arrest our progress, it was resolved to offer the most determined resistance. Further negotiations appear to have been resorted to merely to gain time. The fraud, though gross and palpable, was successful; the Governor-General fell into the trap; the few days' delay at Hingona permitted the enemy to bring their troops into the field, and take up a position as skilfully chosen as it was gallantly maintained.

The simultaneous movements of the two wings,—that under the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Hugh Gough), from Agra, and that under Major-General Grey, in an opposite direction from Bundlekhund,—brought on two obstinate actions with “the mutinous troops, which overawed and controlled the government” of Gwalior, on the same day, attended with the same success to the British arms.

The despatch of Sir Hugh Gough enters into no particulars respecting the movements of his corps previous to the action of the 29th of December, assigning as a reason for the omission, that the Governor-General witnessed the operations, and was in possession of his military arrangements for an attack upon the Mahratta army in its strong position at Chonda. But Sir Hugh must have well known that a public despatch, though ostensibly addressed to an official functionary, is in reality a statement laid before the world, and the suppression of facts necessary to make that statement understood is wrong. We are not disposed to imagine any design to withdraw these movements from the observation and criticism of the public, but it is calculated to give currency to the reports which have been circulated, that some of these movements were not of the most skilful and judicious nature. We have received extracts of a good many letters from the camp, which indulge in a strain of more than condemnation upon this head.

However, the Commander-in-Chief does justice to the courage and skill of the Mahratta troops. Of the position of the army he attacked at Chonda, he says, “It was peculiarly well chosen, and most obstinately defended;” and of the bravery of the troops in it, he observes: “I never witnessed guns better served, nor a body of infantry apparently more devoted to the protection of their regimental guns, held by the Mahratta corps as objects of worship.”

The country along which the British troops had to advance, Sir Hugh states, is extremely difficult, intersected by deep and almost impassable ravines, in which (according to a private letter) a determined enemy might have obstructed their march almost with impunity.

Passing the Koharee river, early on the 29th, the British army was drawn up, a mile in front of Maharajpooor, at eight o'clock.

The Mahrattas had occupied their position with seven regiments of infantry, each corps having four guns, which they had entrenched. The spirited advance of the British troops, European and native, appearing emulous of each other, was met with gallantry by their opponents, who received the shock without flinching, their guns doing severe execution. The assailants, however, drove the enemy from their guns into the village of Maharajpoor, bayoneting the gunners at their posts. In this operation her Majesty's 39th foot and the 56th N.I. distinguished themselves. In the village a most sanguinary conflict took place; "the Mahratta troops, after discharging their matchlocks, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage: so desperate was the resistance, that very few of the defenders of this very strong position escaped." The cavalry of the enemy attacked the advancing troops, and in moving upon the main position at Chonda, Major-General Valiant had to take in succession three strong intrenched positions, where the enemy defended their guns "with frantic desperation."

After sustaining a "very severe loss," the British troops appear to have entered the position, though that fact is likewise omitted in the despatch of the Commander-in-Chief. In noticing the extent of the loss,—797 killed, wounded, and missing, Major-General Churchill, C.B., Quarter-Master General of the Forces; Lieut.-Col. Sanders, C.B., of the Engineers; Major Crommelin, C.B., and other European officers, being included amongst the former,—Sir Hugh Gough observes that, "it is infinitely beyond what I calculated on; indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents." Their force, too, considerably exceeded ours, and some of their guns were worked by Europeans, one a deserter from the English army.

The other wing, under Major-General Grey, had been collected in Bundelkhand, to co-operate, if necessary, with the right wing, and both corps crossed the Gwalior frontier, from the north-east and south-west, at the same time, the effect of which combined movement was to place the Mahratta army between two fires, should it remain in the vicinity of the capital, or oblige the enemy to subdivide it. They adopted the latter alternative, sending a body of 12,000 men, under the command of Colonel Secunder, with twenty-four guns, to take post in a fortified position near Punniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior.

General Grey marched from Simmeera on the 28th of December, and when he reached Burka-ka-Serai, he learned that the enemy was in position at Antree (or Antari), a walled town on the little river Dealoo, seven miles in his front. On the 29th he marched to

Punniar (sixteen miles), and found that the enemy, by a parallel movement from Antree, had reached their strong position on the heights of Mangore, near Punniar, whence they commenced firing. Notwithstanding the strength of the position, the fatigue of the troops, after a long march, and the lateness of the day, the enemy was attacked; every part of his strong position was carried, and the Mahrattas were driven from height to height (according to the general's despatch), the action not closing till nightfall. Here, again, "owing to the strength of the enemy's position, and the number of his guns,"—General Grey says nothing of the gallantry of the Mahrattas,—our loss was severe, 215 killed and wounded, including two European officers killed.

The victories at Gwalior, though dearly purchased at the cost of 1,012 men, have certainly increased "the security of the British empire in India." Although not incorporated with that empire, the state of Scindeah may be now considered as so united to it by its new relations, that another of the few remaining laboratories of mischief, vice, and political disorganization is extinguished. A new treaty has been concluded, and the Governor-General has superintended the construction of the civil administration. According to the latest accounts, the government was to be conducted by a council of the principal sirdars of the two parties at the Durbar, Ram Rao Phalkea, heretofore the Residency Vakeel, being prime minister. Colonel Stubbs is appointed by the Maharani governor of the fort of Gwalior, which controls the city, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Scindeah's country; and lastly, which will contribute still more to the pacification of the state, the Mahratta regiments are all disbanded, their arrears being paid up. A British contingent force is to be maintained in the country, to consist of seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, for the payment of which districts are to be assigned, and the expenses of the campaign are to be paid down forthwith.

No intelligence from other parts of India is calculated to impair the interest excited by the important occurrences in Scindeah's state. In the Punjab, affairs remained, according to the latest advices (12th January from Lahore), in the same unsettled, unsatisfactory state. The European officers had withdrawn from the country, and the Sikh sirdars seem to be following their example, removing, with their families and property, to some safer depositories than a country which they expect will soon become a scene of anarchy. No regular or generally recognized government seems yet established at Lahore, that of Heera Sing subsisting only by the sufferance of the

army, which he purchases by large donations, thus pampering a ravenous monster which, like that in the fable, will devour him when he can supply its insatiate maw with no more of this palatable food. It is said that the Sikh leaders have been much mortified at the result of our operations against the Mahrattas, and that, had we suffered any reverse at Gwalior, they were prepared to cross the Sutlej. A new Sikh state is evidently growing up at Mooltan, where Sawun Mull, the Dewan, an able man, has taken the affairs entirely into his own hands, and is making rapid and undisguised strides towards independence.

The latest news from Scinde intimates some apprehensions of an insurrection of the Belooches. A British corps, with artillery, has been sent to Shikarpore, as a precautionary measure, and Sir C. Napier was to start on an expedition in the direction of Sukkur early in February, with H.M.'s 78th Highlanders and 86th, the 25th N.I., with horse artillery, and a detachment of the 2nd cavalry : the destination and objects of this expedition were not known. Shere Mahomed, the refugee Ameer, who failed to obtain aid at Lahore, has, it is said, succeeded at Candahar ; but it will be well for the Sirdars of that state if they can retain their own authority, their subjects being already sick of their rule and preferring ours. Dost Mahomed Khan maintains his difficult position amidst the restless and refractory tribes over whom he is placed, and whom it is as difficult to please as to punish.

Amongst the incidents at the Presidencies, may be noticed the suppression of lotteries, and the progress of native education, under Bengal. It appears that under this presidency there are eight colleges and thirty-two schools, under the control of and supported by Government, at the cost of about £58,000 per annum, of which only £3,800 was received from pupils for tuition. The number of scholars attached to these institutions is about 8,000. At Madras, some insubordination was exhibited by the 47th regiment of native infantry, under orders to proceed to Bombay. It appears that when the corps was reviewed by the governor, the Marquess of Tweeddale, the men solicited foreign batta and rations. The marquess informed them that, as the regiment was sent on foreign service on the application of the Bombay Government, that of Madras could not authorize rations, but that he had written to Bombay on the subject, and had no doubt that this would be effectual. The men seemed dissatisfied, and two days after, when they were asked to stand out, if prepared to embark, only the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers

and veterans of the corps stood out; the others would not leave the ranks, saying, "Give us *khana* (rations), and we will go." They were afterwards, by a seasonable address, in Hindustani, from Captain Gordon, the acting adjutant-general of the army, recalled to a sense of their duty, and they embarked without repugnance. Such an incident would scarcely deserve notice in a European corps at home, but in India, and in an Indian regiment, it is one of the monitory symptoms, which should never be neglected, of incipient insubordination. Prompt inquiry in such cases, and the prompt remedy of any real grievance, will not only not relax, but will strengthen, the bonds of discipline in the British Native army. It would appear that another change is likely to occur in the Nizam's councils by the restoration to power of his old minister Chundoo Lall, who has been reconciled to his master, and his master to him.

The following singular occurrence at Calcutta is recorded in the *Indian Mail*:—

Shama Churn Boso had been a pupil for about two years in the Entally Institution, and apparently a very promising Christian convert, for several months, when he was baptized about a year ago by the Rev. G. Small. He was very anxious at the time that his baptism should be private; and his wish was yielded to so far, that the witnesses of that solemn act were very few, and none of them heathens. Very soon after, he was carried off with determined violence by his relatives; and his Christian friends, fearful for his life, used every effort to obtain his release. He was kept, however, in complete secrecy till lately. By one means or another, his relatives gained their point of inducing him to abjure Christianity—or rather to deny his ever being a Christian, and to confirm his apostate declaration by an open act of idolatry. As the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, in order to bring him under the protection of justice, had long before issued perwannahs requiring those in whose custody he was to produce him, and his father was found to have treated the authority of the court with contempt in not producing him, he was fined Rs. 200 for that offence. The young man was then examined, that it might be known whether he now needed or desired protection. But he maintained in open court that he was no Christian; he denied on oath that he had ever been baptized, or been carried off either with or against his will. At the same time the contrary was fully established on indubitable testimony. He was therefore committed for perjury.

There is little to notice, historically or critically, in the last

accounts from China, where every thing was quiet, and proceeding in as favourable a manner as could be expected after such a crisis in the history of the Celestial Empire. The Government of Hong-kong has secured by a lease the ground at Canton which formerly was the site of the Company's, the Dutch, and the Creek factories,* intending to build thereon a British consulate and other public buildings, and to apportion the remainder to the foreign mercantile community. The Emperor had ratified the supplementary treaty, and has evinced in many trivial points a desire to carry out its provisions in a just and amicable spirit. Complaints are made of the dulness of trade, but time will be required for the establishment of mutual confidence as well as for the discovery of mutual wants.

The following extracts have been sent to us of letters from officers who were present in the battles fought before Gwalior :—

1st. "The battle of Maharajpooor was fought by four regiments only, H.M.'s 39th, 40th, and our 16th and 56th N.I. Littler and Valiant, with the officers of the above corps, of course, were the only men who deserved the smallest credit, but — has so mixed up the men who did something with those who did nothing, that he leads the world to suppose all equally shared in the fight. Look at the list of the killed and wounded ! The ground would shew at once it ought to have been a *cavalry* fight. Yet where were they ? Artillery too ! The fact is, there was no plan of attack, no reconnoissance before the fight—the enemy had reconnoitred, he might be sure ; but, because they were found in a different position in the morning all — plans were disconcerted, like the old Austrian generals, who said Napoleon did not fight according to the *rules* of war, because he never knew where he was going to have won. The fact is — was regularly out-manœuvred by the rabble army of Gwalior, and but for the bulldog courage of his troops, the result would have been as fatal as Napoleon's movements were to the Austrians."

2nd. "Of that action (of Punniar) I will give you some account. Clunie and the Buffs did every thing without any support, except a company of sappers pushed on by Cunningham and Maxwell ; they carried height after height in famous style, to the key of the enemy's position at Manjore."

3rd. "The action of the right wing (Maharajpooor) was as badly a managed thing as well could be, neither our artillery nor cavalry were properly handled ; if they had been, not a man of the Mahratta army ought to have reached Gwalior. Only fancy, on such a plain as that between Hingona and Dunoila, the cavalry never being allowed to charge ! The horse artillery were kept 1,000 yards from the guns of the enemy ; every thing was done by the infantry, and right well they did it, but with great loss, which might have been avoided if the other two arms had been used with any judgment. The cavalry and horse artillery could easily have turned the enemy's position, and saved the loss that must necessarily occur in taking the bull by the horns. The cavalry were furious that they were not allowed to get at the enemy. With the left wing, the infantry also did every thing !"

4th. "Every thing here is going on what is called satisfactorily; that is, the Gwalior troops have been bribed not to fight us any more, but to take themselves off to their homes, like good boys."

We are aware that officers who see but a part of the field are not always the best judges of the propriety of the movements made by the officer who commands the whole; but there are some facts respecting which they cannot err, and of which they are, perhaps, the most competent critics.

GHAZEL OF HAFIZ.

ای همه شکل تو مطبوع و همه جای تو خوش &c.

Hail! queen of Earth's fair ones! what beauty and grace
 Beam forth from each line of thy heavenly face!
 How sweet are thy smiles to my sorrowful heart!
 How joyous are all things wherever *thou* art!
 How soft is thy spirit, how gentle and kind,
 Like the dew-laden rose-leaf, unswept by the wind!
 How graceful thy figure, how matchless thy make,
 Like the cypress that bends o'er some translucent lake!
 How melts my whole soul in one rapturous glow,
 Ensnared by those tresses, that eye and that brow!
 No image but thine can my bosom now share;
 No odours can charm me but those from thy hair!
 Though fall'n at thy feet I lay sinking in death,
 Though life were just ebbing, and faltering my breath,
 Still thy smile of affection could cheer me again,
 Re-waken my spirit, and banish my pain.
 In the journey of love, still wherever we go,
 Beside us affliction's cold waters will flow;
 Yet the thought of the greeting, that waits me at last,
 Still urges me onward, unchecked by the past.
 Though wide be the desert, and dreary the way,
 Though sorrows surround him, and dangers dismay,
 Still onward will HAFIZ continue to roam,
 In hope that ere long he shall reach his dear home!

Ipswich, March 13, 1844.

E. B. COWELL.

CALCUTTA GOVERNMENT-HOUSE AND ITS TENANTS.

BY J. H. STOCQUELER, ESQ.

THIS magnificent structure demands to be viewed under three distinct phases—architectural, political, and social; and if in none of these characters it can be pronounced quite faultless, neither can it, in any of them, be unqualifiedly condemned. First, in its light of a public building merely, the reader, to go along with us, is requested to bear in mind the sensible theory, that the adaptation of every English domicile, in a climate like that of Bengal, to the peculiar habits and domestic necessities (for the home-word “comfort” is scarcely applicable to Indian life) of our countrymen, is in itself a matter requiring the exercise of no inconsiderable judgment on the part of the designer; but when, in addition to such adaptation, it becomes indispensable, as it is, in a political residence for the head of the local government, to combine the magnificence of architectural creation with the conveniences and elegance of a domestic abode, in reference to the “skiey influences” of the place, it will be obvious that a union of great skill, taste, and judgment is required to produce a structure which may win the admiration of the spectator, and be a matter of just pride to the local community, without, at the same time, destroying or even curtailing the private comfort of the inhabitant, when in (as naturalists would say) his domesticated existence, self-divested, for the hour, of his official greatness. Magnificence was the soul, the pervading spirit, of Lord Wellesley’s rule, and, accordingly, it influenced his conduct in both his public and private capacities—in the scale of warfare, the terms of a treaty, and the official routine—and was, we firmly believe, a characteristic better suited to the times and exigencies in which he played his part, than the narrower spirit of a Bentinck would have been, or the lowlier displays of an Amherst or an Auckland. In those days, the native mind required to be awed by the combination of power and splendour, which, in their estimation, were indivisible, if not one; and if we choose to pronounce that the march of intellect has, in these days, introduced just and sober reason among the millions whom we govern, and caused them to view the mere trappings of state as things apart from the power of dominion, we are not, therefore, justified in condemning the former system, which united dazzlement with dread, and which maintained us in crises when, under meaner-minded men, it would have been found a more difficult thing to triumph. Be that as it may (for to discuss it further would here be out of place), it is to the grandeur of Lord Wellesley’s mind that we owe the conception of a *HOUSE*—for such is its official designation—worthy to be the abode of the local king of Hindostan, and to subdue, by contrast, the barbaric glitter and rudeness of the native regal dwellings, as thoroughly as he subdued by arms the princes who possessed them. But he required a house to live in, as well as a palace in which to govern; and the difficult problem which the artist had to

adjust was, how far the technical rules of his science were to yield to the provision of domestic comfort, or how far the latter desideratum was to be sacrificed, or made subservient, to architectural magnificence in an essentially public edifice, the foremost in the realm. The compromise between these claims is acknowledged by those who are able critics, and even severe judges, in these matters, to have been effected with consummate skill and great architectural science; but in this place, we must insert a short account of the erection, though it will probably be less interesting to the general reader than those portions of the sequel which are to treat of the glittering pageant connected with its history.

The Government-House of Calcutta was raised in 1804, costing £150,000 sterling. Although it only consists of two stories, and possesses a great many windows, it is nevertheless a noble edifice, and well adapted to the climate. Between the southern wings rises a dome, which, from not being in the centre of the building, always appears misplaced, excepting when viewed from the south. On the summit of this dome is a statue, which by some has been called Britannia, by others Minerva; the general suffrages are in favour of the latter, as she typifies the wisdom which, of course, is always supposed to preside at the council-board. The grand entrance to the house is from the north, but as the flight of steps conducting to the first floor is unprotected by any awning, the ordinary ingress is beneath the stairs. The centre of the building consists of three large rooms, but the one on the ground floor merely forms a passage to the flights of steps leading to the upper stories. The centre of the first floor is a superb marble hall, supported by a double row of columns, and above this is the ball-room, floored with teak, and having ornamented ceilings. Some gilding decorates the apartments, and a number of chandeliers of a rather antique fashion are suspended from the beams above; but, generally speaking, the furniture is mean and scanty. Connected with the centre by means of commodious galleries are the four wings of the building, containing the apartments appropriated to the Governor-General and his suite; the lower branch being used as offices, waiting-rooms, and spare apartments for aides-de-camp. The kitchen, &c., are out-offices, totally detached from the building. The exterior coating of the Government-House is of plaster, requiring a frequent wash of buff or cream-colour, for the rains, by saturating the chunam and imparting life to the vegetable matter contained therein, soon cover the edifice with a green substance, which is far from being ornamental or serviceable. Around the house, forming a compound, is a square lawn, enclosed by iron railings, having an entrance-gate to the north, and two superb triumphal arches, likewise forming entrances, to the west and east. In the southern part of the enclosure is a small garden of shrubs, planted under the tasteful superintendence of the Misses Eden.

The pile which is here described is in some degree emblematic or typical of that great dominion, the ministers of which it is intended to shelter; a goodly edifice, erected with the skill and cunning of a work-

man knowing in his art, surmounted and overlooked by what bears the semblance of wisdom, but the ascent to the high and honourable places and dignified seats of which is in many respects by mean and unworthy steps;* and the places themselves, when arrived at, found deficient in loftiness, and calculated to impress the mind with inadequate sentiments and low conceptions.

Standing in the middle of the principal saloon, let us look around, and, throwing back our recollections upon the history of times gone by, let us summon up visions of former scenes, and call the successive lords of this mighty edifice to pass in review before our mental survey. Behold! Lord Wellesley, the founder of the mansion—arrayed in all his glory, encompassed by his aides-de-camp, his suite, his officers, his attendants, his numerous and glittering train, his host of sticks, gold or silver. Let us survey Lord Wellesley holding a levee, a durbar—Lord Wellesley, the basis of whose policy it was to impress upon the native mind, that if, in the supersession by the English power of former dynasties, not an Amurath to Amurath succeeds, yet that, in all that constitutes the grandeur and splendour, and the visible dignity, of imperial magnificence, compared with the glories of Government-House, the Amuraths of the East were to be as the tinselled pageant of a theatre. All this exhibition of pomp and ceremony was at that day considered essentially important to the maintenance of what was termed “respect for the Government;” and, descending to the various inferior gradations of the service, it was this principle that enforced the unhappy and degraded native of those times, whatever were his wealth and respectability, and the veneration in which he was held by his own countrymen, if he had the misfortune to encounter a civilian in his road, to stop, descend from his palanquin, and bend in the homage of a low salaam to the political supremacy represented by the official. These absurd humiliations tended not a little to generate in the minds of the natives a feeling of hatred and disgust. But let us return to the visionary pageant. There, amidst all the gorgeous display of adventitious magnificence, stands Lord Wellesley, walking around with conscious pride the building which rose at his Prospero-like command. Rajahs, nabobs, and Eastern rank of all denominations, arrayed in every variety of splendid garb, address their several and appropriate obeisances, which his lordship acknowledges with the affable dignity of a subtle politician. In this saloon were received, under the protection of the conquerors of their fathers, the captive progeny of Tippoo—an interesting group, whether regarded by the eye of compassion, of moralizing sympathy, or of stoical ambition. How would Hyder Ally have smiled in incredulity, in his early years of marauding insignificance, had some vision revealed to him the future glories of his house! How would he have curled his lip in unbelieving scorn had he beheld, in the same vision, that glory overturned, the house he had founded prostrate in the dust, his descendants captive, and then the mighty instrument of all this ruin exhibited to him in the likeness of four-and-twenty respectable

* The staircase in Government-House is, for a building of the kind, remarkably paltry.

gentlemen, occupying a ponderous gloomy mansion in Leadenhall Street, London !

Thus passeth away earthly grandeur, and such are the mighty agents of destruction !

Lord Wellesley departs, and, but that age and infirmity had now almost entirely subdued the corporeal strength and energies of Lord Cornwallis, a better man could not have been selected to fill the arduous situation of Governor-General. Scarcely had two months elapsed from his taking the oaths a second time as Governor-General of India, ere India had to lament the death of as great and good a man as ever wished to govern well. But to enter into his specific system of government would be foreign to the purpose of this paper. To him succeeded Sir George Barlow, the short period of whose unpopular rule affords but little anecdote to the describer of Government-House. Lord Minto's government, too, may be cursorily passed over, though it was not without its brightness ; but that of Lord Hastings demands a longer pause. That favourite companion of his king, the princely entertainer of exiled royalty, went to India with perhaps still higher notions of gubernative magnificence than even Lord Wellesley ; the effect of which was not a little increased by the distinctive rank and hereditary title of the Countess of Loudon. Her train was swelled by a locust-like host from the northern quarters of the British realms, and the narrow staircase of Government-House was crowded by the influx of *ultra-Tweedian* beauty. The ball, the frequent banquet, and the masquerade, followed each other in dizzying succession, and each succeeding entertainment eclipsed the splendour of the last. This was the reign of extravagance and expense, of liberal agents and of a debt-incurring service. His lordship enacted the vice-regal host with vice-regal hospitality ; and a striking instance of the impartiality of attention which he bestowed on all his guests was manifested in a separate invitation to each, during the progress of the repast, to "reciprocate," as Johnson termed it, in a libation in that particular wine which was most grateful to the palate of the individual guest. He was, it may be truly said, a magnificent nobleman, both head and heart, and her ladyship was well fitted to do the honours of even a loftier saloon than that of Government-House. Indeed, both his lordship and Lady Loudon appeared to be impressed with this last fact ; and in their anxiety to exhibit their fitness for the most exalted position at a European court, endeavoured to introduce state forms and ceremonials worthy of the middle ages. The following programme of court regulations, drawn up by the Marquess of Hastings himself, will illustrate the length to which the etiquette of the time was carried. It has been obtained from an officer who was one of the household of the noble marquess, and has never yet been published :—

COURT REGULATIONS.

1st. *The Precedency in the Household will run thus* :—First principal secretary ; private secretary ; military secretary ; first aide-de-camp, acting as master of the horse ; chamberlain ; aides-de-camp ; interpreter of languages ; extra aides-de-camp ; physician ; chaplain.

2nd. *General Arrangements and Duties of Aides-de-Camp.*—Two aides-de-camp to be in constant attendance upon the Governor-General. The first aide-de-camp will keep a roster and regulate the turn of duty, which is to be taken week about. The senior aide-de-camp in waiting will take charge of the dinner-book, and carefully note down the names of all persons dining with his excellency the Governor-General. An index, lettered and paged, stating how often each person has dined at the Government-House during the month, should be attached to it, for immediate reference. The senior aide-de-camp in waiting receives in writing the list of those persons who are to dine at the Government-House, and communicates it to the comptroller of the household, who has the entire management of the servants, &c. The senior aide-de-camp in waiting always should take his seat at the head of the table, the junior at the foot: at official dinners, the other aides-de-camp divide the honours of the table. Persons belonging to the suite must apprise the senior aide-de-camp, if it is their intention to dine at the Government-House, at least a day before a dinner party is arranged. The aides-de-camp should have horses and palanquins ready, both day and night, to convey any orders Lord Moira may have occasion to promulgate. The first aide-de-camp will announce in the *Government Gazette* the following notice respecting audience days and levees:—

Form.

“ The Right Hon. the Earl of Moira will hold a levee at the Government-House, on _____ at _____. All gentlemen civilians to appear in shoes and buckles; military officers and departments in their respective parade order. (Signed) “ L. STANHOPE.”

Notice.

“ The Right Hon. the Earl of Moira will give audience on business on Wednesdays and Fridays, between the hours of . In order to facilitate the transaction of public business, gentlemen are requested to write their names on the aide-de-camp's list the day previous to the audience days. Persons are to be shewn in to Lord Moira in rotation, as their names stand on the list.”

Petitions.

All petitions or memorials must be transmitted through the regular channels; those of a civil nature through Mr. Thompson, those of a military to Major Doyle.

'The dress of the aides-de-camp to be as follows:—

Private Dinners.—Plain uniform, pantaloons, and boots.

Public Dinners, Balls, and Drawing-Room.—Full-dress coats, shoes and buckles.

Levees.—Dress coats, pantaloons, and boots.

The aides-de-camp will receive all orders respecting the stable department from Lord Moira, and communicate them to Major Stanhope, who has the sole direction of that department.

The first aide-de-camp and chamberlain have the entire management of all processions.

Method of opening the Levee.

The procession forms in one of the corridors of the Government-House, in the following order :—

The chamberlain, with his wand; captain of the body-guard; the lieutenant of ditto; aides-de-camp, two-and-two; the Governor-General; master of the

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horse; aides-de-camp in waiting; chaplain; secretaries, &c. &c. &c.; all the rest of the suite.

The procession moves slowly to the presence-chamber. The Governor-General takes his place, standing near the throne. The suite all bow, and form upon the right and left sides of the throne.

The chamberlain presents those who come for that purpose. The Governor-General upon the presentation makes the person presented a bow, which the other returns, and so passes on, unless his excellency enters into conversation with him. After the presentations are over, the Governor-General walks round the circle and converses. When the levee is over, the procession, as before, conduct the Governor-General to his private apartments, and at the door form on either side, bowing, he entering, attended only by the aides de-camp in waiting. During the levee, a captain's guard of grenadiers are on duty, and a lieutenant's guard, or half squadron, of dragoons. The avenues to the presence-chamber are lined with the body-guard, dismounted. Servants all in state liveries, and state trumpets and kettle-drums. A band of music, of course, attends the grenadier-guard.

THE COUNTESS OF LOUDON AND MOIRA'S DRAWING-ROOM.

The drawing-room is always held at night.

Method of opening the Drawing-Room.

The Governor-General having taken his station as at the levee, the Countess follows in the procession, handed by the lord chamberlain, and her train borne by two pages. She takes her place upon the left of the Governor-General, under the throne. The chamberlain presents the persons who require that ceremony. The person presented makes a sliding bow or curtsey, and passes on, unless retained by the countess addressing him or her. The presentations being over, their excellencies converse, going round the circle. They then retire into the card-room, where two commerce-tables are placed; Lady Loudon plays at one, his excellency the Governor-General at the other, the chamberlain and master of the ceremonies selecting the persons of the highest rank in the room to form the party. They play one guinea pool. If their excellencies are successful, it is the perquisite of the pages. When it is over, they retire to their apartments in the same order they came in, and the suite observe the same conduct as at the close of the levee.

N. B.—Refreshments and ices are handed about during its continuance.

STATE DINNERS.

The company assemble in one of the largest apartments near the dining-hall. The Governor-General enters in procession, as at the levee. Before the dinner is formally announced, the chamberlain regulates the procession. The doors are thrown open to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, and, dinner being announced, the procession moves into the dining-room. The Governor-General takes his place, and gives his hat to the aide-de-camp in waiting. The comptroller remains at the door to regulate the entry of the company, according to their precedence. Small slips of paper are attached to the napkins with the persons' names in the places where they are to sit. The Governor-General and the company stand until the chaplain has said grace. The second course is shewed in by a flourish of state trumpets and kettle-drums. The health of the king having been drank, the flourish, &c. &c. is repeated. After dinner, the Governor-General and suite retire, in the same order as they came in, to

the withdrawing room, and drink coffee ; after which, the company retire when they think proper.

BALLS.

The balls are regulated by the Countess of Loudon and the chamberlain. Chairs are placed near her excellency for persons whose rank admits of that honour. The ball is opened by the chamberlain, with the lady of the highest rank, with a minuet ; after which, French, Scotch, and country-dances are danced. At supper, their excellencies walk out first to take their seat at their table, which is composed of persons of the highest rank present. The persons not dancing to take their seats according to their rank, the dancers to that of their partners. The order of dancing is regulated by the chamberlain alone.

Private Dinners will be conducted in the customary manner of such entertainments.

State Dinners.—Costume, the same as at levees.

State Balls.—The same costume as at drawing-rooms.

Private Assemblies and Dances.—Plain dresses.

Official Dinners.—Costume, plain clothes and plain uniform.

Private Dinners.—The same. Cards for these parties are usually sent out four or five days previous to the day fixed. The Governor-General leaves the room before any of his company.

Public Charities.—The Governor-General and Lady Loudon will visit all the public charities, and go in state to charity sermons ; the master of the horse regulating the procession of carriage.

The Form of Invitation Cards.

State Dinners.—The comptroller of the household has it in command from the Governor-General, to request the company of at dinner, on .

Private and Official Dinners.—The Governor-General and the Countess of Loudon and Moira request the company of at dinner, on .

Balls.—The chamberlain has it in command from the Countess of Loudon and Moira, &c. &c., to request the company of to a ball and supper, on .

Private Evening Parties.—The Countess of Loudon and Moira at home.

The expressed dissatisfaction of the home authorities, and the disinclination of the society of Calcutta to conform to a series of pompous ceremonials, so ill adapted to the climate of India, soon led to the abolition of all these usages, so illustrative of Lord Hastings' ideas of the consequence attaching to the vice-regal authority.

In 1823, the gorgeous dynasty passed away lamented, and for six months the Hon. John Adam, a member of council, was the chief tenant of the Government-House. His sinking health and temporary tenure of power afforded few subjects of animadversion for the sketchy records of the edifice under review, though very probably Mr. Buckingham may think otherwise in respect to his measures of practical government.

Next comes Lord Amherst, in his Windsor uniform—a costume which, perhaps, he unconsciously adopted as emblematical of his rule in point of real dignity, though it was by no means typical of that rule in point of financial expense. An undignified costume it is, detracting from the elegance of even a graceful figure, and degrading an ordinary

one into insignificance. In his day, the Government-House furnished not forth the sumptuous nor the frequent banquets, and public fortune declined with, though not long, the decline of the public hospitality.

Lord Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, and from that moment the pomp and glory and *exclusiveness* of Government-House declined. His lordship aimed at universal popularity, and the abatement of the overweening pride which had distinguished the carriage of the senior officers of Government, and extended itself, through their example, to the youngest in the service. The levelling of distinctions was his instrument. Rank, under Lord W. Bentinck's government, ceased to be the sole passport to the hospitalities of Government-House. Talent, uprightness, intelligence, and even general respectability of conduct, were the *open sesame* to the proud halls of the viceroy. In this policy Lord William found an active and a willing coadjutor in Lady William Bentinck. Her ladyship patronized the religious and the charitable; and, without stopping to inquire how much hypocrisy and ostentation were engendered by her predilections, we are bound to say that this extension of the number of eligibles did in no degree appear to abate the consequence or diminish the dignity of the seat of empire.

Lord and Lady William Bentinck were succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as temporary or provisional Governor-General. To a generally liberal policy, Sir Charles united great personal good nature and an anxiety to promote the gaiety and cheerfulness of the society of Calcutta. He threw open the portals still wider than his predecessors. Every honest man wearing a decent coat, who left his card at the Government-House, received an invitation. The consequence was, that though the viceroy *pro tempore* engaged the affections of a multitude of the discerning inhabitants of British India by this virtual annihilation of *caste* and distinction, he deprived himself of one of the means by which the governing power was wont to reward peculiar merit beyond the pale of Indian aristocracy.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was a single man, and having no female relative of an age and position that would qualify her to do the honours of the vice-regal mansion, there was perhaps a want of that high tone in the social circle which exercises so wholesome an influence upon society at large. But the tenure of the baronet's power was too brief to cause any of the ill effects of laxity to become apparent.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's popular reign was terminated by the arrival of Lord Auckland and his sisters, the Misses Eden; and now a change came over the spirit of affairs. At first, the noble ladies felt disposed to regard the Government-House as a private residence, and, aided by youthful aides-de-camp, diligently set about the task of purging the "list" of all persons who did not appear to them of sufficient rank and consequence to enjoy the *entrée* of the palace. But this attempt at the revival of the spirit of exclusiveness was not persevered in for any length of time, for numbers of the eligibles made common cause with the rejected, and refused to go to Government-House, so that the balls

and "at homes" wore a cold, thin, and barren aspect, and the halls, so late the abode of cheerfulness, were converted into a desert. The Governor-General and his sisters then extended the circle of their acquaintance, and finding society disposed to accept attentions in a grateful spirit, they began to exert themselves to promote every description of rational entertainment. Soirées musicales, private theatricals, scientific soirées, and conversaciones, then diversified the recreations of the large assemblies at the vice-regal residence; and when the hour for the departure of Lord Auckland and the Misses Eden arrived, a gloom was cast over society, which was greatly augmented by the melancholy circumstances connected with the termination of the war in Afghanistan.

From that period to the present, now upwards of two years, the Government-House hospitalities have remained almost in abeyance. Lord Ellenborough, soon after his assumption of the reins of government, proceeded up the country, leaving the mansion tenantless, until it was temporarily occupied by the quiet, unostentatious Deputy-Governor, Mr. W. W. Bird; and when, after the settlement of the affairs of Afghanistan and Scinde, his lordship *did* return, he ensconced himself at Barrackpore, exercising little hospitality, and only reminding people of his presence by sundry disagreeable ordinances, which repelled interviews, and taught people that freedom of communication was injurious to the interests of Government.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE AT GENEVA.

A TASTE for the Oriental languages is springing up at Geneva. The study of Hebrew is made indispensable in the faculty of Letters; the Syriac is taught in Theology by Professor Munier; the Arabic has been introduced by Professor Humbert, two of whose pupils have already distinguished themselves: one, M. F. Soret, has published a series of papers on Oriental Numismatics, and has, at his own expense, established a small Arabic press; the other, M. C. Rien, Philos. Doctor of the University of Bonn, where he followed the courses of MM. Schlegel and Lassen, was about to commence a course of Sanscrit in the Halls of the Academy—a study entirely new at Geneva—for which several persons have already put down their names.*

* *Journ. As.*, Nov. 1833.

THE DABISTÁN, OR SCHOOL OF MANNERS.*

THE publication of an English version of this remarkable book, which we may familiarly call a Persian "Religious World Displayed," and which should, in fact, have been entitled the "School of Sects," affords a new proof of the national utility of the institution under whose auspices, and at whose expense, it has been printed. If international religious tolerance be desirable, and if, for this object, it is indispensable that a correct knowledge should be disseminated of the various religious creeds of mankind, and especially of the sacred books on which they are founded, then it must be admitted that the Oriental Translation Committee has done more than any other literary institution, in increasing the facilities for the attainment of that object. The Védaic and Pauranic systems of the Hindus, the Monachism of the Buddhists of Ceylon and China, and the Ethics of the Mahommedans, have been amply illustrated in translations from original sources, published under its patronage, without which, indeed, their existence, probably, would never have become generally known. With all these claims to public notice and support, it is to be lamented that the institution has received so little of either; and it is surprising that, with so few names upon its subscription-list, it has been able to accomplish so much.

Sir William Jones, who first drew the attention of the learned to the *Dabistán*, in 1787, pronounced it the "most amusing and instructive book" he had ever read in Persian. In 1809, an edition of the text was printed at Calcutta, under the superintendence of Mr. William Butterworth Bayley; and portions of the work were translated by Gladwin and others. The real author of the work has not been satisfactorily verified; but as he is supposed to speak of himself in the work as Mohsan Fani (in the third person), Captain Troyer, the translator, adopts him under that appellation. The work was composed in the beginning of the seventeenth century; and the author appears to have been a Persian by birth, but passed the greater part of his life in India.

The first chapter of the *Dabistán* is devoted to an account of the old Persian religion; and Mohsan Fani quotes numerous native works as his authorities, few of which are known in Europe, except the oft-controverted *Desátir*, which Mohsan Fani calls "an heaven-

* The *Dabistán*, or School of Manners: translated from the Original Persian, with Notes and Illustrations, by DAVID SHEA, of the Oriental Department of the Hon. East-India Company's College; and ANTHONY TROYER, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c., &c.; with a Preliminary Discourse by the latter. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris and London: 1843. W. H. Allen & Co.

bestowed book ;” and as this composition seems to have been the principal source from whence he derived his knowledge of the old Persian creeds, Captain Troyer takes up the controversy respecting its authenticity, as a question of considerable importance in estimating the value of the *Dabistán*. It is known that the *Desátir* (or rather a portion of what was known to Mohsan Fani) was fortuitously found at Bombay, about 133 years after the composition of the *Dabistán* ; and that it was printed in 1818,* under the especial patronage of General Malcolm. Captain Troyer boldly, and, in our opinion, successfully, defends the *Desátir* against the aspersions of M. De Sacy and others ; and adduces strong proofs that the Mahabadian language, in which it was originally written, is no forgery, but has been wonderfully preserved in a single book, like the Hebrew and the Zend. In favour of this argument, it may be suggested, that any discrepancies in the Mahabadian text are accounted for on the supposition that the book was preserved among the Persians as a sacred relic, the words of which were considered worthy of being committed to memory with the greatest care, although their meaning was little, if at all, understood,—just as is the case with portions of the Zoroastrian books among the modern Parsis and Guebres. This supposition does not militate against the cotemporaneous existence of a Persian translation, from which Mulla Firuz’s version is derived. It is obvious that any attempt to write a language preserved in that way must involve numberless errors and inconsistencies, of precisely the same kind as those found in the original text of the *Desátir*. To this suggestion another may be added, still leaving the authenticity of the work itself unscathed—namely, the probability that the compiler of the Persian translation, from a false idea of increasing the claims of the work on the attention of his countrymen, ingeniously forged the ancient text, by way of “gilding the burnished gold” of the book itself. Of the writer of the *Desátir* no trace has been discovered. It is said to have been translated into Persian about A. D. 643. Captain Troyer, after a careful examination of the work, says :—“ I most conscientiously declare that I discover no imposture aimed at by any artifice ; there was no secret to be concealed. The Mahabadian religion is as open as its temple, the vault of heaven. Its book is a sort of catechism of Asiatic religion : its prayer a litany of Oriental devotion, in which any man may join his voice.”

* The *Desátir*, or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets, in the Original Tongue ; with the Ancient Persian Version and Commentary of the Fifth Sasan : published by MULLA FIRUZ BIN-I-KAUS.

The Mahabadian creed (probably the oldest in the world) exhibits numerous close analogies with the ancient Hindu and Buddhist. Its morality, says Captain Troyer, "appears to have consisted in the acknowledgment of all the natural virtues; piety, justice, charity, sobriety; wine and strong drinks were forbidden: above all, a tenderness for all living creatures was recommended; and the severity against those who slew innoxious animals was carried to such an excess, that even sons punished their fathers with death, and fathers their sons, for the slaughter of a sheep or an elk."

History (remarks the translator) may well be referred to religion, which is an ancient intellectual monument living in the human soul, from generation to generation. * * * All religions have deviated from their primitive simplicity, as men advanced in knowledge and civilization. * * * In the course of ages, a reform of astrolatry, pyrolatry, and idolatry,—the branches of Sabæism and Mezdaism,—became desirable; and Zardusht, or Zoroaster, appeared.

This great reformer introduced, or probably further developed, the dualism of the good and evil principle. He also propounded to his followers the important doctrines of *a Saviour to restore the empire of God; the destruction of the world by fire; and a general resurrection.*

Captain Troyer warmly vindicates Zoroaster and the Zend books from the harsh criticism of Sir William Jones, who, rather hastily, characterized the latter as being full of "puerile details, disgusting descriptions, and barbarous words;" and said, "Zoroaster could not have written such nonsense—either he had no common sense, or he wrote not the book which Anquetil attributed to him."

As much (says Captain Troyer) has been and may be said of the books attributed to other Asiatic legislators, who were nevertheless revered as sacred during many ages by numerous nations. Until we properly understand the ignorance and habitual ideas of Asiatics, we shall always remain ignorant of what is proverbially called *the wisdom of the East*. To appreciate the just value of the ancient codes of laws, we ought to represent to ourselves the primitive children of the earth, as Prometheus describes them:

"They saw, indeed, they heard; but what avail'd
 "Or sight, or sense of hearing, all things rolling,
 "Like the unreal imagery of dreams,
 "In wild confusion mix'd! The lightsome wail
 "Of finer masonry, the rafter'd roof,
 "They knew not; but, like ants still buried, delved
 "Deep in the earth, and scoop'd their sunless caves.
 "Unmark'd the seasons chang'd, the biting winter,
 "The flow'r-perfumed spring, the ripening summer,
 "Fertile of fruits."

It will then be felt how important it was to break the savage under the yoke of seemingly puerile practices and customs. In a state which was not unaptly called 'the infancy of man,' it was by no means absurd to ensure health by dietetical prescriptions, cleanliness by obligatory ablutions, and decency with convenience by a regulated dress; the *koshti*, 'the girdle,' of Zoroaster was then not so unmeaning as it now appears to us. It was necessary to educate the moral sense by appropriate images, and to occupy conveniently, by fables, symbols, and mythical accounts, the first active faculty of the soul, imagination. Although those men who, as legislators, were elevated above their barbarous age, could in many points but partake in the general imbecility and ignorance of an infant state of society, they have nevertheless, among seemingly childish and absurd precepts, promulgated most luminous truths, better than which none have hitherto been known, even at the most advanced degree of civilization. Any information above the common understanding of the age is justly called 'a revelation,' and every nation has received some from their prophets, by which we have all benefited. We, the youngest sons of science, ought to keep a grateful and reverential remembrance of our elder brothers. Let it be a subject of regret that, by the maintenance of ancient institutions much longer than was required for their intended purpose, the intellectual growth of many Asiatic nations was stopped; thus they now appear made for their laws, whilst their laws were once made for them. After these and similar reflections, we shall view Zoroaster's hundred gates, and the remains of his twenty-one nosks, as venerable monuments of an antique civilization, which ought never to be profaned by derision.'

Captain Troyer, with equal warmth, argues against the opinion which has so long prevailed among English Orientalists of the fictitious character of the Zend language; the authenticity of which is now admitted upon proofs beyond dispute.

In summing up the general merits of the *Dabistán*, and recapitulating its various claims upon our attention, the translator observes:—

The *Dabistán* adds, if I am not mistaken, not only a few ideas to our historical knowledge, but also some features to the picture which we hitherto possessed of the Asiatics. May I be permitted to quote a remarkable instance relative to the latter? We are wont to speak of the inherent apathy and stationary condition of the Muhammedans, as an effect of their legislation. Although this general idea of their character and state be not unfounded, yet it is carried to such an exaggerated degree, that we think them incapable of progress. We may therefore be astonished to find in the work before us a maxim such as this: 'He who does not proceed, retrogrades,' and beside a declaration attributed to Muhammed himself: 'He whose days are alike is deceived.' Our author, it is true, interprets it in the particular point of view of an orthodox Súfi, who thinks that there is a degree of mental perfection,

beyond which it is impossible to rise: this was, he says, the state of Muhammed, the prophet, always the same, from which no ascent nor descent was possible, the perfection of unity with God, higher than whom nothing can be: *the blackness beyond which no colour can go*. With the exception of these fits of mysticism, now and then occurring, it is just to say that Mohsan Fani most commonly leans to the side of progressive reform.

For the just appreciation of his work, I think it necessary to point out another opinion, which, very generally entertained, requires to be considerably modified: I mean that which attributes to the Muhammedans an unrestrained intolerance in religious matters. On that account, I beg to refer directly to the book, which to them always was the sacred source of all rules and precepts of conduct—the *Koran*. In this astonishing farrago of truth and falsehood, we find here and there a great extent of toleration. In fact, Muhammedism was eclectic in all the religious ideas of its time, Magian, Jewish, and Christian. Muhammed avowed himself to be ‘a man like every body;’* he did not pretend, that ‘the treasures of God were in his power,’ nor did he say ‘that he knew the secrets of God, neither that he was an angel; no, he thought only to follow what was revealed to him,’† so much every body else may say and think. He professed his good-will to Christians, ‘as inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers;‡ he exhorted his followers not to dispute, but in the mildest manner, § against those who received the Scripture, and wished to come to a just determination between both parties, that they all worshipped not any but God.’ || ‘Abraham,’ said he, ‘was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but one resigned unto God (Moslim); excellence is in the hand of God; he gives it unto whom he pleaseth.’ ¶ Still more; the prophet seems to give a general license to the professors of every religion to observe certain rites about which he prohibits all disputes; ** nay, he declares, ‘If the Lord had pleased, verily, all who are in the earth would have believed in general. Wilt thou, therefore, forcibly compel men to be true believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of God.††

Although the Arabian prophet and his followers too often gave by their conduct a strong denial to these principles, still the existence of them in the *Koran* was a sanction to all those who were disposed to profess them in words and actions. Such sentiments of religious toleration are in accordance with similar ones expressed in many Christian moral treatises, but in none of the latter do I remember to have read: ‘that the diversities of religions distributed among nations, according to the exigency of each, are manifestations of the divine light and power; and that these various forms, by which God’s inscrutable essence may be viewed by glimpses, are means of possessing eternal beatitude, whilst here below the acquisition of knowledge is sufficient to insure to mankind the enjoyment of concord, friendship, and agreeable intercourse.’ ‡‡

* *The Koran*, ch. xviii. v. 100.

† *Ibid.*, ch. xxix. v. 45.

** *Ibid.*, ch. xx. v. 66.

† *Ibid.*, ch. vi. v. 49.

|| *Ibid.*, ch. iii. v. 57.

†† *Ibid.*, ch. x. vv. 99, 100.

‡ *Ibid.*, ch. v. vv. 86, 88.

¶ *Ibid.*, vv. 61, 66, 67.

‡‡ See Epilogue.

These appear to be the maxims adopted by the Súfis, and particularly by those among them who, under Akbar, professed to be Ilahians. The creed of this class exists in our days, although the name has not survived. To these we may suppose, if to any, Mohsan Fáni belonged. If we could agree with Erskine, that 'he was in strict intimacy with the sect of enthusiasts by whom the *Desátir* was venerated,' we should still be obliged to avow, that his enthusiasm had not in the least influenced his free judgment upon religious matters. His imagination, although justly exalted by sublime notions of the Divinity, certainly appears now and then bewildered by the mysterious action of unknown causes; but on other occasions pointing out, in a satirical vein, so many follies, absurdities, and extravagances prevailing among mankind, he seems to laugh at all enthusiasm whatsoever, his own not excepted. In general, there breathes in his words a spirit of independence, which would command attention even among us in the accustomed circle of long-established liberty. His boldness in religious controversy startled even Sir W. Jones so much that, in characterizing it by the harsh term of *blasphemy*, the English judge appears for a moment ready to plead for the abettors of popular superstition, who stood confounded before the tribunal of the philosophic Akbar.

I shall however not conceal, that Mohsan Fáni sometimes paid tribute to the prevailing ignorance and inveterate prejudices of his time, and, above all, to the sovereign power of early impressions; nor that, although in many respects he offers in himself an honourable exception to the general character of his countrymen, he now and then confounds himself with them. Thus, he was far from being above all popular superstition. The Asiatic, from the dawn of his reason, is nourished with the marvellous, trained to credulity, and prepared for mysticism, the bane of practical life; in short, he imbibes from his infancy a superstition from which he never frees himself, always prone to interpret every unusual phenomenon as a miracle. No sort of study enables him to correct his first impressions, or to enlighten his ignorance; natural history and experimental philosophy are not cultivated in Asia. If not an agriculturist, mechanic, tradesman, or soldier, he devotes himself to the intricacies of metaphysics, and very commonly to a contemplative life; he becomes an ascetic. Thus he knows no social life embellished by the refinement of mutual sympathy, nor the noble vocations of a citizen who lives—with more than one life in himself, in others, and in the whole community. Such being the general state of Asia, let us not wonder that Mohsan Fáni believed some strange stories of miracles, and viewed with astonishment tricks of jugglers, which he relates with serious credulity, strangely contrasting with his usual good sense, sagacity, and judgment. Thus, he presents to us a man standing on his head with his heels in the air during a whole night; others restraining their breath many hours, and remaining immoveable during two or three days; he speaks of the miraculous effects of austerity, such as being in different places at the same time; resuscitating the dead; understanding the language of animals, vegetables, and minerals;

walking on the surface of water, and through fire and air; commanding the elements; leaving and reassuming the body; and the like. But let us not forget that such stories were told elsewhere, and in Europe, even so late as the time in which the *Dabistán* was written.

Captain Troyer's "Preliminary Dissertation" extends to nearly two hundred pages, and includes a lucid synopsis of the dynasties, sects, and philosophic opinions treated of in the *Dabistán*. This is a most useful guide to the reader, as the work, although an exceedingly favourable specimen of Oriental style, is not free from tautology and mal-arrangement; faults seemingly inherent in Eastern compositions. An extensive Index is appended to the whole work.

To enable our readers to form a fair estimate of the value of the *Dabistán*, we extract a few pages from the work itself.

The work of Mohsan Fani is divided into twelve chapters, including numerous sections; and professes to treat generally of the religious systems of the Persians, Hindus, Jews, Christians, and Mussulmans, as well as particularly of the various sects and divisions comprehended in each system. The following is a specimen of ancient Persian toleration:—

They believe it wrong to hold any faith or religious system in abhorrence, as, according to them, we may draw near to God in every faith: also that no faith has been abolished by divine authority—they hold that, on this account, there have been so many prophets, in order to shew the various ways which lead to God. Those who carefully investigate well know, that the ways which lead to heaven are many; nay, more than come within the compass of numbers. It is well understood, that access to a great sovereign is more easily attained through the aid of his numerous ministers; although one of the prince's commanders be on bad terms with his confidential advisers, or even should all the chiefs not co-operate with each other; yet they can promote the interest of their inferiors: therefore it is not proper to say that we can get to the God of all existence by one road only. But the insurmountable barrier in the road of approaching God is the slaughter of the Zindibar, that is, those animals which inflict no injury on any person, and slay not other living creatures, such as the cow, the sheep, the camel, and the horse: there is assuredly no salvation to the author of cruelty towards such, nor can he obtain final deliverance by austerities or devotions of any description. Should we even behold many miraculous works performed by the slayer of harmless animals, we are not even then to regard him as one redeemed; the works witnessed in him are only the reward of his devotions, and the result of his perseverance in the practice of religious austerities in this world: and as he commits evil, he cannot be perfect in his devout exercises, so that nothing but suffering can await him in another generation (when born again): such

an instance of an ascetic endowed with miraculous powers is likened in the *Shat Dasatir* to a vase externally covered with choice perfumes, but filled internally with impurities. They also maintain that in no system of faith is cruelty to innoxious animals sanctioned: and all human sanction for such acts proceeds from their attending to the apparent import of words, without having recourse to profound or earnest consideration—for example, by putting a horse or cow to death is meant, the removal or banishing from one's self animal propensities, and not the slaughtering or devouring of innoxious creatures. They state the later historians to have recorded without due discrimination that Rustam, the son of Dastan (who was one of the perfect saints), used to slay such animals: whereas tradition informs us, that the mighty champion pursued in the chase noxious animals only: what they write about his hunting the wild ass, implies that the elephant-bodied hero called the lion a wild ass; or "that a lion is no more than a wild ass when compared to my force." In the several passages where he is recorded to have slaughtered harmless wild asses and oppressed innoxious creatures, and where similar actions are ascribed to some of the Gilsháfiyán princes, there is only implied the banishment of animal propensities and passions: thus the illustrious Shaikh Farideddin át'ár declares,

In the heart of each are found a hundred swine :
You must slay the hog or bind on the Zanar.

They hold that, from the commencement to the very end, the chiefs of the Persian Sipásián, far from slaughtering these harmless creatures, regarded as an incumbent duty to avoid and shun, by every precaution, the practice of oppression or destruction towards them: nay, they inflicted punishment on the perpetrators of such deeds. Although they esteem the Gilsháfiyán prophets, pontiffs, and princes, exceedingly holy personages, yet in their opinion, they come not up in perfect wisdom and works to the preceding apostles and sovereigns, who appeared from the Yassánián to the end of the Máhabádián race.

Mohsan Fani's account of Zoroaster, his doctrines and tenets, is very detailed. The precepts given by the prophet to King Gushtasp and "to all mankind," are as follow:—

The prophet Zardusht, having read to the king some sections concerning the greatness and majesty of the Almighty, said to him: "As thou hast adopted the ways of God, the joy of paradise is to be thy portion; but he who abandons that way is hurried off to hell by Ahriman, who feels delighted, and on making the capture, says to his victim: 'Because thou hast abandoned the ways of God, therefore art thou fallen into hell.' But the just God is liberal to his servants, and has sent me to them, saying: 'Communicate my covenant to all created beings, that they may abandon their perverse ways.' I am his prophet, sent to thee that thou mayst guide mankind to the right road; as the final result of persevering in the way of God is the attainment of para-

dise; and the retribution of devotedness to Ahriman is hell. He moreover commanded me: ‘Say thou to mankind, if ye adopt the pure faith, then shall paradise be your place; but if ye receive it not, you follow the institutes of Ahriman, and hell shall be your abode.’ The several demonstrations of Zardusht and his wondrous works are to you an abundant proof of the truth of his faith. Know also that at first he sought the world; but finally regarded wife, children, and relations as strangers to himself; he has moreover attained to such perfect faith, that the king and the mendicant are the same in his sight. He has enjoined me nothing more than this: neither has he given me permission to be your intercessor, or to entreat from him remission of your sins: for protection extended to the evil-doer is itself criminal, and the chastisement of evil deeds is true religion: he enjoined me also to entertain hope of his favour from my words and deeds.”

“Look to your acts and words, for they produce their sure effect:

The same seed that people sow, such the harvest they shall reap.”

It is also expressly stated in the glorious *Koran* to the same purport: * “On the very day when the spirit (Gabriel) and the angels shall be ranged in their order, nobody shall speak except him to whom the Merciful will permit it, and who will say nothing but what is just.” In another place it is declared: † “Truly thou canst not direct whomsoever thou lovest; but God will direct whomsoever he pleases.” It is also recorded in the traditions, that the asylum of prophecy (on whom be blessings!) said to the beautiful Fatima: “O Fatima, fear nothing, for thou art the prophet’s daughter; perform good works! again I say, perform good works!” He also proposed this additional proof: “Not one of the eminent, eloquent, learned, or wise men of the world can produce a composition which in the least resembles the volume I have sent down; if they are able, let them declare it; but as they are unable, let them confess that this is the voice of God: a similar statement has also been made in the divine words of the *Koran*: ‘produce ye a chapter resembling it.’ Again, of many of the prophets who appeared on earth, all were ignorant of future events except Zardusht, who, in the *Zend-Avesta*, clearly expounded whatever was to come to pass until the day of judgment, whether good or evil.

Concerning kings inspired by truth, religion, and justice,

There are minute details if thou wilt call them to mind:

The names of all he has consigned to lasting fame,

Their every act and deed, whether just or unjust alike.”

Moreover, no prophet, save Zardusht, bestowed in the presence of God benedictions on the military class whose hearts were rightly affected towards him.

To the follower of his faith he said, if to the true believers

Thou doest good, then good shall result to thee.

But above all he has said: “God has commanded me: ‘Say thou to

* Chap. lxxviii. v. 38.

† Chap. xxviii. v. 56.

mankind, they are not to abide in hell for ever ; when their sins are expiated, they are delivered out of it.' ”

The following extract exhibits a succinct and interesting outline of Zoroastrian views of the origin of evil :—

It is well known that according to their system the world had two creators, Yazdan (the Lord), and Ahriman : but the Lord having entertained this evil thought, “ Perhaps an antagonist may rise up to oppose me,” Ahriman was produced from that thought. In some places it is mentioned that God was alone, and gloom having come over him, he entertained an evil suspicion, on which Ahriman was produced. They say that Ahriman, who was outside the world, on looking through a small aperture, and beholding the Lord surrounded with glory and majesty, bore him envy, and raised up wickedness and corruption. God then created the angels to be his host, and with them fought against Ahriman ; but being unable to destroy him, they made peace with each other on this condition : that Ahriman should remain in the world during a definite period ; and on his departure it should become the abode of unalloyed good.

The translator has added :—

According to the *Bonn Dehesh* (*Zend-Avesta*, t. ii., pp. 347-348), Ormuzd will, during three thousand years, move alone ; during three other thousand years, his operations will be blended with those of his adversary ; the subsequent three thousand years will belong to Ahriman ; and in the last three, completing the period of twelve thousand years, the author of evil shall disappear ; and at the resurrection of the dead and the renewal of the bodies—previous to which event are to appear the three posthumous sons of Zoroaster—the world shall be without evil during all ages. The ultimate fate of Ahriman is stated in the *Vendidad Sadé Izeshné* and *Vispered*, as follows (*Zend-Avesta*, t. i., 2 p., p. 169) : “ That unjust, that impure being, who is a div but in his thoughts ; that dark king of the Darwands, who understands nothing but evil ; he shall, at the resurrection, recite the *Avesta*, and not only himself practise the law of Ormuzd, but establish it even in the habitations of the Darwands.” Moreover, it is said (*Zend-Avesta*, t. ii., pp. 415-416), that Ahriman, that lying serpent, shall at the end of ages be purified by fire, as well as the earth be freed from the dark abode of hell ; Ormuzd and Ahriman, accompanied by all the good and evil genii, shall sing the praises of the author of all good.

The *Dabistán* is rich in its details of the views and doctrines of the *Súfis*. The flight of Mahommed is thus explained by them :—

Know that the lord Muhammed, the selected (peace be with him !), ascended to heaven with a body ; but this body was light, like that assumed in a dream, with which he went into a state of trance, which is an intermediate state between sleeping and waking, and on that

account it is said, in the first tradition of the ascent : " I was between sleeping and waking." And further : " God directed thee in the explanation of things revealed to the prophets and saints, upon whom be peace!" That his being carried from the mosque of Mecca to the mosque of Jerusalem, is an image of the migration of the terrestrial angels from one place to another. To keep the Imámate (or presidency) during worship is to the prophet an image, that in his religion there are many heirs of the prophet, who are the saints and learned men of the age.

Borák, the vehicle of devotion, is like an image of prayer ; the saddle and bridle represent the ready mind and the perfect union of religion. The members of Borák, of precious jewels, typify purity, candour, affection, submission, humility, and perfect love of God, rejecting all other desire except that tending towards the Supreme Being in prayer. The restiveness of Borák, and the aid given by Jabríl in mounting Borák, present a similitude of the reluctance of the human mind to the wisdom of its knowledge of God, and Jabríl figures the science of divinity.

The travelling by steps up to heaven, means the gradual elevation by steps, which are remembrance, rosary-beads, praising and magnifying by exclamation, God and the like, by which the heart arrives from this nether world of sensuality to the upper world.

By the first heaven, which is that of the moon, is understood the arrival at the station of cordiality. The opening of the heavenly door by an angel, and the appearance of Jabríl, is figuratively the victory of the heart over remembrance, as will be explained in the sequel. The arriving at the heaven of At' áred, "Mercury," is the image of elevation on the regions of cordiality on account of meditation on the knowledge of God, as "One hour's meditation is preferable to seventy years of exterior worship."

The following passage from a Súfí writer is still more paradoxical and sophistical:—

The Imám Muhammed Núr bakhsh stated, that all those who are reckoned to have seen God as particular servants near to him, have said the truth ; because the rational spirit, which means that of mankind, is pure and uncompounded ; on that account it is not prevented from seeing God ; and those who speak against the sight are also right, because the eye cannot see the mysterious blessed Being on account of his solitude. An investigator of truth has said : Those who assert the solitude of God are right, because the blessed Being is solitary ; and those who speak of his corporeity, and consider God as one of the bodies, such as fire, air, water, or earth, say right, because he is in every sort of beings. Likewise, those who hold him to be good or bad, are not wrong, because nothing exists without him ; so that what happens can happen but by his order. And those who ascribe the bad to themselves are right, because in practice they are the movers of their works. So it

is with other opinions, such as those who consider God as a father with regard to all existing beings, and this opinion is true.

Súfécism is not confined to the Mahommedans; and in giving an account of the rite of *Satí* among the Hindus (p. 76, vol. ii.), Mohsan Fani tells us that: "The enlightened doctors say that, by a woman's becoming a *sattée*, is meant that, on her husband's decease, she should consume in the fire along with him, *all her desires*, and thus die before the period assigned by nature; as in metaphysical language woman signifies "passion;" or, in other words, she is to cast all her passions into the fire; but not throw herself into it along with the deceased, which is far from being praiseworthy." The Hindus, however, are not the only people who have mistaken types for realities, or letter for spirit. Hindu authorities of more modern date than those quoted by Mohsan Fani say, that the most virtuous mode of becoming a *satí* is for a widow to die of affliction and grief for the loss of her husband.

The account Mohsan Fani gives of Roman Catholicism (a knowledge of which he appears to have derived from personal intercourse with a Portuguese priest, whom he met at Surat in 1647), may be taken as an evidence of the general correctness of his statements, and of the impartial love of truth which actuated him. But even here he has introduced Súfécism, which, according to him, is common to all religions. He tells us that some of the Christians declare that—

"When we say that Jesus is seated at the right side of God, his father, we mean not to say that God has a body and is any thing corporeal. No! the Divine Being has neither right nor left side. By such a description we intend to be intelligible to the vulgar; for Jesus, in the abstract sense of being the son of God, possesses the same greatness and power which his father has, and in the abstract sense of his being a man, he dwells in the most glorious and most excellent place, which is in heaven." They declare further: "When we say that Jesus shall come on the last day of the world to judge the dead and the living, and to give their due to all men, we mean not to imply that all men will then be alive, but by the living we denote the good men, and by the dead the wicked." Except Christians (says Mohsan Fani), nobody else will be found pure and holy. On the day of resurrection, all men shall live, and their souls shall be reunited to their bodies, and none will ever more die.

The theological discussions held at the court of Akbar, and the attempts of that emperor to introduce a new eclectic religion, are given at considerable length in the *Dabistán*. It is remarkable

that the faith which received the greatest share of the emperor's favour was the Zoroastrian :—

In like manner, the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nóusari, situated in the district of Gujerát, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money ; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l Faz'il, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the kings of Ajem, because the *Iti set* was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtilties of Zardusht's religion ; and he wrote letters to Azer-Káivan, who was a chief of the Yezdáníán and Abádáníán, and invited him to India ; Azer-Káivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his own composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements ; as well as a word of advice to the king ; all this contained in fourteen sections, every first line of which was in Persian, pure *derí* ; when read invertedly, it was Arabic ; when turned about, Turkish ; and when this was read in reversed order, it became Hindi.

There is an interesting account of Nanac, the founder of the Sikh religion. Mohsan Fani says :—

Nanac had a great number of disciples. He professed the unity of God, which is called the law of Muhammed, and believed the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul from one body to another. Having prohibited his disciples to drink wine and to eat pork, he himself abstained from eating flesh, and ordered not to hurt any living being. After him, this precept was neglected by his followers ; but Arjun-mal, one of the substitutes of his faith, as soon as he found that it was wrong, renewed the prohibition to eat flesh, and said : “ This has not been approved by Nanac.” Afterwards, Hargovind, son of Arjun-mal, ate flesh, and went to hunt, and his followers imitated his example.

Nanac praised the religion of the Muselmans, as well as the Avatars, and the divinities of the Hindus ; but he knew that these objects of veneration were created and not creators, and he denied their real descent from heaven, and their union with mankind. It is said that he wore the rosary of the Muselmans in his hands, and the Zunar, or the religious thread of the Hindus, around his neck. Some of his distinguished disciples report of him more than can here find room.

The *Dabistán* makes no reference to the sacred book of the

Sikhs, the *Adi-grant'h*. The translator says that this, as well as the other religious books of the Sikhs, is written in the *Gurumukh* character, a modification of the Nágari. A copy of the *Grant'h*, a large folio MS., exists in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society.

We must now conclude our analytical notice of a curious and interesting work, out of which much entertaining and instructive matter may be gleaned, and many crude and uncharitable notions of Eastern religionists may be corrected. Missionaries among Oriental people should carefully study the contents of the *Dabistán*. It would enable them to appreciate, far better than they now seem to do, the numerous points of coincidence with Christianity which are found in the esoteric spirit of the systems of the East, however dissimilar the exoteric views and practices of their followers may appear; thereby further enabling them to conciliate the prejudices, and command the attention, of the people among whom they labour; and, it may be, at no distant time, ultimately to reconcile the essential principles of Eastern and Western faith.

THE POET SAADI.

The *Journal Asiatique* for November last contains a letter from Lieut. Newbold, dated at Kurnool, to M. Garcin de Tassy, respecting the latter's discovery* that the Persian poet Saadi was the author of the earliest pieces in Hindustani verse. After stating that the work in which he discovered the fact, the *Majma Ulintikhab*, compiled by Shah Mahomed Kamál (which M. de Tassy found in the collection of our Royal Asiatic Society), had been obtained by him (Lieut. Newbold) from General Fraser, our Resident at Hyderabad, in the Nizam's state, and presented to the Society; and after confirming a conjecture of M. de Tassy regarding a particular reading of the MS., Lieut. Newbold continues thus:—"By a singular coincidence, I had written thus far, when my peon announced to me that the author of the *Majma Ulintikhab*, Shah Kamál himself, desired to see me. He was immediately admitted, and he was seated at my side whilst I continued writing to you." Shah Kamál stated that he was born at Delhi, of noble Musulman parents, his father being a jaghiredar; that, after many vicissitudes, in which he visited Calcutta, Lucknow, &c., Kamál settled at Hyderabad, which he quitted thirty-eight years ago for Kurnool, where he has resided ever since; that he finished his work, after twenty years spent in researches for materials, and two years employed in putting them in order, at Hyderabad, and that the large folio was copied (all the scribes in the city being employed upon it) in three days! He is seventy years of age, of small size and bent with years, but of an imposing and venerable aspect. He wrote with his own hand, in Lieut. Newbold's letter, a paraphrase of the somewhat obscure verse, by Saadi, quoted by us, in which he explains the words "sugar" and "honey" to mean the *Hindustani* and the *Persian*.

* See our preceding vol., p. 64.

A GLANCE AT THE MAHABULESHWAR.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

THE hot season, with its early, blazing sunrisings, its still, burning noons, and its breezeless, oppressive evenings, could scarcely be endured in India, by those who have passed many years of their life in its wasting climate, were it not for the invigorating replenishment of the system, afforded by an annual visit to "the Hills," as they are emphatically called. While the Bengalees gaze at the snowy peaks of their Himalayas, with the fine and aristocratic station of Simla; the Madrasees, their Neilgherries, with its sociality and sport, we, on the Bombay side, are justly proud of the beautiful range of the Mahabuleshwar, whose climate and scenery render the station formed there one of the most interesting as well as one of the most sanitary localities in Western India.

There are no two questions more commonly asked among us, at certain seasons of the year, than "Are you *going* to the Hills?" inquired at the close of the cold weather; and, "Have you *been* at the Hills?" at the conclusion of the warm. October, as the most unhealthy month in the low-lands, is generally chosen for a trip to the Hills by those whose position allows but one annual relief; for although the climate may not be so essentially hot as during the months of May and June—that is, the thermometer may not denote degrees of such actual heat—yet the climate is more oppressive; while the heavy dews that characterize this season, and the malaria, consequent on the decomposition of vegetable matter during the rains, with the after absorption resulting from intense heat, induce ague and fever of the most dangerous descriptions; and for these reasons the old resident in India, who finds himself always in the best possible health during the dry, hot season, the evils of which he provides against with calico jackets and pale ale, uniformly dreads the return of October, unless in a position to leave his bungalow in the plains, and betake himself to some one or other of our great mountain ranges, or Ghauts. And here I must remark, that, in speaking generally of the hills, the word "Ghaut" signifies, with us, the vast chain which girds the whole western coast of India; while, on the Bengal side, the term most commonly implies a river landing-place, a distinction necessary to be observed, to avoid confusion of ideas, between vast mountains, abounding with all the wild and solitary grandeur of Nature's works, and the richly sculptured result of man's labour, crowded with picturesque and busy groups, eminently illustrative of India's social aspect.

At the close of the "rains," even Poonah, which we have described as a scene of so much mirth and gaiety, is deserted by all who can shew such ingratitude; and at the end of September, the ladies prepare their warm cloaks and dresses for the Hills, while the sportsmen are satisfied to exchange their spears for double-barrelled rifles, and the chase

of the wild boar over the rocky hills of the Deccan, for the neilghyes, wolves, and leopards of the Ghauts.

The principal spot of interest upon the road between Poonah and the Hills, was (before the occupation of Sassoor) the hill fort and station of Sattara, which the residents had, by common consent, termed "Sleepy Hollow," both in reference to its great heat of climate, lack of general means of occupation, and retirement from all exciting influences—it being a mere sort of turnpike on the road, which people pass through, and think of no more. Truly, however, Sattara, for its beauty, deserves other treatment, being situated in a lovely valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, several of whose summits are crowned with hill forts, in all the picturesqueness of mouldering decay. The landscape of the plain, too, is full of the peculiar and graceful characteristics of Indian scenery; being fertile and richly cultivated, its fine roads leading through groves of dark tamarind trees, while groups of the coco-nut and palm, which shade the sculptured temples, contrast well with the European character of the bungalows, and their productive gardens; Sattara being found a most encouraging spot for the English lovers of horticultural pursuits. To my eye, the Oriental character of Sattara scenery was much increased by the number of elephants belonging to the Rajah, which, with their gay crimson housings, expressive countenances, and skilful mahouts, were constantly encountered pacing along the roads near the fort; but I soon found that, whatever my own appreciation of the sagacious animal's appearance might be, it was not shared by my horse, who, whenever the little bell worn round the elephant's neck was heard heralding his approach, shewed the most evident symptoms of excessive terror, and certainly the colossal rolling figure of the creature, his huge flapping ears, tattooed red and green, his waving proboscis flinging up as a spout the dust on which he trod, combined with the thunder of his trumpeting, when the mahout pressed the sort of bill-hook that he carries somewhat severely on his organ of veneration, were enough to create as much alarm in an irrational creature, like my Arab, as the vision of the elephant-headed deity, even Ganesa the sublime, with his attendant rats, might have produced upon the nervous system of a rational and intriguing Brahmin; of whom, by the way, many were to be found in this region of "Sleepy Hollow."

Perhaps it has never been the reader's fate to have "taken the air" on an elephant; it has, however, been mine, and I confess to thinking it a very dignified, but disagreeable proceeding. I made the experiment, indeed, in a hunting howdah, which somewhat resembles a double-bodied phaeton without its wheels; the whole affair so towering and unsteady, that with the white dresses of the riders, and the rolling motion of the animal, the idea of resemblance was at once given to a brig, beating up against a heavy sea, with all sails set. The height of the seat puzzled me, as well as its unsteady appearance; but a little man, who trotted after the elephant, with a green pole over his shoulder, looking somewhat like a walking-stick telescope, removed the difficulty

at once, by opening it into a small iron ladder, which, as soon as the mahout, with a "Hut, hut!" and pressure on the elephant's head, had caused the animal to kneel, was fixed against his side, and the ascent made easy. In Bengal, where elephants are used for travelling, the howdahs are easy and convenient; but ours was only considered with regard to its correct height for rifle-firing. The poor elephant, too, had been sadly wounded by tigers, and had seen good service in his time; though, like a brave warrior, he carried all his scars on his front. His original price I found had been one thousand rupees (£100), and his monthly bills amounted to eighty. Strange stories are told in India of the sagacity of the elephant, some true, though strange, and others, perhaps, a little exaggerated; but the mahouts become devotedly attached to the animals in their charge, and will never admit that they are irrational, but, on the contrary, converse with them as if receiving answers, entrust their children to their care, and sit by them for hours during the night, telling them long *bhats* (native tales).

Since my visit to Sattara, a village on the road between that station and Poonah (not far from a most wretched halting-place, and traveller's bungalow, known as "Neera Bridge"), has acquired considerable interest, from the circumstance of its having been selected as the prison of the Ameers of Sindh. This village of Sassoor, which was a spot of some consideration in the Peishwa's time and during the power of the earlier Mahratta sovereigns, is erected at the conflux of two rivers; which circumstance is doubtless the reason for its having enjoyed a high reputation for holiness, which is proved by a handsome temple to Mahadeo, and innumerable monuments, which, bearing the sculpture of an upraised female hand, denote the performance of suttees. Every object about Sassoor is marked by the strongest features of Hindooism: images of Siva's bull adorn the steps descending to the river; figures of Huniman are seen under every tree; and the population is made up of Brahmins and Fakirs.

The Moslem ex-princes of Sindh occupy a palace near the temple, a square, spacious building, but much dilapidated: it was once the palace of the great Mahratta family of Poorundhuree, and by them was strongly fortified; but, until its reception of the Ameers, it was seldom used, unless by the collector when travelling in the districts.

The neighbourhood about Sassoor is generally sterile, but, clustered round the temple and fort, are some rich groves and pleasant gardens, objects, probably, more agreeable to the eyes of the Moslem prisoners, than the images and fanes of pagan worship, in a land which, but for its hero chieftains, might even now have been under the Mohammedan power.*

There is now, also, another source of painful interest connected with the neighbourhood of Sattara; and the stranger, as he guides his horse among its beautiful groves, musing with admiration on its antique and picturesque fanes, its noble scenery, and its ancient history, will associate with all these, the saddened remembrance of those his gifted

* See Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

countrywomen,* who were here stricken with sickness unto death, and he will lament their fate the more, as he feels the beauty that the poetic genius of the one might have illustrated, and notes the strange and Oriental character of scenes, which the intelligence of the other would have rendered eminently interesting in her own far distant land.

The foot of the Ghaut is about thirty miles from Sattara, and, this gained, few rides can be more agreeable than the ascent which concludes the journey. The road is good, though extremely steep, and, as I ascended it in a palankcen, the distress of the bearers was very evident, albeit they were sturdy little Mahrattas, the most active people, perhaps, in India. Happily, however, as the sun rose, water-melons were described in abundance, and, with that absence of all consideration of danger peculiar to a native of India, each man refreshed himself by voracious eating of the cold watery pulp, and draughts of the icy liquid contained within; and this, under a burning sun, and with the perspiration rolling in streams from their heated bodies. During all my experience of India, however, I have found the utter uselessness of attempting to deter natives from injurious habits of this kind connected with their food; for although cholera may be raging in their village, or a fellow-servant may have died of it even in the compound of the bungalow, all remonstrance is useless, as a huge water-melon, a dish of unripe mangoes, or a basket of green jambus (description of plum), is an irresistible temptation to which sickness, or even death, is as nought.

As the traveller gains upon his route, leaving the lesser Ghauts beneath him, the effect of this majestic scenery is momentarily increased, each mountain being richly wooded from its dark brow to the point where the gathering and snow-like clouds conceal its gradual union with the lowlands. On either side of the road are forest trees in rich masses, festooned with blooming parasites, while about their roots lie huge fragments of variously stained rock, on which time has encouraged brilliant mosses to carpet their deep fissures, and flowering weeds to sun their heads in the passing breeze. As we continued on, the towering mountains were marked by more fantastic forms, the verdure became fresher in colour and of a different character, while the sky seemed no longer covered with the yellowish misty veil of a heated atmosphere, but was intensely blue, and the air cold and bracing.

The first spot of every-day interest that the traveller arrives at on the Mahabuleshwar hills is the bazaar, and as usual, when we entered it, native music was clamorous in our ears. This term, as I have used it, may, perhaps, require some apology to the lovers of sweet sounds, but not to those whose ears have been nightly assailed by festival diversions in our Indian villages. Six unchid urchins returning from a fair, noisy, self-willed, possessing brief authority over their drums, fifes, trumpets, and whistles, and uproariously sustaining a right to play all at the same time, would, I think, produce *harmony*, in comparison with the horrible din produced by the "cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psal-

* I allude to Mrs. Fletcher (Miss Jewsbury), and Miss Emma Roberts.

tery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music," which, exciting as it is to the sleepless pariah who howls to it in concert, makes night hideous to Europeans in the East ; and even when continued during the noontide hours, when the hum of general life dulls it to the ear, the beat of the toneless tom-tom, and the shrill whine of the pierced bamboo flute, produce an irritation on the nervous system of the constrained hearer, which seems to separate it from all neighbouring sounds.

The bungalows on the Mahabuleshwar are built irregularly on such points of the hills as present the most agreeable views. They are small, and have thatched roofs, presenting a very rustic and chalet-like appearance; but as health rather than luxury, exercise rather than etiquette, forms the object of visitors to the Mahabuleshwar, the wealthy civilian, or the rich commandant, who leaves his splendidly furnished bungalow, and his handsome carriages, in the lowland station, is satisfied with the simple accommodation of a sleeping apartment surrounded with reeds and calico, a dining-room in which a good appetite is the chief luxury, and an open verandah commanding an uninterrupted view of the magnificent scenery around ; while a strong Pegue pony, for neighbouring excursions, is more prized than the most valuable Arab, whose services would be found useless among the steep rocky passages of these Ghauts.

In addition to the bungalows, whose rent is rather proportioned to the demand for them than to the accommodation they afford, invalids have the advantage of rooms in the Sanitarium, for which they pay nothing, but the chance penalty of finding themselves near some noisy bachelor patients, who console their spirits for the medical anathema against hunting all day in a hot sun, by sociable parties in their rooms ; but as married officers with their wives have no *right* to the advantages of the Sanitarium, they certainly have no right to complain of it, when considerably allowed its shelter, however loud may be the mirth, or however smoky the chimney, of the rheumatic patient, whose room adjoins their own, and whose fire may be continued beyond midnight.

In the month of October, particularly, fires are in constant requisition on the hills ; and this enjoyment, which in the East brings somewhat of an European air to our hearths, affords a species of gratification, which mere logs, some of them too uncomfortably green and smoking, from rather ill-contrived chimneys, would be scarcely thought capable of producing. There is also another effect of climate found productive of much satisfaction to the hill visitors, simply, I believe, for the same reasons of association ; this is derived from the fogs, which envelop the mountains about sunset during the autumn months, and, disagreeable enough in themselves, remind us of our English November, and are prized accordingly, even by the persons, who, if really in their "ain countrie," breakfasting by lamplight, would grumble terribly, I fear, over the dark days of "Merry England." Happily, however, distance improves the lights and softens the shadows of all mental pictures, and with hope and retrospect to cheer us, we thus gaily pass

on over the rough stones of the present. A very curious effect also on the Mahabuleshwar Hills is caused by the passing of light vapours and fleecy clouds across particular portions of the mountains. The doors of the bungalows usually face each other, and while at dinner I have observed a cloud enter at one, obscure all on the table, and pass out at the other, leaving the atmosphere as clear as before its entrance.

The excursions to be enjoyed about the Mahabuleshwar Hills, even to those not caring for the sport afforded in the dense forests clothing the mountain sides, and which abound in beasts of prey and of the chase, are numerous and beautiful; many of the roads have been made at the charge of the British Government, but others, which lead perhaps to the most lovely spots, are rugged and broken, mere stony footpaths crossed occasionally by a brawling mountain-stream, to which troops of unwieldy, stupid-looking buffaloes, stroll to quench their thirst. This fact, indeed, occasions the only disagreeable or dangerous circumstance connected with free rambles on the Hills, for although these animals are tame, and the property of shepherds, they are suffered to stroll about the woods untended, which produces a degree of wild shyness, and it sometimes happens that, if suddenly alarmed by a horseman or foot passenger, when they cannot avoid imagined danger, by crashing through the brushwood, the animals will charge in a body, which, when a Rambler is unarmed, on a Pegue pony, and a slippery path, places him in rather an unenviable position. However, the chance of such a rencontre with the long-nosed and indigo-coloured animals who entertain these mistaken ideas of one's objects, is too rare to interfere with the stroller who desires to penetrate the tangled thickets of this most lovely region, while the annoyance, and even danger, will weigh little against the certain gratification to be gained.

One very interesting spot within the reach of the Hill cantonment are the rises of the Kistna river, over which singular temples have been erected, which well deserve remark. The village is nearly four miles from the obelisk erected to the memory of Sir Sydney Beckwith, which marks the centre of the European station, and it is called "Mahabuleshwar," probably from the double source of the beautiful stream, seeming, from the bounty of nature, to render most applicable a title which, in its divisions, literally signifies "the great and good God." Although knowing little of painting, as we have proof of, on some of their ornamented walls, and not much more of poetry, if we except their ancient lyric songs of Sanscrit origin, the Hindus have yet an eye so true to nature (when not called upon to imitate it), that their temples are ever found commanding the most lovely and attractive views; and so in one case at Mahabuleshwar, a fine arch being cut in one of the basaltic temples, permitting the rich foliage of the mountain to be seen at its back, as well as the exquisite landscape that forms the foreground of the picture. With respect to the principal temple, however, whose tri-sided colonnades surround a tank, into which from the mouth of a bull flows the sacred stream, it commands a view so beautiful of the fair, deep valley of the Kistna, that it might well be thought

that the entranced eye of the spectator would scarcely turn to seek for loveliness at any other point. There are certain scenes in India never to be forgotten ; scenes impressed upon the memory, not from their rarity, but for their surpassing beauty ; and having seen the valleys of Italy and Switzerland, the most lovely in Europe, I unhesitatingly believe, that no country in the world is so redolent of majestic and exquisite scenery as fair India ; the only surprise experienced is, how a ferocious, cruel, and grotesquely illustrated mythology could have been originated in such a land.

As I stood on the steps of the great temple of the Kistna, looking down upon the rich green valley, whose distant tints, softening away in the golden sunlight of the horizon, blended together like a brilliant Iris, and on the sacred stream, meandering along its dazzling course beneath mountains rich in luxuriant foliage, whose abrupt, picturesque forms reflected from the glowing skies a thousand hues of varied light, a poor old woman, who, like most Hindus, had never wandered a mile from her native home, approached the tank, and having made a low salaam to the sacred fount, cast back her much-worn crimson *saree*, and bathed her skinny arms in the refreshing stream, the choicest pleasure, perhaps, that her whole life afforded ; this over, she approached me, and pointing to the scene beneath us, remarked, that it was "*bhout mujika*" (very pretty) : a poor expression, but so must all be which attempt to convey graceful or pleasing ideas in such a language as Hindostanee, which, abounding in harsh epithets, seems more suited to the communications between the lord and his serf, than for the equal converse of civilized life. Thus the gentleman, desirous of expressing a graceful courtesy, or affording a poetic comparison, must avail himself of Persian, or fail altogether ; and the poorer class, if kindly disposed one towards the other, have no means of expressing their tenderness or good-will except by using their dictatorial language with a softer voice, or prefacing a phrase which would as well stand for a brutal as a kind one, with "my brother," or "my father," applied to a non-relative or stranger ; and thus it was that the poor old crone of Mahabuleshwar had no better phrase wherewith to express her sense of beauty than this poor one, although in truth, all the superlatives of French and Persian might have failed to do it justice.

The level ground of the Mahabuleshwar is one tangled mass of fern and arrow-root. The last, a pretty plant, resembling a white lily, with long, dark, glossy leaves. The Chinamen, who are condemned to labour here for their delinquencies, use the root as a principal article of food, and I have been frequently diverted by the odd arrangements made by those of the flat faces and long tails while digging for and preparing it.

It is rational to conclude that the natives of the Celestial Empire are occasionally as miserable as their fellow-men ; but, even as felons in India, a Chinaman always seems willing for a jest, and the singular expression on his Tartar features, and the cunning glance of his little eye, even if not significant of mirth in himself, is certainly productive

of it in others. The residents of the Mahabuleshwar are much their debtors; for, independently of the pleasurable sensation a contented human face always produces in those who look on it, the Chinamen are excellent horticulturalists, and their peas, "Prussian blues" and "marrow-fats," would scarcely disgrace Covent-Garden. Generally, the supplies on the Hills are excellent, while the Parsees arrange that the good knight "Sir Loin" is seldom absent from the well-covered board, and a capital imitation of the "roast beef of Old England" is thus rendered free of brahminical authority.

Another very favourite morning's ride on the Mahabuleshwar is to "Sydney Point;" a promontory which, rising perpendicularly from the valley of the Concan, commands a magnificent and general view of the whole mountain range. "Dizzy 'tis to cast one's eye so low," and the description given of Shakespear's Cliff would better, perhaps, have suited Sydney Point, if reference be had to the proportions of objects seen from it, where, in truth, the buffaloes grazing on the rich meadow of the Concan "appear like mice," and so narrow is the pathway to the extreme point, that few persons can venture there, except in a serpent-wise position. It is, however, well worth a little giddiness to look around upon this scene from the promontory's utmost verge, commanding, as it does, an uninterrupted view of the Southern Concan, or low country, which extends from the base of the ghauts to the sea, as well as of the ghauts themselves, mountains succeeding mountains, to the height of some four thousand feet, all covered with rich forests glittering with mountain torrents, and frequently crowned by massy basaltic rocks, formed into almost impregnable forts, by a trifling aid from art, or bearing the mimic resemblance of such from the hand of nature.

One of the most interesting and remarkable of these forts is that of Pertaubghur, for which reason it became to us a particular object of pilgrimage, and as the reader may also like to form some idea of one of the most singular strongholds in the Maliratta country, and the most associated with the deeds of its chieftains, I will venture to describe my visit there, as well as some passages in its early history.

The mountain, of which Pertaubghur forms, as it were, the crown, is separated from the Mahabuleshwar ghaut by a deep break or valley, and consequently my poor pony, who was scarcely taller than that possessed by the Laird of Dumbiedikes, was condemned to a variety of labour; first, in descending a part of the steep road cut from our cantonment by the orders of Government, and forming part of the Bombay road, and then, in climbing up a rugged stony pathway, which leans dangerously over a beetling cliff, so steep itself, and looking on so terrible an abyss, that it was really only fit for the trained footsteps of Gil Blas' mule. We travelled along it in line, horse-keepers first, and coolies, bearing a few necessary et-ceteras, commanded in their morning freshness by the cook, last; both equally useless in case of danger by the stable-tackle and culinary vessels with which all were laden; so we re-arranged our twisted saddles as we could, scolding, grumbling, and laughing by turns.

Arrived at the gate of the fort, we were very civilly received by some brahmins, who, whatever their own inclinations may have been, were compelled by the Rajah of Sattara to pay respect to all European visitors. We were then introduced to the principal apartment of the fort, and after the usual travellers' breakfast of curry, rice, hard-boiled eggs, and kabobs had been discussed, we proceeded to observe the peculiarities of our position. The walls of the fort crowned the mountain as a coronet, and from the lofty windows of our apartment the eye could compass the low country on either side, and take cognizance of all that moved upon its surface. This, a brahmin told me, was the usual lounging-room of the great chieftain Sevajee, who, less than two hundred years since, here girded himself with strength, and by the unaided power of his own great, but very unconscientious talents, rendered himself the scourge of the Mohammedan conquerors of his land.

Nothing can be more characteristic of the peculiarities which form a hero in barbarous ages than the history of Sevajee, and as I sat looking out from this his mountain-den, gazing upon a few miserable and scattered huts, belonging to the Concan peasants, that now stud the plains once thronged with the armies of the Moslem and Hindu in deadly feud, I listened eagerly to the anecdotes then told me of this daring and successful chief.

The Mahrattas, warlike and independent, are yet ignorant and illiterate, and, therefore, the young Sevajee,—though the surest marksman and best rider in his land, well skilled in the use of the spear and dagger, as of all the arms common in a land where, if the miserable peasant had no clothes, he was still provided with defences against the beasts of prey that thronged his native jungles,—knew nothing of art, or even history, except the tale of Moslem oppression, and the fabulous exploits of the demi-gods described to him by the brahmins. And thus he grew, hating his enemies, inspired by a rude patriotism, and animated by a wild, fierce love of enterprise; now a warrior, then a robber; always believing himself the favourite of the goddess Bhowanee, and considering no treachery as such which tended to Mahratta independence. Such was Sevajee; and perhaps no life in the annals of barbaric power presents so much romantic and spirit-stirring interest as that of the hero chief of Pertaubghur; but as to follow him in all his conquests, to see his banner flying from all the Deckan forts, which he forced to be deserted by their discomfited Moslem princes, would be ill-suited to our limits, I will describe only one of his most celebrated acts, the spot where it was enacted having been pointed out to me by the brahmin who told the tale.

The Beejapoor government, being the most powerful in the country, determined to break down the rising power of the Mahratta chief, and a force of some twelve thousand men, with guns, rockets, and all the appurtenances of war, were sent, under a Moslem general, Afzool Khan, against the fort of Pertaubghur, the general declaring, with a confidence peculiar to the self-esteeming Moslems, that he would, without firing a gun, bring the rebel chief in chains to the conqueror's

throne. Sevajee was somewhat alarmed, but immediately drawing on his own fertile invention for expedients, marked out his course. Stratagem he determined should baffle force ; and, like a wise diplomatist, he allowed but one to become the repository of his scheme.

On the Moslem general's approach, the chief of Pertaubghur at once acknowledged the uselessness of opposition to a power so displayed, and declared his intention of yielding at once his possessions to the Mohammedan prince, if assured of his protection. Afzool, had he not been blinded by his own preposterous vanity, might have been impressed by the inconsistency of the submission with the known character of the man who made it ; but, on the contrary, he sent a brahmin minister to receive the chief's concession. That night, in the secret chamber of the temple, Sevajee privately visited the brahmin envoy of his enemy. He knew his class, the influences strongest on his mingled character of priest and man. The chief flattered both, promised protection to his temples from the favourite of the goddess, and grants of rich villages to himself. The brahmin became his slave, and, ere the morning's light glanced on the camp of Afzool Khan, his destruction had been secured by the plottings of the chieftain and the priest.

Afzool believed the story told him by his envoy of Sevajee's alarm and doubt, and consented at once to meet and assure him personally of his security ; he would see him, he said, unarmed, accompanied by a single follower, and receive in person the submission of the chief.

Dense jungles, at this period, surrounded Pertaubghur ; but Sevajee directed a road to be cut through them for the advance of the Moslem prince, carefully, however, observing that every other outlet was even more guarded than usual. At the hour appointed, the prince Afzool arrived, unarmed, at the spot fixed on for the meeting, and, accompanied by a single follower, awaited the approach of Sevajee. Meanwhile, the Mahratta chieftain disposed his troops among the shelter of the jungle. He then adjourned to the temple, and besought the blessing of the goddess ; arrayed himself as for a foray, with shirt and cap of mail, covering the whole with a linen robe and a Cachemere turban ; he then placed in his sleeve a curved Mahratta dagger, and on his fingers fixed the *wagnuck*, a sort of many-bladed knife, that opens by the pressure of a spring. So prepared, Sevajee slowly descended the pathway from the fort, stopping from time to time, as if hesitating and alarmed. Afzool Khan, observing this, commanded his follower to stand back, and advanced alone to meet the chief. Sevajee, as if struck by his generosity, hurried forward to cast himself into the arms of the Moslem prince ; but, as he did so, struck the *wagnuck* violently into his body ; the khan staggered back, drew his sword, and aimed a blow at Sevajee, but it was answered by the plunge of the chieftain's dagger, the fall of his enemy on the bloodstained ground, and the deafening shouts of the Mahratta soldiery, who, bursting from their concealment, gathered round their master. The Moslem army, chiefly mercenaries, laid down their arms, and accepted service-with Sevajee ; and long did

the head of the deluded khan surmount the bastion of Pertaubghur, a trophy of its chieftain's treachery and talent.

We walked round the fortress, admiring and wondering at the natural fastness, and perhaps its grandeur of position was felt the more for its solitary character, being in charge of a few brahmins and sepoy, in number so scant as scarcely to be noted. Their occupation was fully gone. The priests pelted each other with wood-apples in the court of the temple, and the sepoy lounged about the walls or slept tranquilly under a shading tree. Until very late years, the Rajah of Sattara was in the habit of making an annual visit to the temple of Pertaubghur, on which occasion an aged woman was thrown from the highest bastion into the vale beneath, as a propitiatory offering; but British rule has happily caused the abolition of this as well as of many other barbarities of Hinduism, and the visits of the rajah are rare.

We left Pertaubghur, deeply revolving the history of those who rendered it a spot of terror in the land; and, as if to render the impressions so produced the more intense, we were overtaken by the most fearful warring of the elements; thunder reverberating among the hills, which seemed to fling defiance from every echoing crag, lightning blazing around their heights, and the swollen torrents, escaped from their imprisonment, rushing madly into the valleys, and casting into destruction all that opposed their way. During all my experience of the tropics, I have never witnessed any thing so grand and terrible as the scene around us, as we descended from Pertaubghur; but our danger was too great to allow the idea of its wondrous sublimity to obtain full possession of our minds; the horses became terrified, and refused to move, and the bearers of my palankeen were frequently in imminent danger of losing their footing, and being swept away by the rushing waters.

Once again in security, I rejoiced that opportunity had been thus afforded me of seeing the mighty Mahabuleshwar amidst its wrath and tears, as I had seen it in its smiles and beauty; and whether in storm or sunshine, the Indian sojourner can never remember the grandeur of its natural effects, and the benefit of its renovating influences, without gratitude and admiration; rejoicing, as he does so, in anticipation of the season which will allow him again his annual "visit to the Hills."

BIOGRAPHY OF LIVING CHARACTERS.

NO. VII.—LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

THE late Secretary of State for the Colonies occupies, as leader of the opposition, a place in the House of Commons, second only to that which is filled by the organ of the ministerial party ; and if the political principles which he professes were now in the ascendant, nothing is more probable than that Lord John Russell would be First Lord of the Treasury. He is at present in the fifty-second year of his age ; a man of small stature and slender proportions, with a thin and rather feeble voice ; a cold, monotonous delivery ; to all appearance, passionless and unimaginative ; yet the tenour of his long and busy public career would seem to imply that he is under the influence of strong ambition, and even, perhaps, of fervent patriotism ; while the number and constancy of his private friendships appear to justify a belief that he is not deficient in any of those qualities which create affection or confirm esteem. Besides, the facts of his having been twice married, and of his having, before marriage, been a suitor of more than three ladies, lead to the natural conclusion that languid speech and icy manners, denoting the absence of an excitable temperament, are not always certain symptoms of dulness or insensibility. To observe Lord John Russell in the discharge of his Parliamentary functions, and at the same time to be told that he was a voluminous writer, would make one suppose the noble lord had, for a time, mistaken his vocation ; that the repose and retirement of literary life were far more congenial to him than any other course of existence—that, in fact, he was a recluse, stoical student, who had been, by some untoward accident, tossed upon the billows of the political ocean—one who, from within the protecting walls of his study, could dispense the principles of taste or the lessons of wisdom. But to assume all this, would be a grievous error. Doubtless he may point to several bulky volumes, and say they are the work of his brain, or, at least, the results of his industry ; but, as a writer, he has made quite as little impression upon the public mind as his oratory, in a mere rhetorical sense, has upon the character and proceedings of Parliament. His lordship possesses all the advantages of ancient descent, of noble birth, of hereditary claims upon popular affection, of some degree of political consistency, and much more than an average degree of acquaintance with what may be called constitutional learning. He is, moreover, a man of great moral courage ; of unimpeachable private

character ; and he possesses a perfect command of temper, unwearied industry, strict impartiality in the dispensation of patronage, considerable skill in the developing and explaining new measures to Parliament, a good stock of plain common sense, tact and discretion, some facility in giving to his opponents plausible if not satisfactory replies, and a talent for throwing an air of statesmanship over every thing which he has had occasion to recommend. These qualities fitted him to succeed Lord Althorp as Whig leader in the lower House. There is no dearth of oratorical talents in that party. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Charles Buller, Sir George Grey, Sir John Hobhouse, Sir Thomas Wilde—any of these could make a better display of declamatory oratory than Lord John Russell ; but, as a leader, the Whig party thought more favourably of *him* ; and those who consider the reasons above suggested, can hardly be surprised at the preference. Yet, if one were to judge from merely hearing him make two or three speeches, it would appear almost incredible that a man of such very moderate talents, as a public speaker, should ever have become the Parliamentary organ of any opposition, still less of any Government :

A puny voice and boyish form,
Too weak for controversial storm,
And baby face, that often shows
Alike in transport as in woes,
Will ne'er permit his feeble powers
To scale the height where Stanley towers,
Or, fired with democratic zeal,
To shake the senate-house like Shiel.

He is the third son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford. His mother was the Hon. Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, second daughter of George, fourth Viscount Torrington. Few men, therefore, can boast greater advantages as to birth ; and fewer still, of a name associated with more memorable events ; but it is a curious fact, that a family like the Russells, who have derived their fortune from the favour of the Crown, should have devoted their energies in the field and the senate, and even their blood on the scaffold, to maintain the real or supposed rights of the people.

In the fashionable locality of Hertford Street, Mayfair, on the 18th of August, 1792, the subject of this memoir first saw the light. The school which had the honour of contributing to his early education was that of Sunbury—a place at which many distinguished men have received the first rudiments of instruction. From this he was transferred to a still more celebrated seminary—not now so

numerously attended as in days of yore—that of Westminster. But Lord John Russell did not receive the university portion of his education in England. Like Lord Melbourne and other distinguished members of the Whig party, Edinburgh enjoys the honour of having completed his intellectual discipline, and of dismissing him from her academic bowers, if not closely familiar with classical lore, at all events well versed in modern dialectics; for no man is more expert than he in turning the weapons of an opponent against himself, in exposing a fallacy, or even in weakening the soundest arguments of an adversary. He has also a peculiar knack of widening any breach between two of his political enemies, if by accident they should have a temporary difference of opinion.

Lord John Russell became a member of the House of Commons a month before he had completed his twenty-first year; and the experience and practice of thirty years have left him, as a public speaker, pretty nearly in the same rank where he began—a fact which must convince his most partial friends that, if he had not been born a lord, he never would have become a minister. As a literary man, he has made no progress whatever during “twice ten tedious years,” for the latest of his publications issued from the press in 1824.

Nothing is more natural than that the earliest efforts of his pen should have been devoted to the task of recording the merits and illustrating the character of his ancestor, William, Lord Russell. It is a common principle of our nature which induces us to feel as if we had lived in the persons of our ancestors. It is “the labour and reward of vanity to extend the term of this ideal longevity;” and the subject of this memoir, possessing all the advantages of family papers and records, was enabled to produce a *Life* of his distinguished progenitor in a manner so honourable to both, as to preclude rivalry and silence detraction. The work speedily went through two editions, and now enjoys a place in every large library. This, his first appearance as an author, occurred in 1815; and he did not again come before the public in that capacity until after an interval of six years. The second production of every writer is usually estimated with undue severity. The critical reader seems to be half displeased with himself for having been betrayed into admiration, and takes vengeance on the succeeding work of his favourite for all the flattery bestowed on its predecessor. His lordship’s “*History of the British Constitution*,” which issued from the press in 1821, appears never to have received the full meed of praise to

which it is justly entitled; and the tragedy of *Don Carlos*—consisting principally of translation from Schiller—not only obtained little approbation, but was very fiercely set upon by the swarm of small critics, who themselves never had achieved greatness, and are destitute even of the moral qualities which excite men to attempt noble objects. With respect, however, to Lord John Russell, it cannot be denied that his endeavours to become a tragic poet were signally unsuccessful. “Papers and Essays found after a Gentleman who had left his Lodgings,” contained some miscellaneous scraps which idle and desultory readers relished pretty well. The work is not sufficiently unpopular to be found on the stalls, or so much esteemed as to give promise of a new edition; it has, therefore, become somewhat scarce. The last original publication of this “noble author”—an “Account of the Affairs of Europe since the Peace of Utrecht”—appeared in 1824. It is rather a heavy book, elaborately and skilfully worked out—not so lively as his biographical narrative; not so attractive as his fugitive pieces; not so interesting to Englishmen as his lucubrations on their own constitution; but it has found some readers, and will probably be useful to future historians. If we except his edition of the correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, it may be said that his literary life closed twenty years ago, and ere this would have been quite forgotten, if the subject of it had not subsequently risen to great eminence in the State. As a literary man, he must have been by this time utterly disregarded, if he had not been a minister of the Crown. Noble birth yields little distinction in the republic of letters. A man may easily be a wit amongst lords, but it is another thing to be a wit amongst authors. Of late years, the world does not often think of Lord John in his capacity of a writer; on the contrary, it is as a legislator and a statesman that his name is best known; yet, if an account of his life were to embrace a history of the great transactions in which he has been engaged, it would not only exceed the limits of a magazine article, but probably exhaust the patience and attention of the reader, without doing much to illustrate the personal character of the noble lord whose career it was intended to delineate. Nevertheless, some, and it is hoped not an uninteresting, reference may be made to the memorable events in which he has taken a part, from the downfall of Napoleon to the hour at which we write.

As a constitutional lawyer and historian, his mind was at an early period of his political life turned to the subject of Parliamentary representation, and throughout a great proportion of the fifteen

years during which Lord Liverpool was at the head of the Government, Lord John is frequently found bringing forward motions on subject of reform in the House of Commons; therefore did Lord Grey, on coming into power, entrust to his management, in the the lower House, the all-important Bills which, in the year 1832, effected so vast an alteration in the constitution of England. But the labours of his earlier years were by no means confined to rotten boroughs or nomination seats. He, like others of his party, opposed that war which ended at Waterloo. In 1817, he resisted a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*—a measure which, it is firmly believed, the Whigs themselves would have proposed had they been in office. He opposed the proceedings against Queen Caroline, and the settlement of the civil list for George IV.; but then he supported what was called “Catholic Emancipation.” It is, of course, fully remembered that the cry for reform in Parliament gave the Whigs an opportunity of getting into office. Lord John Russell participated in the foresight which enabled that party to discern the coming truth, that this great question would be their vantage-ground; and, with excellent tact, in the year 1819, he commenced his series of almost annual motions against Gatton and Old Sarum, which ended in a change all but revolutionary. Yet, in 1823, so faint was his hope of fully succeeding in this object, that he suggested the expediency of voting a million of money to compensate those who were interested in the existing system. In the year 1821 he succeeded in accomplishing the disfranchisement of Grampound; but the effect of this was merely to add two county members to Yorkshire, instead of giving representatives to Leeds, as the author of the proposition had intended. From that period till 1827, he perseveringly renewed his efforts for reform. At length, the great champion of anti-reform, Mr. Canning, becoming Prime Minister, and drawing over to his side a considerable body of the Whig party, at a moment when the country was unusually prosperous, rendered the great mass of the reformers so hopeless of success, that Lord John Russell himself suspended his labours in what was called “the great cause,” and devoted his time to objects of less magnitude; amongst which may be reckoned a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. His proposition on this subject was made in the year 1827; he, however, was induced to withdraw it, and leave the matter in the hands of the Government, who disposed of the question in the course of the succeeding session of Parliament. In February, 1830, he brought in a Bill to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, to return members. The Duke of

Wellington, then at the head of affairs, declared that, if any such change were effected, the King's Government could not be carried on; that no reform was necessary, and that none should be accomplished while he held office. This declaration, perhaps a casual one, produced important consequences: it accelerated, or rather hurried on, the memorable event which gave England a Whig ministry and a reformed Parliament. In the proceedings connected with these great transactions, Lord John Russell took a share which added to his own reputation and strengthened the authority of his political friends. He participated in all the fluctuating fortunes of the Grey and the Melbourne administrations; he went in with his friends and came out with them; but he and they ultimately succeeded in bringing Parliamentary representation to its present state—a condition not less alarming to the aristocracy than hateful to the Chartists. It is needless to trace the history of the three Reform Bills proposed in succession by the Whigs; but the last passed into a law, having been conducted in the lower House under the auspices of Lord John Russell, whose name will descend to future ages in connection with one of the most memorable changes in English constitutional history.

So much for his share in the great measure of Reform; but he at the same time dealt in almost every other species of liberal legislation. Profoundly read in the ancient as well as the modern history of the English constitution, he became the patron and promoter of such extensive changes, that an Irish friend of ours once observed, "*Little Johnny Russell is the biggest republican in all England.*" He ultimately became one of the most strenuous advocates in and out of Parliament for some measures that were said to be exceedingly liberal; but yet his political consistency, though of rather a higher character than that of some to whom he is now opposed, has never been, any more than other political leaders, of the most perfect kind. When out of office, he cultivated popularity in Canada by supporting Mr. Labouchere's resolutions; and yet, as Colonial Secretary, he conducted the government of that colony upon totally different principles. He often censured the practice of the Conservative party in the management of Ireland; but, in 1833, he became the advocate not only of strong measures, but of Coercion Bills. He resisted inquiry into the pension list, and opposed a committee for considering the expediency of abolishing impressment; but, on the other hand, he voted in favour of the Dissenters' Marriage-Bill, and of the admission of Dissenters to the Universities; likewise of various measures for getting rid of tithes in Ireland, and

for curtailing the temporalities of the Established Church in that part of the kingdom.

On the death of the late Earl Spencer, Lord Althorp, who had been ministerial leader in the Commons, became a peer; and the head of the Government proposed Lord John Russell to the King as a fitting successor to that noble lord. The King took that opportunity of unceremoniously dismissing the Whigs; Sir Robert Peel posted home from Italy, the short-lived ministry of 1834-5 was called into a premature existence, and sunk under a very few sharp struggles in the House of Commons, in which the subject of this memoir appeared for the first time as the leader of his party.

The reader need scarcely be reminded that these events led to the formation of the second Melbourne ministry. Under the preceding Whig Governments, Lord John Russell held the office of Paymaster-General of the Forces; but he was now advanced to the more important post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, in which situation he continued for about four years, and was appointed in 1839 to succeed Lord Normanby as Secretary of State for the Colonies. His connection with colonial affairs lasted only two years; for, in September, 1841, the return of the Conservatives to power relieved him from the toils or the influence of office, and the pleasures or anxieties of patronage. Throughout the six years during which he sustained the grave responsibility of a Secretary of State, he at the same time endured the onerous distinction of being ministerial leader in the lower House; and here he laboured with unwearying industry and great discretion to preserve something like union and harmony amongst the discordant elements of which his party was composed. One portion of his policy was to be shaped so as to meet the wishes of some old aristocratic whig, like Mr. Byng of Middlesex; another to accommodate itself to the theories of a knot of philosophical radicals, such as those who belong to the Warburton school; then he had to face an onslaught of wild repealers from the province of Connaught or "the kingdom of Kerry;" again to manœuvre a small but persevering junto of sly jobbers from the north of the Tweed, or a factious clamour from the representatives of some manufacturing district. To do him justice, he fagged through all these difficulties with admirable temper, courtesy, and skill. But if the embarrassments arising out of the character of his own supporters imposed upon him an arduous and delicate task, how fearfully were the difficulties of his situation aggravated by the tremendous and eventually triumphant opposition which the Conservative party had formed! Lord Morpeth might come to the

rescue ; Lord Howick might do him yeoman service ; but Sir George Grey was then crude and unpractised, Mr. Spring Rice was never a very efficient colleague, Sir Thomas Wilde had but little influence, Mr. Macaulay is a holiday speaker, and Lord Palmerston too indolent to be of frequent use. The leader had, therefore, to act likewise the part of the soldier ; he was, in a great degree, thrown upon his own resources, at a time when his quondam associate, Lord Stanley, would attack him with the fierce pugnacity of a game cock ; when Sir James Graham's sarcasms were pointed by recollections of ancient friendship engrafted upon feelings of recent hostility ; and when the formidable assaults of Sir Robert Peel were backed by the shouts of a strong expectant party. It was in a position such as this that Lord John Russell often found himself, towards the close of five or six nights' debating, called upon, perhaps at three o'clock in the morning, to take a review of what had been urged on both sides, and do the best he could to reassure and comfort his scattered bands ; to lower the insulting tone of the enemy, and prepare for the eventful division with fortitude and philosophy. On such occasions, he certainly appeared to great advantage ; his spirit rose with the occasion ; his mind "o'er-informed its tenement of clay," which suddenly seemed to expand itself into nobler dimensions ; and, by mere energy of will, to achieve objects otherwise above his reach and unsuited to his capacity. A person in the gallery, who might perhaps have then seen him for the first time, was heard to exclaim, "There's nothing like blood, birth, and breeding—there's more pluck in that little man than in a dozen cotton-spinners."

Lord John Russell, though he entered "the honourable estate of matrimony" at a late period of life, has yet been twice married. He had remained a bachelor till the age of two-and-forty, from causes respecting which there is no exact information current in society. Without being able to speak affirmatively on the subject, we can at least say negatively, that his continuing so long unmarried arose from no insensibility to the charms of the fair sex, or incapacity to appreciate female beauty. Good-natured raillery—for it would be harsh to call it scandal—alleges that he paid his addresses to so many ladies, that at length he acquired the title of "solicitor-general." It may be surmised that the limited allowance granted to a younger brother, who had the rivalry of a step-mother and a still younger family to contend against, invested him with no pecuniary recommendations in the eyes of those discreet husband-hunters, who never forget dower, and sometimes think of alimony.

On the 11th of April, 1835, he married Adelaide, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Lister, Esq., of Armitage Park, Staffordshire. This lady had been previously married to the late Lord Ribblesdale, and by her first marriage she had four children. By this second she had three; two daughters and a son. The domestic happiness which arose from this union was not destined to be of long duration, for Lord John Russell became a widower on the 1st of November, 1838, his deceased wife having only reached the thirty-second year of her age. The late Duke of Bedford died in 1839—an event which brought some accession of property to the younger branches of his family, and, having been happy in his former union, Lord John determined to unite himself again in wedlock with a lady who is understood to be as richly endowed as his first consort with all those qualities which render home attractive and yield solace to the leisure of a public servant; nay, it is said that the literary attainments and poetical talents of the present Lady John Russell are of a high order, her ladyship being, in mind as well as in birth and fortune, admirably suited to become the partner of a man of intellectual as well as political eminence. His present wife is the Lady Frances Anna Maria, second daughter of the Earl of Minto. Lord John was fifteen years older than his first wife, and is twenty-three years senior to his second.

Lord John Russell now represents London—a constituency which, for wealth, intelligence, and numbers, may fairly be called the greatest in the kingdom. But it was with no small difficulty he succeeded in attaining to that distinction, for at the general election in 1841, instead of heading the poll, he was returned at the other end. Still, the Whigs regarded this election as a great triumph, and take great pleasure in referring to him as their “noble friend, the member for *London*.” He represented Devonshire in Parliament from 1831 to 1834; Tavistock, which was a family borough of the Russells, in five Parliaments previous to 1831, with the exception of that which was elected in 1820, when he sat for Huntingdonshire, and 1826, when he was returned for Bandon. In 1835, he lost his seat for Devonshire, but was elected by Stroud, for which borough he sat till 1841, when he came in for the City.

Though not of a robust constitution, he appears destined yet to enjoy many years of continued activity and unabated distinction. Though inferior in many respects, chiefly in physical requisites, to several members of the Whig party, he is not likely to be removed from his Parliamentary leadership either by rivalry or intrigue—certainly not by any unworthy action or motive of his own, for he is as honourable a man and as upright a politician as the party to

which he belongs ever included within their ranks. Whether posterity will consider him a successful author and a great statesman, is quite another question.

FROM KAMĀL UDDĪN ISMA'ĪL.

آدمي را چهار حالت هست
 در دو گيتي باقي و فاني
 هر يكي با هزار گونه بلا
 خواه پيدا و خواه پنهاني
 من بتفصيل شرح شان بدهم
 كه تو آن كار كرد نتواني
 زندگي مرگ و گور رستاخيز
 زين برون نيست گر مسلماني
 محنت زندگي همي بيني
 ناخوشيهاي مرگ مي داني
 وحشت گور و هول رستاخيز
 در كتب خوانده و مي خواني
 آخر اين آدمي ببيچاره
 كي كند شادي و تن آسائي
 حاصل كار او چو در نگري
 هست جمله غم و پريشاني
 نيست در اعتقاد دانايان
 هيچ نعمت و راي ناداني

HUNTING EXPEDITION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A JOURNEY has been recently made by Mr. Bain, Capt. Steele, and Mr. Pringle, through a large extent of the country north of the Orange River, in South Africa. The ostensible object of these gentlemen was sport—attracted by the amazing quantity of the larger species of wild animals which are known to range the vast and thinly-populated regions in that direction. There is, perhaps, no part of the globe where they are found in such variety as to species and so numerous in amount.

Our travellers quitted Graham's Town the beginning of last June, with two waggons, fitted up for the occasion, and amply provided with the equipments of the sportsman and the necessaries contingent upon a sojourn of some months in the African wilderness. On the 10th of July, they crossed the Orange River, the colonial boundary, at Read's Drift, and reached the Kurumen (Mr. Moffat's station) on the 30th. The country so far is described as very monotonous—a succession of flats, bounded only by the horizon, bare of bush, and generally sterile. The site of the institution is only recommended by an abundant supply of water, of no small amount, however, in South Africa, and which makes it truly an oasis in the desert. The chapel is described as a well-constructed and extensive building, and the mission premises substantial, roomy, and convenient. Several comfortable dwelling-houses are scattered through the village, and a large extent of ground has been reclaimed, and is in cultivation as garden and corn land.

Before reaching this point, a little north of Kramers Fontein, the party visited a remarkable Bushman cavern. It is situated on the side of a low hill, the front presenting the appearance of a stupendous arch, about thirty feet high and fifteen yards across. The interior is alike curious and imposing. It has a striking resemblance to an ornamented cathedral, with its tracery, pinnacles, &c. In the centre is an immense basaltic rock, giving support to the vaulted roof, adorned with stalactites, and making the *coup d'œil* extremely romantic and imposing. The depth of this cavern was not ascertained, as its exploration would have been pregnant with danger from mephitic air, which was so dense as not to admit of the use of lights. In some parts of this cavern, on the walls, are the rude drawings of the natives, consisting of figures of men and of a few of the larger animals of the country. They have been drawn with a red and white pigment found in that country.

From the Kurumen, the course taken by our travellers was N.W., which direction they kept until they reached 24° south latitude. The country is described in this direction as being remarkably fine, abounding with rich pasture, broken by gentle undulations, and dotted with bush. In some places there is fine timber: the latter abounds in the Bakhatla country.

Under the Kurrichane Hills, the party met with Sabiqua, the chief of the Bawanketze, or, as they are sometimes called, the Wangkets. This chief is described as a great warrior, and a man of superior intellect. He has, however, been very unfortunate; and by his continual forays has, like most others who are prone to war, lost many of his bravest and most faithful adherents. He is now in very reduced circumstances, having been recently defeated by a Bechuana chief, named Mahori, who brought into the field many of his adherents armed with guns. He had only met with a few white men; but those he had seen had made a very favourable impression upon him. He inquired with great interest after Mr. A. G. Bain, who visited him some years ago, and whom he

mentioned in terms of warm kindness and regard. Here the travellers heard distinctly of the great fresh-water lake, respecting which so many rumours have been current, though so little is actually known. It appears that Sabiqua, in the course of his warlike expeditions, had attacked a tribe called the Matlouma, who inhabit a tract of country bordering this lake. Some of the men engaged on this expedition were then living at the kraal of Sabiqua, and from them our travellers gleaned the following particulars :—

The name of the lake is Enhabi: the country around thickly inhabited. It is navigated by canoes; and there is one tribe, called Makuba, who are all boatmen. The chief of this tribe is named Ratcenetise. Another tribe, who live on the borders of this lake, and whose chief is named Mashowa, have guns, are great hunters, and carry on a trade, it is supposed, with the Portuguese, at Delagoa Bay. A piece of cotton cloth was obtained similar to what is termed gambroon, and which is manufactured chiefly for the slave-holding possessions under the Portuguese flag. It is thought that the Portuguese reach them from Killamaine by means of the Zimbezi River, which they are known to ascend, for the purposes of trade, to a great distance, and which, it is conjectured, has its source in the lake in question. The waters of this lake are said to be perfectly fresh and translucent; its banks are encumbered with reeds and other aquatic plants, and it abounds with hippopotami, fish, and game of various kinds. Like the Nile, it overflows its banks annually, caused, doubtless, by the heavy rains which are known to fall periodically in that latitude, but which, we may remark, create malaria, and thus render that country at such seasons so unhealthy and fatal to the white man. The travellers do not appear to have gained any information from the natives as to the size of this lake; but as several distinct tribes inhabit its shores, and as it is navigated, and is apparently the means and centre of much traffic, its extent may fairly be assumed to be considerable. Mr. Bain expresses a full determination to make another journey, for the express purpose of reaching this interesting point, and from thence exploring the country to the Indian Ocean. A variety of circumstances compelled the return of the party without prosecuting their journey any farther; having reached to within a distance of about two days of the great Kalhari desert.

During their route, the travellers obtained distinct intelligence of the chief Matsalikatse. It seems that, after the defeat and destruction of his warriors in the beautiful valley of the Mosega, by the emigrant farmers, he fled to the north, devastating the country in his course, and destroying several tribes with whom he came into collision. He is now living in the Bamungweto country, the dread of the inhabitants; his very name inspiring terror throughout that extensive region. They also obtained information respecting the trader Gibson, of a very different character from most of the accounts which are extant respecting him. It is confidently affirmed that he did not perish by the hands of the natives, but that he fell under the effects of the climate, having died in the Bakwa country of the prevailing epidemical fever. They also heard of a son of the notorious Conraad Buys, so well known in the history of the colonial border. He was living in the Bamungweto country, under the despot Matsalikatse, where he was treated in every respect as a slave. On a visit made some time since by a party of Griquas to that neighbourhood, an effort was made to obtain his liberty, which, it is said, was actually conceded; but when the time for his departure approached, he refused to quit his family; the feelings of paternity being stronger even than those of freedom.

Among the most interesting circumstances connected with this journey, is the discovery made by the party of the method of smelting and working the native metallic ore. The Bakatla country abounds with rich iron-stone, many specimens of which have been brought down with them to the colony, and a few of which we have seen. Some of these are apparently almost pure ore, the alloy being very small; and others are in a state of rapid decomposition by the process of oxydation. Copper, in a very pure state, is also found, though the working of it did not, as in the other case, come under the personal observation of the travellers. The native mode of smelting is ingenious. After collecting a quantity of ore, they proceed to construct a furnace. The first step is to form an excavation in the form of a parallelogram, in the centre of which they place their smelting apparatus; an air-bag, or bellows, the tubes of which are connected with the furnace, is placed on each side, and constantly worked. By this simple means, a sufficient heat is obtained to fuse the metal, which is afterwards worked up into ornaments and useful instruments with a skill which displays considerable mechanical ability, and an acquaintance with metallurgy in general, which they could scarcely be supposed to possess. They have some ridiculous superstitious customs connected with this employment, which shew the great importance they attach to it: no married man is permitted to enter the hollow in which the furnace is built, except he have lived separately from his wife for a certain number of weeks previous, and which separation must be scrupulously maintained during the entire period he is employed on the work. Women are supposed to exercise a malign influence upon the operation, and hence the probability of interference in any way is most carefully shunned.

The animals killed by the party on this journey were many, and include some specimens that are rare, if not unknown, in the colony. The roan antelope is mentioned particularly as one of these. A gigantic camelopard was shot, measuring in height within a few inches of twenty feet. They have brought with them many of the spoils of the chase, and which will doubtless hereafter form the theme of many an exciting story to the Nimrods both of India and Europe.

Throughout this long journey of 1,500 miles, our travellers were treated, both by natives and emigrant colonists, with invariable kindness. The country, in general, was very scantily peopled; in some parts, large tracts were almost entirely without inhabitants. The destructive native wars seem to be leading to the gradual extermination of the existing tribes, which, unless counteracted by the intervention of British power and influence, must be ultimately accomplished. Were the British Government thus mercifully to interfere, it is thought that Sabiqua might be made instrumental in raising his countrymen from that wretched state of debasement in which we now find them. He is described as the most intrepid and intelligent chief of South Africa; possessing great energy of character, and so well affected towards the white man, that it is thought he would readily co-operate in any measure having for its object the maintenance of peace and the advancement of the natives of the extensive region he inhabits in the scale of civilization. The whole subject is fraught with high importance both to the philanthropist and politician.*

* *The Graham's Town Journal.*

THE BANGALORE CONSPIRACY IN 1832.

BY CAPTAIN DOVETON.

Who has not heard of Bangalore, the favourite military station of Southern India? Its climate, its productions, and its gaiety, from the number of troops cantoned there, all tend to give the place an agreeable character, and fortunate do those corps consider themselves which are destined to take their tour of duty at this *El Dorado*. The advantages it possesses in point of climate arise from its elevated position, which is 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and on this account it is the resort of invalids from all the neighbouring stations, ranking next to the Neilgherries as a sanatorium.

Though Seringapatam is nominally the capital of Mysore, Bangalore is virtually so, this being the abode of the British commission by which the government of the country is administered, as well as the head quarters of the division of British troops. Most of these are stationed at Bangalore, where are usually one regiment of European dragoons, one do. Native cavalry, two troops of horse, and one company of European foot artillery, one regiment of European, and four of Native infantry, making, together with sappers and miners, a force of about 5,000 men. Bangalore is, moreover, historical ground, for its fort and pettah were the scenes of some desperate encounters between the British troops and those of Hyder Ally and Tippoo, sixty years ago, such a central position being an object of considerable importance to both sides.

It was my lot to be stationed at Bangalore in 1832 (having succeeded to a staff appointment), and it was during my sojourn there that the events I am about to describe took place.

I was occupied one morning at the police office (a singular place it is in India, where the native character can best be studied in all its phases), when my attention was attracted by a vast deal of mysterious whispering, between the superintendent of police and some European officers who had just entered, and who evidently had matter of considerable interest to communicate. The groups of police peons, who ever attend an Indian court of justice, put on an unusual appearance of alacrity and importance, whilst among the native throngs from the bazaar, who came to transact business at the office, was discernible an excitement and anxiety portentous of some extraordinary disclosure.

When the mysterious whispering had ceased, the superintendent, in a low tone, informed me that a deep-laid conspiracy had just been discovered, having for its object the subversion of British supremacy in Mysore, by a massacre of all the Europeans at Bangalore! and that the native troops had been seriously tampered with by the malcontents. This plot, it appeared, had been hatching for some time, but with so much secrecy, that the station police, which was very ably and actively administered, were quite taken by surprise. It came to light in the following rather singular manner.

A jemadar of the 48th Native Infantry had joined the conspirators, for the express purpose, as he declared, of informing against them. He had attended several of their meetings in a retired house in the pettah, situated about two miles from the cantonment, and having satisfied himself as to the nature and extent of the plot, he disclosed the whole affair to his commanding officer, who communicated it to the brigadier commanding the station, and the superintendent of police.

About three o'clock on the afternoon of the same day, having returned from the police office, I was seated at dinner with my family, when our attention was aroused by the approaching sound of clattering hoofs and the rattling of steel scabbards, as from a body of horse; and, in a moment more, a party of the 13th light dragoons, accompanied by several staff officers, passed our window at a brisk trot. They were proceeding in the direction of the fort and pettah of Bangalore, distant about two miles, upon the road to which stood my house.

Scarcely an hour had elapsed from the time we first saw them, when the gallant dragoons again came in sight, but now at a walk, for they were accompanied by many men on foot, amongst whom it was to me very evident there were several prisoners. The party happened to halt close to our gate, the brigadier's house, whither the prisoners were in the first instance proceeding, being next door to us. Thus a favourable opportunity was afforded for taking a minute survey of the whole group. A few minutes' conversation with an officer of the party informed us of the successful issue of the affair. The leading conspirators were assembled in full conclave, at their council chamber in the pettah, when, by a bold and timely stroke, the building was surrounded by the dragoons and a body of armed police, and some thirty traitors were captured. Colonel Conway, the adjutant-general of the Madras army, was at Bangalore at the time, and I believe he was mainly instrumental in the success of this exploit, for such it may well be termed; and happily it was achieved without any blood-shedding, though blood was destined to be spilt eventually, for justice was to have her due.

The plot being thus discovered, rumour was not long in making the most of the disclosure, and great indeed was the excitement and anxiety of that evening in the cantonment of Bangalore; each of us doubting how far our own servants could be trusted, and not altogether without cause, for there were many Mussulmans amongst them, and the conspirators were, I believe, without exception, of that reckless, dissolute, and disaffected class, for such, I fear, is too generally the Mussulman character, at least in that part of India. The ladies of the European regiment, it was said, took (or were about to take) refuge within the walls of the barracks, the only defensible point in the cantonment; pistols were loaded and swords sharpened, and every means were employed to prevent surprise by the inmates of lonely bungalows. Some nervous individuals went the length, I have heard, of sleeping with loaded pistols under their pillow, with their swords as bedfellows. In short, they looked for nothing less than another Vellore

massacre. From that night the guards were doubled, outlying picquets posted, and chains of sentries were stationed along all the thoroughfares, whilst throughout the night, parties of dragoons (Europeans) patrolled the cantonment; and pleasant was the sound, as I well remember, of their horses' hoofs in the dead of night. Hard and heavy was the duty at that crisis upon the European portion of the force, viz. H.M.'s 13th light dragoons, 62nd foot, and a company of the Madras artillery, numbering in all about 1,200 men, whilst the native troops present amounted to 4,000. But the latter had been tampered with, and some few had been won over by the conspirators; uncertain, therefore, how far the infection may have spread, we all placed a double confidence in our own countrymen; indeed, the result might have been very different had there been no European troops at the station.

On the morning following the discovery of the plot, a court of inquiry was assembled to sift the matter, as it came within the cognizance of military law. About thirty individuals were apprehended in the first instance; but this number soon swelled to a hundred, for one or two having turned "king's evidence," several sepoys were pointed out as partakers in the plot, the different native corps being paraded for the purpose. Most of these were in the cavalry and horse artillery, in both of which branches of the service Mussulmans predominate. It was remarkable that no Hindu was concerned, nor could the disaffection be traced to a native officer, whereas, in the Vellore mutiny, in 1806, the native officers instigated the men, or, at all events, were equally guilty with them.

Abundance of evidence was obtained to hang all concerned. For a long period the Mussulman population of Bangalore had shewn a turbulent and disaffected spirit, originating probably, in part, in the misgovernment of the deposed rajah. The leading conspirator proved to be an obscure individual, by trade a button-maker (though he called himself a nabob, and a descendant of Tippoo Sultan), and a havildar of the 9th N.I., named Sheik Tippoo. The latter was a fine handsome fellow, and a good soldier, and he had been made much of by his officers, especially by the colonel of his regiment, who, only a short time previously, had made him a handsome present towards defraying the expenses of his marriage. He was, however, a profligate fellow, and desperately in debt; and now, in return for the kindness and indulgence he had experienced from his European officers, he was mainly instrumental in this foul plot for cutting all their throats. How two such obscure individuals could have acquired so much influence is most unaccountable; but they contrived to assemble round them a considerable number of bad spirits, mostly low characters residing in the Pettah, or sepoys in the Company's service. It was very naturally suspected at the time, that this ill-devised plot originated with some intriguing nobles attached to the court of the deposed rajah; but I believe it could not be traced beyond the button-maker. The whole scheme was bloody enough, as murder was to have been committed by wholesale; but it was ill-conceived and

visionary, for neither arms nor money, to any extent, were forthcoming. The first object was to obtain possession of the fort, where the general commanding the division resided, as well as several staff and engineer officers, and in which were some stores and magazines of arms. The fort was close to the Pettah, and about two miles and a half from cantonments. A native guard always mounted at the main gate; and when in the course of duty Sheik Tippoo's turn came to mount guard there (which, if I remember rightly, would have happened on the very day of the fatal disclosure), he was to open the gate, at an appointed hour at night, to a body of his associates, who were forthwith to cut the throats of the general and all the other Europeans. Simultaneous with this movement, the success of which was to be made known by some preconcerted signal, other parties of the conspirators were to operate in the cantonment, by stirring up our native troops to revolt; who, it was fondly calculated, would readily answer the summons. The troop of horse artillery was also calculated upon, the guns of which were to be brought to bear upon the gateways of the two European barracks, thereby preventing all egress; and in the mean time, the horses of the European dragoons, which in India are always picketed apart from the men, were to be cut loose. Then, in the midst of the confusion, the Silledar horse, a body of irregular cavalry belonging to Mysore, and stationed in the neighbourhood, were to gallop into the cantonment, plunder the houses, murder the Europeans, and carry off the ladies. Such was to have been the plan of operations; but, through the intervention of a merciful Providence, it was effectually defeated.

The court of inquiry having closed its proceedings, a general court-martial was assembled for the trial of such of the prisoners as were amenable to military law, whilst those who resided beyond the limits of the cantonment were made over to the civil power for trial, being subjects of the Mysore government. The result was, that several were sentenced to be hanged, others to be transported for life or minor periods, others again to be incarcerated for several years, with hard labour, whilst Sheik Tippoo, and three of his military associates in the conspiracy, were to be blown from guns, and two other native soldiers to be shot with musketry; a distinction, it may be said, without a difference; but the latter is deemed the nobler, or rather the less ignoble, exit of the two.

At length the morning arrived when the awful spectacle of a military execution was to take place, and although illness did not allow of my witnessing it, I shall never forget my feelings on the occasion; for the back of my house commanded a distinct view of the ground where the tragedy was to be enacted. In all such melancholy cases, the troops march past the general or senior officer present in review order, and at a funeral step, the bands playing the "Dead March in Saul," whilst, at the head of the column, march the execution party and the prisoners, under an escort, their coffins being usually carried before them. The troops afterwards form three sides of a square, the prisoners and execu-

tion party being drawn up in the open space, when the verdict and sentence are read aloud. The unhappy criminals are then, if I remember rightly, blindfolded, after which, kneeling by the side of their coffins, they receive the fatal fire, which rarely fails to take immediate effect. When men are to be blown from the mouths of cannon, as four were in the instance before us, they are tied to stakes driven into the ground, when the guns, usually six or nine-pounders, loaded only with blank cartridge, are run close up to them.

Before I left my bed in the morning in question, and ere the sun had risen, the funeral note of the big drum fell upon my ear, and I immediately recognized in the melancholy strains of the distant music the "Dead March in Saul." It was an awful thought to reflect that, whilst I was rising from my comfortable bed, six fellow-creatures were to experience a terrible death within half a mile of me. I was soon up and out, and straining my eyes to catch what I could of the tragic scene. But little could be seen of the troops beyond the glittering of their bayonets and sabres, so enveloped were they in the clouds of dust raised by the cavalry and horse artillery. At length, the solemn music ceased, and after a short interval, a column of smoke, closely followed by the report of cannon and a peal of musketry, proclaimed that all was over, and that Sheik Tippoo and his accomplices were in the land of spirits !

I was told by an officer who was a close witness of the execution, that the spectacle presented after the discharge of the guns was most sickening and horrible to look upon. The guns were bespattered with blood and brains, whilst the legs, and a portion of the trunk of some of the criminals were still attached to the stakes to which they had been bound, the other parts having been scattered far and wide over the dusty plain.

CHINESE NOTIONS OF ETIQUETTE.

A CHINESE work, recording the actions of celebrated women, relates that a young lady had been betrothed to a young gentleman, who came to her parents' house to claim his bride without bringing the customary presents, or observing certain ceremonies. The young lady upon this refused to quit her parents, and, upon being remonstrated with for attaching so much importance to forms, she replied : " The observation is a common one, that it is essential to begin well, and that a fault, slight at first, may have serious consequences hereafter. Can a remark which is true of other things, be false in respect to marriage ? Are not the duties of husbands and wives the first amongst mankind ? Are they not the foundation of the other duties of civil life ? The water which proceeds from a muddy source can never make a clear rivulet. I will never marry a man who offends against rules."

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD HAND.

BY CAPTAIN BELLEW.

CHAPTER X.

IN my last chapter I mentioned that, somewhere in the vicinity of Biana, we were joined by the Bhurtpoor contingent, of 2,000 or 1,200 horsemen. A portion of these, there being more of them than we had any occasion for, were remanded, whilst we took what is commonly called "*dustoorie*" (custom-interest) out of the remainder, by employing them in escorting baggage, protecting Bunjarras, and doing the other "hard work" of the camp. Hindostanee horsemen, "regular" irregulars, such as were these our allies, are certainly very primitive and picturesque-looking Cabbaleros. The steeds on which the Bhurt-poreans rode were, for the most part, in little better case than was that celebrated beast on which the renowned knight of La Mancha sallied forth, to redress the fancied wrongs of an imaginary world of existence. Astride and proudly upright, on such gaunt and scraggy animals, rode many a wild and warlike figure, the long and shining matchlock or spear poised on one shoulder, the tulwar in his girdle, and the broad, shining buffalo-hide buckler swinging on the other shoulder. Many of these men were swollen to the appearance of great robustness, as far beyond their natural dimensions as is a London jarvie on a rainy day, steaming under a multitude of capes: this arose from the quilted cotton doublets or vests they wore. These padded vests afford, from their thickness, and tough, yet compressible nature, an admirable defence against sword cuts; but they are apt to get on fire from a chance spark, and when a man attired in one of them is wounded and prostrate, he stands a chance under such circumstances of being roasted alive. Some had cotton trowsers, quilted in the same manner as the vests, reaching to their ancles; whilst others rode bare-legged from the termination of the vest, and some few, I believe, had boots. Many wore (a fashion common in some parts of India, but particularly amongst the Rajpoots, and, I believe, the Ghauts too) a cloth bound tightly over the turban, and under the chin. This gives the wearer a bold and martial air, and somewhat the appearance of one of our mailed Norman knights' heads, with their visors up—as they appear, in stalworth effigy, on ancient monuments.* The cloth or neckerchief, thus tied, serves to secure the turban, to protect the ears from cold (with the native, who cares little for the rest of the body, a great desideratum), and to part the beard in the centre, and cause it to

* This mode of binding up the head is evidently of great antiquity. In the fresco paintings found in Pompeii, I believe, copies of which I have seen, representing combats between Greeks and Persians, or Romans and Persians, the head dress of the latter, in many instances, brought forcibly to my mind a Rajpoot or Ghaut with this sort of coiffure. In the East fashions are permanent, and great things, kingdoms, dynasties, and prosperity, quickly pass away: in Europe it seems to be the reverse.

grow back, a fierce fashion, much in vogue with the native warrior, who neglects none of those little arts which may tend to make him appear, in every way, "irresistible." This fashion of turning back the beard, and twisting it behind the ears, seems far more common in Rajpootana than elsewhere. A body of such men as those I have been describing, would probably have but little chance with regular cavalry or dragoons, who would, doubtless, from their superior weight and compact order, easily ride them down; but, individually, they are formidable opponents, and more than a match, it is generally believed, for the regular trooper, who is less trained to act singly than *en masse*. This arises from the perfect command they have of their horses, which, aided by their severe bits, standing martingale, and continual practice, enables them to stop in mid career—throw on their haunches, and turn and wheel about with infinite ease and dexterity in any direction they please. They also derive a great advantage from the general excellence and keenness of their swords, a regular backhander from one of which will generally separate a man from his better half by a far more expeditious process than that of our ecclesiastical courts.

As germane to the subject, I may here observe, that I remember, on one occasion, hearing the subject of the relative merits of European and Hindostannee swordsmen broached in the presence of the late Colonel Skinner, "Secundur Sahib," as he was called, who commanded that splendid body of irregular cavalry known throughout India as "Skinner's Horse," and than whom no man could be considered a more competent judge, or one (being himself half a native) more likely to be impartial. Being asked his opinion, he said, that the skill of the native swordsmen has been much overrated, and that they are not equal to Europeans, properly instructed in their own way; that the native does not understand a feint, and if he fails in his first cut (which, if it takes effect, is, to be sure, a *sneezzer*), he lays himself in a great measure at the mercy of a practised adversary, well instructed in our European sword exercise. This difficulty, in recovering a defensive position, arises from his throwing all his weight and power into one long-drawn cut, and is increased by the form of the hilt of the native tulwar, which, from its narrow compass, and by confining the hand between two broad circles of iron, prevents that easy play of the wrist, so essential to a quick recovery of the sword and defence, and which ours so easily admits of. Objectionable, however, in some respects, as this form of the hilt may be, by affording a powerful purchase, it is one cause I take it, coupled, no doubt, with the keenness of the blades themselves, which enables the wielder of the Indian tulwar to deal with it often such terrific strokes. During the Burman war, in Arracan, it was my lot, in a few instances, to witness the trenchant power of the Indian sword: the gory head of one unfortunate Burmah, a lusty, tattooed fellow, sliced from his shoulders clean as a whistle by the blade of an irregular horseman of Gardner's, is still before me in all its horrible distinctness. But more of this in its place.

In the course of the conversation above referred to, the colonel, who was in a communicative vein, gave us, I remember, some interesting details of fighting, which to young soldiers, and in some countries, particularly in the East, are as exciting, and constitute as much the subject of men's daily thoughts, as do politics, price-currents, and stocks, in more civilized and money-getting lands. Speaking of single combats, which rarely occur in what may be paradoxically termed civilized warfare, the colonel said (I do not profess, of course, to give his exact words), that he remembered a man who dearly loved fighting for fighting-sake, and eagerly sought every opportunity of gratifying his propensity. He was a sergeant of (I think he said) the 27th Dragoons, a splendid swordsman, and during our contests with the Mahrattas, in Lord Lake's time, used constantly on the line of march to ride out when he could, and seek every opportunity of engaging an enemy hand to hand, and, according to the colonel, when he found an antagonist, he would go to work *con amore*, and soon demolish him. On one particular occasion, a Mahratta darted from a cloud of horsemen hovering about the flanks of the army, caracolled his horse, flourished his lance in the air, and seemed to toss a haughty defiance in the teeth of the British. This was a glorious opportunity for the fighting-sergeant, who, I think he said, was on the baggage-guard, or detached in some way from his regiment, and at him he rode—

Pride in his port, defiance in his eye.

But our sergeant had evidently on this occasion found a kindred spirit; in other words, he "caught a Tartar." At him he drove, as the colonel animatedly described it; but the skilful and agile Mahratta, evading the stroke and collision, wheeled his horse about, and in turn becoming the assailant, bore down full tilt, lance in rest, on his English foe. Cool as a cucumber, the sergeant received him, averted the point of the spear with his sword, and again spurring up, strove to cut down the Mahratta; but the latter, by sudden duckings and doublings, evaded the charge, and the sergeant's thirsty blade cleft the air; and then he again attempted to bore a "tunnel" through the sergeant, but neither could harm his adversary; and at length, fairly exhausted, they drew up, as if by mutual consent, and eyed each other for a few moments in mute admiration and astonishment. "You're a d——d fine fellow!" said the sergeant; "Shawbash Bahadur!" exclaimed the Mahratta; and the former raised his hand to his hat salutingly, and the Mahratta flung him a proud but gracious salaam. Each then wheeled off his horse and departed; each had found in the other

A foe man worthy of his steel.

I have not, that I am aware of, added an iota substantially to the colonel's narrative, and very little, save perhaps in the choice and disposition of terms, in the way of embellishment. The anecdote may,

therefore, be deemed interesting and characteristic, as it is certainly genuine and authentic.*

There is a pretty general impression on the minds of the people in England (who do not often trouble themselves to gain very accurate information regarding matters beyond their immediate sphere), that the comfort of existence in India is very materially diminished by the constant supposed danger of sudden rencontres with royal Bengal tigers, peeping out of bushes, like King Charles from the oak, or the no less palpable annoyance of finding cobra de capellos between your sheets, or a few scorpions or centipedes domiciled in the toes of your boots, and the like; now we may truly say, in reference to this matter, with a slight alteration of the line, that

'Tis distance lends a horror to the view;

for, though all these things have occurred, may occur again, and are unquestionably more likely to happen in India than in England, or *à fortiori*, in Ireland,—where we know reptiles are more rare (all praise be to the great St. Patrick for that same),—they rarely come to pass even there, and people, though of course feeling the necessity of adopting proper precautions, give themselves very little uneasiness about them. I never knew of any European of the superior class having died of the bite of a serpent; and though, in a fifteen years' sojourn in the East, I had one or two narrow escapes of a nip myself, I never actually saw but one person die of a snake-bite, and that was at this very place, Biana. The particulars may chance to interest the reader; and although I did not witness the occurrence to which they relate until I passed through the place with volunteers for Ceylon (the war against the Candians being then in progress there), some seven or eight months after, and long subsequent to the breaking up of Gen. Donkin's division, I shall here anticipate my story by narrating them.

Our detachment, consisting of a few officers and some hundreds of men of the different regiments in the field who had turned out for foreign service, had reached the encampment at Biana for some hours, and the forner had breakfasted, when some inhabitants of the neighbouring town (which, being built amongst rocks and ruins, abounds with reptiles) came to our tents to inform us that a youth, their relative, had been bitten by a snake. As is well known, Asiatics have an impression that all Europeans are deeply skilled in the healing art, and these poor fellows seemed to hail our opportune arrival with infinite joy. Our doctor, with the promptitude and humanity which characterize the members of his noble profession, immediately promised them all the assistance in his power; he blamed them, however, for not having brought the lad at once, delay in such cases being dangerous, if not fatal, and told them to go for him immediately. In a few minutes, they re-appeared, supporting under the arms and dragging along the

* The writer once related this anecdote to the late Miss Emma Roberts, for whose memory and character he entertains the highest respect, and she incorporated it with some tale or story which he has seen, though, if he recollects aright, not quite correctly.

listless form of a youth about seventeen, his feeble limbs utterly refusing to support the weight of his body. His appearance was very remarkable; his head lolled from side to side, and though much of life evidently remained, every nerve and muscle seemed completely unstrung. The most extraordinary effect of the poison, however, was that manifested about his mouth and nose, from which oozed forth mucus and saliva, in astonishing quantities, completely covering his chin and chest; it seemed as if the head was emptying itself of its whole contents, and as fast as this slimy bile was wiped away, it immediately accumulated again, bubbling and oozing forth with great rapidity. The doctor gave the usual remedies—brandy, eau-de-luce, &c.—and directed the patient to be kept in continual motion, in the hope of arresting the fast-stealing torpor, and giving nature, aided by the stimulants, a chance of rallying. But all was in vain; it was soon too apparent that the relatives were parading a lifeless corpse; and the body was consequently laid down in front of the tents. The men now drew off a little, and we examined the fatal bite, three or four little black punctures on the middle finger, where the tiny cause of all this fatal commotion had entered. He was, it appeared, the son of an *hul-wai*, or pastry-cook, and when playing in front of his father's shop, the snake, which, from the circumstances attending the death, was judged not to have been a cobra de capello, put his head out of a hole, and bit him: not the first serpent that has lurked where sweets most abound. On withdrawing to the door of our tent, a scene presented itself which I shall ever remember, as affording a striking example of that wild and impassioned grief in which, on such occasions, semi-barbarians are apt to indulge, as much, probably, from custom as from sorrow, and in which fierce burst, happily, much of their suffering evaporates. It is only civilization (shall we say spurious?) which teaches us to school our feelings, to hug and conceal our loves and our griefs, &c., till, like the Spartan, they prey upon our vitals. Nature unrepressed, and art pushed to the extreme of sophistication, are both unquestionable evils; and the problem has yet to be solved, which will shew how the freshness of nature may be made to harmonize with the refinements of civilization, and how to each may be assigned its proper limits: were grief, love, and friendship the only passions of the human breast, we might admire and envy the savage; but envy, hatred, malice, and revenge also harbour there, and the untutored energy, which gives a grandeur to the one, imparts a fearful power to the other. We had scarcely reached the tent-door, when we heard several sounds of lamentations, and immediately appeared, coming from the town, an elderly woman, who it turned out was the mother of the deceased, her grey hair dishevelled, and her dress displaying all the untidy *abandon* of grief; she looked wildly around for a few moments, and then, on perceiving the corpse of her son, immediately seated herself beside it; and now commenced a scene to which my feeble powers of description are inadequate to do justice. For a moment she seemed stupified; then,

lifting her son's head, she placed it in her lap, and taking the face of the dead boy between her palms, she gazed wistfully and earnestly upon it, her eye-balls distended with a look of incredulous horror. At length she broke forth into the wildest lamentations, varied with impassioned reproaches and expostulations, "Oh, Ram Kissen, why did you die? were you not happy? were you not beloved?" "*Oh mera beta! mera beta!*" "Alas, oh, my son! my son!" It was truly affecting; at last, overcome with her emotions, her voice sunk into sobs, and her friends took up the body and departed.

Quitting the pass of Biana, and leaving the richly-cultivated and well-wooded territories of the Bhutpore rajah behind us, we soon entered on the ravaged and half-deserted plains of Rajpootana, which had long been the theatre of plunder, anarchy, and misrule. Rocky ridges, wide expanses clothed with rank grass, an occasional hill fort, with its adjoining lake and groves, and a few walled towns, with cultivation around, extending little further than the range of their guns and matchlocks, were the three characteristics of the country in which we found ourselves when a few marches from Biana.

THE EVENTS AT CABUL.

LIEUTENANT EYRE, in order to remove some misapprehension on the subject of Lieutenant Sturt's advice to General Elphinstone to delay the capture of Mahomed Shurreef's fort, has published in the Indian papers the following statement:—

"It must be remembered that the rebellion broke out on the 2nd of November, and it was on the night of the 4th of November that the conference of officers took place at the general's house, when the propriety of immediately capturing Mahomed Shurreef's fort was discussed. The principal speakers for and against were Sir William Macnaghten, Captains Boyd, Lawrence, Grant, and Bellew, but several other officers were present. Of General Elphinstone's talents as an officer I then knew next to nothing. His apparent lack of enterprise, during the first day, had certainly excited general surprise, but I considered that neither my station nor standing in the service entitled me to obtrude my thoughts upon him unasked. I accordingly sat a silent listener during the early part of the debate, until the general suddenly accosted me, and, leading me into his private room, demanded my opinion as to what he ought to do. I then said, that from all I had heard urged by the envoy, Captain Boyd, I could not help concurring with them as to the expediency of assaulting the fort without delay. He then complained of what he was pleased to term Captain Boyd's 'impetuosity,'* which he said annoyed, without convincing him, and his object in calling me aside was, that we might discuss the matter

* Captain Boyd had, in his eagerness to carry his point, spoken in rather a loud tone of voice, and high temperament, and his language, though not perhaps classically select, yet certainly was respectful.

calmly and dispassionately. He then reminded me of the severe loss sustained that very day in the sally under Captain Swayne, H.M.'s 44th, and said he feared a repetition of the same thing on the present occasion without any proportionate benefit being derived, and that he could not bear to contemplate such a frightful sacrifice of life. I replied, that in a case of such desperate emergency as the present, soldiers must be prepared to sacrifice their lives, and I conceived that such secondary considerations should not be weighed in the balance against a measure involving the safety and honour of the whole force. He walked about the room for several minutes in great agitation, urging again and again the same objections, and receiving the same reply; at length he opened the door and called in Major Thain and Captain Grant. The general had an unfortunate habit of flying from one subject to another, it being impossible to keep his attention fixed to an argument for any length of time. Observing this propensity, and seeing the necessity of bringing him to a speedy decision, I proposed that he should abide by the opinion of Lieutenant Sturt, garrison engineer. He eagerly jumped at the idea, as releasing him from the sole burden of responsibility, and bade me go to that officer at once and state the whole case, but, *above all*, to mention the fact of the enemy being on the alert in the fort. I accordingly hurried over to Lady Sale's house, where I found Lieutenant Sturt sitting up in his chair; Lieutenant Warburton was present, but whether he accompanied or had preceded me I cannot precisely remember. I told Sturt all that had occurred and the general's unhappy vacillation. He said that the fort must *undoubtedly* be taken before morning, but that, as the garrison was on the watch at present, there could be no harm in so far giving in to the general's views as to postpone the attack until about three A.M., at which hour the Affghans usually get careless. As Lieutenant Sturt seemed somewhat exhausted, and the wound in his face rendered his articulation difficult, I did not stay longer than it was necessary to obtain his answer, which I forthwith reported to the general.

"I was disappointed to find that he was even *yet* disposed to keep up the unprofitable discussion, and it was long past midnight ere he was prevailed on to abide by Sturt's advice, and then only with an *amendment* of his own, namely, that the hour of attack should be four instead of three A.M. I believe the fact was, he had insuperable repugnance to nocturnal expeditions, and could tell of numberless instances where they had failed in Europe. It was an inconceivable trial of one's patience to be doomed to listen to such stories at this serious crisis when every moment was of infinite value. No one could tell an anecdote better, and, unfortunately for us, he always had one ready even at the most unseasonable time. Meanwhile several officers, despairing of getting him to *act* instead of *talk*, had gone away disgusted, and when at last it was decided to attack the fort, it became no easy matter to warn those concerned, scattered as they were in different parts of our extensive cantonment. I myself, accompanied by Captain Bellew, went to the magazine to prepare the powder-bags, after which I visited the batteries and employed myself as best I could until the appointed hour drew nigh, when I began to marvel at the stillness that prevailed, there being no signs of preparation. In great uneasiness of mind I went to the general's house, and seeing a light in Major Thain's room, I entered. He was awake, but told me I had better not disturb the general. He, however, urged me to put the folk on the *qui vive*, promising himself to do the same. Meanwhile precious time sped at a fearful rate, and what with running

hither and thither all night long, I was thoroughly fagged, and but for the necessity for continued exertion could have fallen asleep on my legs.

"The troops turned out but slowly and in dribblets, and to my horror, it was broad daylight ere they were collected at the western gate in readiness to move out. The rest is already known. The delay had been fatal to the garrison of the commissariat fort, who, hard pressed by the enemy and despairing of relief, evacuated their post at dawn of day, and marched into cantonments just as we were on the very point of moving to their assistance.

"The public are now in possession of all that I can tell them on this sad subject. I trust I have relieved Lieutenant Sturt from the unmerited odium of having given timid advice, though I regret that in so doing, I could not avoid details illustrative of the weak points of General Elphinstone's character. But it is of no use to mince matters now. His incapacity, from the decay of mental and bodily powers, has become a matter of history. To attempt, therefore, to patch up his reputation at the expense of his juniors would be as unwise as it would be wicked. Lady Sale seems to have thought he was swayed by the bad advice of some of his staff officers. It was very natural in her to imagine so, because he really seemed to have no opinion of his own, and was in the habit of worming one out of every person that came near him; but in this particular case, as well as in many others, I am perfectly convinced that General E.'s own exceeding reluctance to hazard the lives of his officers and men, in what seemed to him a doubtless enterprise was the real cause of his lamentable hesitation. This it was that made him eagerly listen to what seemed even the *ghost* of an echo to his own ideas, making it appear that such straws preponderated in the balance when, in reality, he merely wanted the most insignificant of all excuses to hang back from an enterprise the importance of which he had neither the clearness to comprehend, nor the firmness to execute.

"Had the troops been in readiness to move out to the attack at the time proposed by Lieutenant Sturt, or even at four A.M., the commissariat fort would have been saved. I can only account for the delay that occurred on the ground that General Elphinstone's lack of energy and procrastinating spirit had become infectious. When soldiers, whether officers or privates, see their general in *earnest* they are so likewise.

"The same principle holds good in the reverse case; of a besieged army it may be generally said, in the words of the old proverb, 'Like master like man.'

Yours obediently,

"VINCENT EYRE, Lieut.

Horse Artillery."

"Meerut, 3rd July, 1843."

Royal Asiatic Society.

A meeting of this Society was held on the 17th of February; the Earl of Auckland in the chair. Among the donations to the library was a copy of the *George Námeh*, of Mullá Firuz bin Kawus,* chief of the Parsi Kadmis of Bombay, edited by his nephew, Mulla Rustom bin Káfkobád, by whom it was presented to the Society. It should be generally known that this Persian epic poem narrates the principal events in British India during the reigns of the two last Georges. The work is dedicated to her Majesty Queen Victoria. It extends to three thick octavos, is beautifully printed in lithography, and altogether exhibits a remarkable specimen of the cultivated literary powers and taste of the Parsis.

Professor H. H. Wilson read the first of a series of papers, written by himself, on the festivals of the Hindus. The author remarks, that among all the nations of the ancient world, a considerable portion of the year was set apart for the solemnization of public festivals, of many of which vestiges are to be found in the calendars of most countries, even in the present day. They are, however, rapidly disappearing before the progress of refinement, and the enhanced demands of society upon the labouring classes, which leave them little opportunity of relaxation from toil. Even in India, under the influence of a foreign government, the public holidays are losing much of their estimation, although they are still frequent in the East, and afford the best means of appreciating the nature of many celebrations which were once, perhaps, common throughout the world; for, the author observes, the festivals of antiquity, in addition to their uniformly bearing, as do those of the Hindus, a religious complexion, are distinguishable into two great classes,—universal and particular; the latter originating in local legends and traditions, and peculiar systems of mythology; the former, in the movements of the heavenly bodies, the revolutions of the year, and the recurrence of cyclical periods. Analogies are to be detected even in the first class of observances, inasmuch as they arose out of feelings and notions common to man in similar conditions of social existence, or out of imperfectly preserved traditions of the early history of the human race; but it is in the second class that they are most numerous and striking,—in the festivals which were instituted to commemorate the periodical return of the various seasons of the year, and to express the sentiments which the aspect of nature inspired. The analogies between these intimate a time when identity of practice in these respects prevailed amongst nations far apart, and apparently dissimilar, and tend to corroborate the discoveries of modern philology, which have established the original affinity of the Indo-Teutonic races. It was not the purpose of the author to enter into such detail upon this subject as its interests demanded; his object was to place within the reach of other inquirers such materials for its elucidation as the religious Fasti of the Hindus were calculated to furnish, derived from authentic Sanscrit works and personal observation; noticing briefly, however, such resemblances as appeared to be most obvious. The author then proceeded to describe the celebration, by the Hindus, of the *Uttarayana*—the return of the sun to a northern declination, as computed from his entrance into the sign Capricorn, which takes place, properly, towards the close of December; but which, by changes in the Hindu calendar, is now

* Translator of that curious work of the *Deadtir*.

thrown back to the early part of January; and he indicated the probability that the offering and distribution of food and sweetmeats, the sports and rejoicings, and the interchange of reciprocal good wishes, which characterize the *Uttarayana* of the Hindus, are essentially the same as the usages which, although somewhat obsolete, do still prevail in European nations at the beginning of the year. Whatever modifications the types of gladness may have undergone, they are, in substance, of one and the same purport; and designate, both in the East and in the West, the feelings with which the inhabitants of the northern hemisphere welcomed the re-approach of the source of light and heat, and the resuscitation of vegetable life.

The Rev. Dr. John Wilson, president of the Branch Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, who had recently returned from India, briefly addressed the meeting on the subject of his researches into the authenticity of the Zend language and books. He stated, that he and Mr. Westergaard, a learned Dane, had together diligently prosecuted the study of the Zend; and that they had both arrived at the conclusion that the language was genuine, and that it was once vernacular in parts of Persia. Mr. Westergaard had lately visited the Persian provinces of Yezd and Kirman, where he found, in possession of the Guebres, Zend books very similar to those current among the Bombay Parsis. The meaning of the words, however, was totally unknown by them; they were merely repeated by rote; and this circumstance would account for many of the discrepancies which Zend texts exhibited, and which had given rise to so many suspicions of their being forgeries. Dr. Wilson read to the meeting some extracts from letters he had recently received from Mr. Westergaard; from which it appeared that that learned traveller had, in his journey through Persia, copied and translated several cuneiform inscriptions before unnoticed. Dr. Wilson also exhibited numerous drawings of scenery in Palestine, the deserts at the head of the Red Sea, &c., taken during his recent travels through those countries, and intended to illustrate an account of his journey, which he is about to publish.

Major John Arthur Moore was elected a resident member of the Society.

March 2.—The Earl of Auckland in the chair. Professor Forbes Falconer; Joseph Mussabini, Esq.; and J. A. St. John, Esq., were unanimously elected resident members of the Society.

A paper, communicated by the Hon. Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the results of experiments made at the Bombay presidency for improving the breeds of sheep in India, was read. In 1835, Major Jervis, of the Bombay army, addressed to the Government of Bombay a suggestion as to the expediency and practicability of improving the Indian wool, by the introduction of European rams; the short and ill-shorn wool of the country, bad as it was, forming a considerable article of export to England, in investments. The Bombay Government having reported favourably on the suggestion, the home authorities sent out to Bombay, in 1837, some Merino rams and ewes, and also a few of the most approved South-down breed from Lord Western's flocks. About the same time also, a supply of Saxon rams was received at Bombay from the Cape of Good Hope. To carry out the experiment, a Government sheep-farm was established at Ahmednuggur, and another in the Poonah collectorate. The results, in 1838, shewed that the attempt to cross the country breed had partially failed; but the half-bred Merinos were found to stand all

the changes of climate, were stronger, and required as little care as the black sheep of the country.

The next account (in 1842) gives a more encouraging hope of ultimate success in the experiments. In a Minute on the farm at Ahmednuggur, by Sir George Arthur, dated 22nd November of that year, some valuable suggestions are given as to the best methods of procedure, and which were founded on his own experience, and the information he had gained upon the subject, while in New South Wales. Sir George advocated the fresh pasturing and subdivision of the sheep, so that no flock should exceed seven hundred head; and that, to incite the natives to favour the experiment, the owner of a flock should give a lot into the charge of a native shepherd, who should receive, for providing pasture and watching, one-third of all the produce of such lot—a system successfully pursued in New South Wales.

In July, 1842, the number of Government sheep amounted to about 6,000, consisting of Saxon and Cape Merinos, Deccan sheep, crosses between them; also sheep from Bassora, Cabul, Scinde, and Beluchistan.

In a Minute by Sir George Arthur, dated 27th Sept. 1843, he expresses his satisfaction at the improvements that had been effected; and observes, that the object of Government is to supersede the country sheep by a superior breed; and that, therefore, the amount of immediate return was of secondary consideration.

At one period of the experiment the importation of Cape Merinos was preferred; but it was found that the Anglo-Merino answered best. Samples of Government wool have been received in this country. A consignment of forty-nine packages, received in 1843, fetched prices varying from 2½d. to 10d. per lb. The diseases most to be guarded against among the sheep in India are dysentery and mange; to remove which, dry pastures and attention to the cleanliness of the sheep were the most effectual. The dry rot appears to be unknown in the Deccan; nor were the flocks liable to any contagious or epidemic diseases. The sub-collector at Sholapore, Mr. Luard, in a letter upon the subject, remarks that the extensive introduction of new blood must depend mainly upon the extinction of the old; and that, unless emasculation of the country rams was extensively resorted to, the new breeds would speedily degenerate. Fresh supplies of Merino rams would also be annually required.

An experimental farm has been established in the Madras presidency, at a place called Chittledroog, in the Mysore province, which promises favourably. In compliance with the wishes of the Madras Government, the Court of Directors had ordered six Merino rams to be sent out, at a cost of £10 each, and of £5. 17s. for freight.

Admirable models, in plaster, coloured after nature, of St. Helena, Cape Town, Table Mountain, and Aden, were exhibited to the meeting by Mr. Wilde, topographic modeller.

Chinese Tariff.**CHINESE RE-ARRANGEMENT OF TARIFF,* UNDER
CLASSES OF GOODS.**

TITLE.—*Tariff of Duties to be levied at the Five Ports, as newly established.*

The duties which it is agreed shall be paid upon goods imported and exported by England, at the five ports of customs of Canton, Fuchow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, are here stated in classified order.

EXPORTS.**Class I.—Oilman's Stores (Oil, Wax, Alum, Sulphur, &c.).**

						† T.	M.	C.	C.
Alum, i.e. white alum (formerly white alum and bluestone), per									
100 catties	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0
Aniseed Oil (not formerly contained in the Tariff), do.						5	0	0	0
Cassia Oil	...	...	(do.)	...	do.	5	0	0	0

Class II.—Spices, Tea, &c.

Tea (formerly divided into fine and native black, and fine and native green, teas), do.	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	0	0
Aniseed, Star	do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Musk, per catty	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0

Class III.—Drugs.

Capoor Cutchery, per 100 catties	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	0
Camphor,	...	do.	...	...	...	1	5	0	0
Arsenic (under different Chinese names), do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	5	0
Cassia, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	5	0
Cassia Buds (not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
China Root, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Cubebs (not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	0
Galingal, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0
Hartall, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Rhubarb, do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Turmeric, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0

Class IV.—Sundries.

Bangles or glass armlets (not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Bamboo Screens, and bamboo ware, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Corals, native or false coral (not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Crackers, and fireworks of all kinds (formerly classed as rockets, &c.), do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	5	0
Fans (feather fans, &c., not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Glass, glassware of all kinds (formerly classed as native crystal-ware), do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Glass Beads, false pearls, do.	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0

* For which, see *Indian Mail*, Oct. 24th, 1843.

† These letters stand for *tales*, *mace*, *candareens*, and *cash*, all (except the last) money of account, the relative proportions being as follow: 10 cash = 1 candareen, 10 candareen = 1 mace, 10 mace = 1 tale. The value of the tale depends upon the price of silver, the tale (weight) being, according to Dr. Kelly (*Orient. Metrol.*, p. 63), 580 grains troy.

				T.	M.	C.	C.
Kittisols, or paper umbrellas, per 100 catties	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Marble, marble slabs (not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Rice-paper Pictures, per 100 pictures	...	...	...	0	1	0	0
Paper Fans, per 100 catties	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Pearls (false, not formerly in Tariff), do.	...	...	...	0	5	0	0

Class V.—Painter's Stores, &c.

Brass Leaf, do.	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	0
Gamboge, do.	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	0
Red Lead, do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Glue, as fish-glue, cow-skin glue, &c., do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Paper (stationery), do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Tinfoil, do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Vermilion, do.	...	...	...	...	3	0	0	0
Paintings (large paintings, formerly divided into large and small paintings), each	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0
White Lead, per 100 catties	...	...	...	...	0	2	5	0

Class VI.—Wares of various kinds.

Bone and Horn ware, do.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Chinaware, fine and coarse (formerly classed as fine, coarse, native, and middling), do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Copper ware and Pewter ware, do.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Manufactures of Wood (furniture), do.	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Ivory ware, all carved ivory work included (formerly divided into ivory, and ivory carvings), do.	...	...	...	...	5	0	0	0
Lacquered ware, do.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Mother-o'-Pearl ware, do.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Rattan ware, rattan and bamboo work, do.	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Sandalwood ware, do.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Gold and Silver ware (formerly divided into gold ware and silver ware), do.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0	0
Tortoise-shell ware, do.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0	0
Leather Trunks and Boxes, do.	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0

Class VII.—Woods, Canes, &c.

Canes or Walking Sticks of all kinds, per 1000	0	5	0	0
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Class VIII.—Articles of Clothing.

Wearing Apparel, whether of cotton, woollen, or silk; formerly divided into cotton clothing, woollen do., silk and satin do., and velvet do., do.	0	5	0	0
Boots and Shoes, whether of leather, satin, or otherwise, do.	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0

Class IX.—Fabrics of Cotton, &c.

Grass Cloth, and all cloths of hemp or linen, do.	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Nankeen, and all cloths of cotton (not formerly in the Tariff), do.	...	...	...	1	0	0	0

Class X.—Silk, Fabrics of Silk, &c.

Raw Silk, of any province, do.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0	0
Coarse, or refuse of silk, do.	...	...	...	...	2	5	0	0

				T.	M.	C.	C.
Organzine of all kinds, per 100 catties	...	...	...	10	0	0	0
Silk Ribbon and Thread, do.	...	...	...	10	0	0	0
Silk and Satin fabrics of all kinds, as crape, lutestrings, &c. &c. (formerly classed as silks and satins), do.	...	...	...	12	0	0	0
Silk and Cotton mixed fabrics, do.	...	...	...	3	0	0	0
Heretofore, a further charge per piece has been levied, the whole duty is now to be paid in one sum, and the further charge is abolished.							

Class XI.—Carpeting, Matting, &c.

Mats of all kinds, as of straw, rattan, bamboo, &c., per 100 catties	0	2	0	0
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Class XII.—Preserves, &c.

Preserved Ginger and fruits of all kinds, do.	0	5	0	0
Soy, do.	0	4	0	0
Sugar, white and brown, do.	...	...	0	2	5	0
Sugar Candy, of all kinds, do.	...	...	0	3	5	0
Tobacco, prepared and unprepared, &c. &c., of all kinds, do.			0	2	0	0

Class XIII.

All that it has not been practicable herein to include are to be charged an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent.

Class XIV.—Gold and Silver Coin, and Gold and Silver.

Duty free.

Class XV.—Bricks, Tiles, and Building Materials.

Duty free.

IMPORTS.

Class I.—Oilman's Stores, &c.

Wax, bees' wax, per 100 catties	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Rose Maloes, do.	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Saltpetre (to be sold only to the licensed agents of the Government) do.	...	...	...	0	3	0	0
Soap, do.	...	...	...	0	5	0	0

Class II.—Spices and Perfumes.

Gum Benzoin, and oil thereof, do.	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Sandalwood, do.	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Pepper, do.	...	...	...	0	4	0	0

All other articles of this class not included in the Tariff, to pay an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent.

Perfumery, five per cent.

Class III.—Drugs.

Assafoetida, per 100 catties	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Camphor Baroos (or Malay), 1st quality, or cleaned (formerly classed as good), per catty	...	...	...	1	0	0	0

T. M. C. C.

Camphor, 2nd quality, refuse (formerly classed as unclean camphor), per 100 catties ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Cloves, 1st quality (picked), per 100 catties ...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	0
„ 2nd quality (mother cloves), do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Cow Bezoar, per catty ...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Cutch, per 100 catties ...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	0
Gambier, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
Betel Nut, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
Ginseng, 1st quality, or cleaned, do. ...	...	...	...	...	38	0	0	0
„ 2nd do., refuse, or ginseng beard, do. ...	...	...	...	...	3	5	0	0
Gum Olibanum, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Myrrh, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Mace, or flower of nutmeg, do. ...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Mercury, or quicksilver, do. ...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0	0
Nutmegs, 1st quality, or cleaned, do. ...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	0
„ 2nd do., uncleaned, do. ...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Putchuck, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	7	5	0
Rhinoceros' Horns, do. ...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0	0

Class IV.—Sundries.

Flints, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	0	5	0
Mother-o'-Pearl Shells, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0

Class V.—Dried Meats, &c.

Birds' Nests, 1st quality, cleaned, do. ...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0	0
„ 2nd do., good middling, do. ...	...	...	...	...	2	5	0	0
„ 3rd do., uncleaned, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Bicho de Mar, 1st do., black, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0	0
„ 2nd do., white, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Sharks' Fins, 1st do., white, do. ...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
„ 2nd do., black, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Stock Fish, and dried fish, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0	0
Fish Maws (not formerly in the Tariff), do. ...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	0

Class VI.—Painters' Stores.

Cochineal, do. ...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0	0
Smalts, do. ...	...	...	...	...	4	0	0	0
Sapan Wood, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0

Class VII.—Woods, Canes, &c.

Rattans, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0
Ebony, do. ...	...	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
All other imported woods, as red wood, satin wood, yellow wood, &c., not included in the Tariff, ten per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .								

Class VIII.—Clocks, Watches, and Trinketry.

Clocks, watches, telescopes, glass panes, and glass and crystal ware of all kinds, writing-desks, dressing-cases, jewellery of gold and silver, cutlery, swords, &c.—all the foregoing, and any other miscellaneous articles of the same description, five per cent. *ad valorem*.

Class IX.—Gold and Silver Bullion, and Specie.

Duty free.

Class X.—Cotton, Fabrics of Cotton, &c. &c.

	T.	M.	C.	C.
Canvas, 30 to 40 yards long, 24 to 31 inches wide, per piece ...	0	5	0	0
Cotton, per 100 catties ...	0	4	0	0
Longcloth, white (formerly divided into superior and inferior fine cotton cloth), 30 to 40 yards long, 30 to 36 inches wide, per piece	0	1	5	0
Cambrics and Muslins, 20 to 24 yards long, 40 to 46 inches wide, do.	0	1	5	0
Cottons, grey, or unbleached, domestic, &c. (formerly classed as coarse longcloth), 30 to 40 yards long, 28 to 40 inches wide, do.	0	1	0	0
Twilted Cottons, grey, do., do. ...	0	1	0	0
Chintz and Prints, of all kinds, 20 to 30 yards long, 26 to 31 inches wide, do. ...	0	2	0	0
Cotton Yarn and Cotton Thread, per 100 catties ...	1	0	0	0
Linen, fine (not formerly in the Tariff), 20 to 30 yards long, 29 to 50 inches wide, per piece ...	0	5	0	0
Bunting, per <i>chang</i> of 141 inches ...	0	0	1	5
All other important articles of this class, as ginghams, pullicats, dyed cottons, velveteens, silk and cotton mixtures, coarse linen, and mixtures of cotton and linen, &c. &c., five per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .				

Class XI.—Fabrics of Woollen, Silk, &c. &c.

Handkerchiefs, large (above one yard square) each ...	0	0	1	5
„ small (under do.), do. ...	0	0	1	0
Gold and Silver Thread, superior or real, per catty ...	0	1	3	0
„ inferior, or imitation, do. ...	0	0	3	0
Broad Cloth, Spanish stripes, &c., per <i>chang</i> ...	0	1	5	0
Narrow Cloths, as long ells, cassimeres, &c. &c., do. ...	0	0	7	0
Camlets (Dutch), do. ...	0	1	5	0
Camlets, do. ...	0	0	7	0
Imitation Camlets and Bombazettes, do. ...	0	0	3	5
Woollen Yarn, per 100 catties ...	3	0	0	0
Blankets, each ...	0	1	0	0
All other fabrics of wool, or of mixed wool and silk, wool and cotton, &c., five per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .				

Class XII.—Wines, Preserves, Spirits, &c.

Wine and Beer, in quart bottles, per 100 bottles ...	1	0	0	0
„ in pint do., per do. ...	0	5	0	0
„ in cask, per 100 catties ...	0	5	0	0

Class XIII.—Metals.

Copper, unmanufactured, as in pigs, per do. ...	1	0	0	0
„ manufactured, as in sheets, rods, &c., do. ...	1	5	0	0
Iron, unmanufactured, as in pigs, do. ...	0	1	0	0
„ manufactured, as in bars, rods, &c., do. ...	0	1	5	0

				T.	M.	C.	C.
Lead, in pigs, or manufactured, per 100 catties	...	...	...	0	4	0	0
Steel, unmanufactured, do.	...	...	...	0	4	0	0
Tin, do.	...	...	...	1	0	0	0
Tin Plates (not formerly in the Tariff), do.	...	...	...	0	4	0	0
All other metals, as zinc, yellow copper, &c., not herein enumerated, ten per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .							

Class XIV.—Jewellery.

Cornelians, per 100 stones	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Cornelian Beads, per 100 catties	...	...	...	10	0	0	0

Class XV.—Skins, Teeth, Horns, &c.

Bullocks' and Buffaloes' Horns, per do.	...	...	...	2	0	0	0
Cow and Ox Hides, tanned and untanned, each	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Sea-Otter Skins, each	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
Fox Skins, large, each	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
„ small, each	...	...	...	0	0	7	5
Tiger, Leopard, and Martin Skins, each	...	...	...	0	1	5	0
Land-Otter, Racoon, and Shark Skins, per 100	...	...	...	2	0	0	0
Beaver Skins, per do.	...	...	...	5	0	0	0
Hare, Rabbit, and Ermine Skins, do.	...	...	...	0	5	0	0
Sea-Horse Teeth, per 100 catties	...	...	...	2	0	0	0
Elephants' Teeth, 1st quality, whole, do.	...	...	...	4	0	0	0
„ 2nd do., broken, do.	...	...	...	2	0	0	0

Class XVI.

All new goods imported, which it has not been practicable to include herein, five per cent. *ad valorem*.

Class XVII.—All Foreign Rice and other Grain.

Duty free.

SHIPPING DUES.

These have hitherto been charged upon the measurement of the ship's length and breadth, at so much per *chang*; but it is now agreed to alter the system, and charge according to the registered statement of the number of tons of cargo the ship may carry. On each ton (reckoned equal to the cubic contents of 122 *tow*), a shipping charge of five maces is to be levied; and all the old charges of measurement, entrance, and port-clearance fees, daily and monthly fees, &c., are to be abolished.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, Feb. 28th, 1844.

A special general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day at the Company's house in Leadenhall Street, for the purpose of laying before the proprietors "resolutions of thanks adopted by the Court of Directors, in reference to the recent military operations in Scinde."

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,—

The *Chairman* (J. Cotton, Esq.) said,—I have to acquaint the Court that certain returns and papers, that were laid before Parliament since our last meeting, are now submitted to the proprietors, in conformity with the by-law, cap. 1, sec. 3.

The titles of the papers were read as follow :—

"Particulars of all Compensations, Superannuations, and Allowances granted by the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, and confirmed by the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, between the 1st January and 31st December, 1843, under the authority of the Act of the 3 & 4 Will. 4, cap. 85, sec. 7.

"Account of Allowances, Compensations, Remunerations, and Superannuations granted to the Officers and Servants of the East-India Company in 1843.

"Resolutions of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, being the Warrants or Instruments granting any Pension, Salary, or Gratuity.

"List specifying the particulars of Compensation proposed to be granted to a certain person late in the Service of the East-India Company, under an arrangement sanctioned by the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India."

THANKS TO SIR C. NAPIER AND THE ARMY OF SCINDE.

The *Chairman*.—I have now to acquaint the Court, that it is specially summoned for the purpose of laying before the proprietors resolutions of thanks adopted by the Court of Directors, in reference to the recent military operations in Scinde.

The clerk then read the following resolutions :—

"At a Court of Directors held on Tuesday, the 20th February, 1844,

"Resolved by the ballot,—That the thanks of this Court be given to Major-General Sir Charles Napier, Knight Grand Cross of the most honourable Order of the Bath, for the eminent skill, energy, and gallantry displayed by him in the recent military operations in Scinde, particularly in the two decisive battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad.

"Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this Court be given to the several officers of the army, both European and native, serving under Major-Gen. Sir Charles Napier, for their unwearied zeal and conspicuous gallantry.

"Resolved unanimously,—That this Court doth highly approve and acknowledge the brave and meritorious conduct displayed by the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, both European and native, engaged in the operations in Scinde; and that this resolution be signified to them by the commanders of the several corps."

The *Chairman* then said,—Gentlemen, when we last met in this Court, we

were engaged in a discussion of the policy and justice of the late proceedings in Scinde. We are now met under different circumstances. I am not about to say one word as to the policy of what has been done—that is entirely beside the present occasion. (*Hear, hear!*) My duty now is with military services, and with military services only (*hear, hear!*); and in that view I desire to present to your notice Major-General Sir Charles Napier, and the gallant force under his command in Scinde. (*Hear, hear!*) You are all aware that, after a most distinguished career in the Peninsular war, Sir Charles Napier was placed by her Majesty on the staff of the army in India, and was removed, in August, 1842, from the quiet station at Poonah, to the important command of the British forces in Beloochistan and Scinde. Whilst executing this military command, he had to lead his troops against the Beloochees; and need I say what has been admitted and declared by the highest military authorities in this country, that, in the performance of this duty, he displayed remarkable vigour and skill, and undaunted courage, and obtained brilliant and decisive victories over large bodies of a brave and determined enemy, under circumstances of unusual difficulty and danger? (*Hear, hear!*) The particular exploits are so familiar to you and the public, that it would be an unnecessary occupation of your time to enter into a detail of them. Suffice it to say, that the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad may be considered as worthy of being ranked amongst the most brilliant achievements of the British army. (*Hear, hear!*) I must further add, that the staunch qualities of the British soldiers and sepoy were seldom exposed to greater trial, or more successfully established, than in these battles (*hear, hear!*); and the medals for distinguished services in the field were never better or more gallantly earned than those which are to be conferred on the brave troops engaged on these memorable occasions. (*Hear, hear!*) The motion which I have the pleasure to submit to you shall now be read.

The first resolution, as above given, having been read,—

Sir J. L. Lushington said that, having been himself connected with the army of India, he felt the greater pleasure in seconding the motion. He did so with the most complete satisfaction; because, from all that he had ever heard of the distinguished officer who had directed the operations of the British army in Scinde, he was perfectly convinced that he had justly earned the honour they were now about to bestow upon him. (*Hear, hear!*) He trusted that there would be unanimity on this occasion, because the resolution was so framed as studiously to avoid any matter that could give rise to political discussion. (*Hear, hear!*) It was framed in such a manner as not to call on them to discuss the political bearing of this question in any way whatsoever; and, looking on the subject in a merely military point of view, he did not think they could sufficiently admire the promptitude, energy, and undaunted courage with which Sir C. Napier had carried on these important operations. (*Hear, hear!*) He had, undoubtedly, in the whole course of his proceedings, shewn the greatest skill as a military commander. (*Hear, hear!*) This was the recorded opinion of one who was himself universally allowed to be a consummate master of the art of war (*hear, hear!*)—the Duke of Wellington (*hear, hear!*)—who, speaking of the achievements of Sir C. Napier, had thus expressed himself:—"After having given to the subject a full consideration, I must say that I never knew an instance in which a general officer shewed in a higher degree all the qualifications which are necessary for enabling him to conduct great operations." (*Hear, hear!*) That gallant officer was not only entitled to the thanks of the Court of Proprietors, but to the lasting gratitude of his country. (*Hear, hear!*)

Sir C. Napier had manifested his masterly skill and his penetrating foresight by the measures he adopted, in reference to the critical position in which his gallant army was placed previous to the battle of Meeanee. (*Hear, hear!*) If it had not been for the promptitude and decision which he then manifested—if he had not then determined, without an hour's delay, to attack the formidable army that was opposed to him—the result of the contest might have been very different. (*Hear, hear!*) He had said thus much merely to shew how deeply they were indebted to the indefatigable exertions and to the extraordinary military talent of this excellent commander for the achievement of the great victory which he had so nobly won. (*Hear, hear!*) Under such circumstances, he hoped that there would be hardly a dissenting voice on this occasion (*hear, hear!*); and it should ever be borne in mind that unanimity was one of the greatest charms in votes of this description. (*Hear, hear!*) With respect to the conduct of the troops, European and native, under Sir C. Napier's command, he was sure that but one sentiment could prevail. (*Hear, hear!*) Those troops, led on by a bold, ardent, and able general, had gained victories not less in splendour than any that ever were achieved by British bravery in India. (*Hear, hear!*) When he looked to the gallantry displayed by the native troops, he could not but pride himself on belonging to the native army of India—whose bravery, whose discipline, whose honest devotion to the Government they served, were not inferior to those of any army in the world. (*Hear!*) So would it ever be while they were led by such men as Sir C. Napier, aided by such gallant commanders as acted under him. (*Hear, hear!*) Thus supported—thus officered—they would ever succeed; and would, as in the instance now before the Court, shew themselves well worthy of the thanks and gratitude of the Company and of the whole empire. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Sullivan said he was sorry he was compelled, by a sense of duty, to disappoint the hopes of the hon. Director, that there would be unanimity on this occasion, by giving the motion his most strenuous opposition. (*Hear, hear!*) They were called on to thank Sir C. Napier for a series of military operations which originated with himself, and which, in his opinion, were of the most unwarrantable and of the most unjustifiable character. Those who advocated this motion seemed to have lost sight entirely of the peculiar situation in which Sir C. Napier stood. He was not, however, merely to be considered as a general officer, employed to carry out certain military operations. He must also be viewed in a civil capacity—as a man exercising judicial and political authority. They could not avoid considering what Sir C. Napier had done in this latter character. In fact, the victories which they were now about to thank him for grew out of his own measures. They were, in the first instance, his own measures, and his own measures only, though they were afterwards sanctioned by the Governor-General. It should be kept in the recollection of the Court, that the Governor-General, in violation of the rule laid down by himself, in his well-known proclamation, had been guilty of a breach of national faith towards the Ameers of Scinde, at the conclusion of the Affghan war. The Governor-General himself admitted that, at that time, we had a preponderating force in Scinde, and that force had unfortunately been employed to coerce the Ameers. In all these proceedings, unrestricted power was given by the Governor-General to Sir C. Napier. In August, 1842, the Governor-General intimated to him that, “within the limits of his military command, he should exercise entire authority over all political and civil officers.” On the 17th of October, 1842, Sir C. Napier, in his observations on Scinde, addressed to the Governor-

General, disclosed the policy he meant to pursue, in these words: "Several Ameers have broken the treaty in various instances, stated in the accompanying 'Return of Complaints' against them. I have maintained that we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers, and I think the various acts recorded in the return give abundant reason to take Kurachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpore, and Subzulcote for our own." This was what Sir C. Napier called military coercion, growing out of certain complaints; but it was what he (Mr. Sullivan) would denominate unjustifiable military violence, exercised by the strong towards the weak. On the 30th of November, 1842, Sir C. Napier communicated to the Governor-General his first aggressive movement in these words: "I have made every preparation to act upon the receipt of your lordship's answer to my letter. The treaty and notes have been translated, and go off to-morrow. Four thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, and twenty pieces of cannon are ready to cross the river; three hundred camels are across, with a strong force, and all the grain, under pretence of preparing for the Bengal troops' march to Ferozepore. I had no intention of waiting for Major Outram's arrival, because, till we get into the details of the treaty, I do not want assistance; as your lordship has been so good as not to give me a colleague, I mean to consult no one; I see my way clearly." Here the gallant officer stated, that a large force was assembled "under pretence" that they were preparing to march towards their own country, the real object being to coerce these unfortunate people. On the 1st of December, writing from Sukkur to the Governor-General, Sir C. Napier said, "I am perfectly confident in the troops under my command being equal to any emergency, and feel assured I shall have no occasion for the Bombay troops under General Nott, nor any movement of the cavalry. The Scinde Horse, which I have in this cantonment, and the 9th Light Cavalry, will give me about a thousand horse available for action, as I shall have few convoys, for, though I would not use the river for the troops, it is every thing for supplies. I should keep the steamers on my flank all the way under our protection." It was evident from this statement, that it was the determination of Sir C. Napier to proceed at all hazards. Was this course, he would ask, adopted in obedience to the commands of the Governor-General? He denied that it was. It was quite plain, that the Governor-General had given to Sir C. Napier the option of acting according to circumstances, as the revised treaty might be received or rejected by the Ameers. It was evident, from different passages in the papers, that the Governor-General did not mean that coercion should commence until the Ameers had rejected the propositions made to them. Sir C. Napier, however, proceeded; and, on the 18th of Dec., 1842, sent forth the following proclamation: "The Governor-General of India has ordered me to take possession of the districts of Subzulcote and of Bhoong Bhara, and to re-annex the said districts to the territory of his Highness the Nawab of Bhawalpore, to whom they will immediately be made over, his highness guaranteeing all contracts made between the Ameers and private individuals, not within the said districts, in such manner as shall be hereafter arranged in fulfilling the details of the treaty. It is hereby also made known, that if the Ameers collect any revenue in advance, after the 1st of January, 1843, or shall impose any new tax upon the ryots of the above-named districts, the said Ameers shall be amerced to that amount in arranging the new treaty, and this amercement shall be enforced to a larger amount than the Ameers may have so levied upon the people of the said districts." Such was the proclamation of the 18th of December; although, on the 14th of December, according

to Sir C. Napier's own statement, the Ameers had written letters of submission and remonstrance. These, however, availed not. The gallant general declared that he would occupy their territory; and he did so. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, the gallant general appeared to have held a pen in one hand and a sword in the other; so that remonstrance against his demands was futile. Now, how could he (Mr. Sullivan), as an unbiassed man, applaud military operations that were carried on to effect injustice? How could he applaud military operations the object of which was to coerce these people? It was impossible that he could do so; because, if he sanctioned such operations, he would, in effect, sanction the policy that dictated them, and which finally produced so much bloodshed. On the 20th of December, Sir C. Napier writes that the Ameers of Hyderabad had "agreed to every thing, as far as words go;" but still he declared his intention of moving towards Hyderabad. On the same day, in a letter from Sukkur, he informed the Governor-General that Meer Roostum Khan had proceeded to the camp of our particular ally, Ali Moorad. On the 23rd of December, Sir C. Napier wrote, from his camp at Roree, to the Governor General, in these words: "The whole of Upper Scinde is now in the hands of Meer Ali Moorad. There are no armed bands but his, and his interest is synonymous with our friendship. I consider, therefore, that Upper Scinde is perfectly settled." The gallant general had already taken possession of Subzulkote, and an opportunity was given to reward the Khan of Bhawalpore—the territory taken was divided with him; what more, then, did the gallant general want? Was he not satisfied? No such thing. From that moment he commenced a new series of operations. He declared his intention of proceeding to the desert, for the purpose of dispersing certain armed bands, who threatened to cut off his communications and stop his supplies; as if, with a force so powerful as that which he commanded, his safety was, in the slightest degree, likely to be endangered by such enemies. The Court could not be blinded by such pretensions as these. No, this was only put forward as another "pretence" for making a fresh acquisition. On the 5th of January, 1843, Sir C. Napier proceeded to Emaumghur, which fortress he took on the 13th. The capture and destruction of that fortress (as appeared by Sir C. Napier's letter of the 3rd of July, 1843) was considered by a writer, whose name is not given, "as a more flagitious act than the attack upon Major Outram in the residency." And what did the gallant general offer in justification of this extreme proceeding? Why he tells us, that "Emaumghur," with all other fortresses in Upper Scinde, belonged to the turban or *rais*, and he argued that Meer Roostum having given up the turban, the fort belonged to Ali Moorad, who had succeeded, and not to him. "His Highness Ali Moorad," he says, "accompanied me to Emaumghur. On our arrival, he proposed to destroy the fortress, but afterwards seemed doubtful whether he would do so or not;" but it appeared that he finally consented. Sir C. Napier proceeds to say: "His highness himself fired some of the guns, and once or twice threw shells into the fort, so that I was fully borne out in what I did by the owner of the fortress. I could legally have done the same thing, under like sanction, in the middle of England." Indeed! he should like to see the gallant general attempting any such thing. But the gallant general said, that "his Highness Ali Moorad," who gave permission for the destruction of the fortress, "was *rais* by the law of Scinde." That, however, was not the fact. He became chief on the resignation of Meer Roostum, who denied that the cession was voluntary. The law declared the succession of the turban to proceed in case of

death, not from son to son, but from brother to brother. In this case it was claimed, not in consequence of the death of Meer Roostum, but in consequence of his resignation, when he was in the camp of his enemy, Ali Moorad, whither he had gone by the advice of Sir C. Napier. On the 17th of January, 1843, the gallant officer informed the Governor-General, that "the destruction of Emaumghur was completed;" and he proceeds to expound his course of policy. He says: "I waited for the Ameers to hear of our doings at Emaumghur, and then, while their alarm is fresh, and my line of march unknown to them, they will be pliant, and give full powers to their vakeels. I hope thus to force them into promptness, for I have all along seen their determination to procrastinate till the hot weather arrives. I propose to halt, the day after to-morrow, at or near Tujul (where the road branches off to Dingee and Hyderabad), so as to be ready to fulfil the threat contained in my letter, and to let them see that I am so; I have also ordered out supplies to meet me, which will shew them that I am in earnest. I hear that our march to Emaumghur has, as I expected, dispersed the tribes assembling at Dingee; they saw they were cut off from the desert; while that was behind them, with Emaumghur full of both gunpowder and grain, as it was, they would, I think, have plucked up courage to fight, thinking I should march against them by the usual route through Maneepore. If, on arrival at Tujul, I find they have not dispersed as we hear, then I have them between us and the river; an awkward position for them, as the river is not fordable. But there is no chance of their fighting now. I am persuaded our intelligence is correct, that their troops have wholly dispersed in great alarm." Thus, after having destroyed Emaumghur, the gallant general declared his conviction, that the troops of the Ameers had "dispersed in great alarm;" but still he determined to proceed. In his letter of the 13th of February, dated from Surakunda, he says: "The Ameers promised yesterday to sign the treaty, and I hope to hear to-morrow that they have done so, because Major Outram assures me that they will. I have halted three days here, ostensibly at the request of the Ameers; but really, because the camels, worn out in the Affghan war, are so weak that I was obliged to give them some rest." He would not, it appeared, cease from pursuing his march, even when he understood that the treaty was about to be signed, and he halted, ostensibly at the request of the Ameers, but really to give rest to his camels, who were unable to proceed. His determination to listen to no terms was manifested in the most decided manner, in his letter to Major Outram, dated Halla, February 15th. He there said: "I have this moment received yours of yesterday, as I reached this ground. Do not pledge yourself to any thing whatever. I am in full march on Hyderabad, and will make no peace with the Ameers. I will attack them instantly whenever I come up to their troops. They need send no proposals. The time has passed, and I will not receive their messengers. There must be no pledges made on any account." Major Outram, knowing the temper and disposition of the people, and seeing the treaty in a fair way of being concluded, had, before this, earnestly begged of Sir C. Napier not to advance on Hyderabad. On the 8th of February, Major Outram apprized the gallant general of the state of the negotiation, in these terms: "It was my intention to have sent Fitzgerald off at twelve A.M., but his departure was delayed till four P.M., when deputies made their appearance from the five ameers of Hyderabad, and signed and sealed, on behalf of their masters, their acceptance of the treaty brought by Stanley, but Meer Roostum and the Upper Scinde chiefs did not come; they sent, however, to say, that they were ready to subscribe the treaty pre-

sented to them by French, provided it should not be considered acquiescing in Meer Roostum's supersession." Under these circumstances, Major Outram suggested the propriety of halting the troops for a day, till the result of the negotiation with the chiefs of Upper Scinde was known. On the 10th of February, Major Outram wrote in these words: "I sent off Fitzgerald with a despatch last night, announcing that the Hyderabad Ameers had subscribed the treaty. This morning, Meer Roostum has sent to say, he is ready now, as ever he was, to subscribe the treaty, to avoid which he did not run away, but to avoid what he was foolishly made to believe intended treachery on our part. He says that he would to-day send his son to me, with full powers to sign on his behalf, and that the others (chiefs of Khyrpore) would do so also; but he begs me to let them come to-morrow morning instead, as to-day is the last of the Mohareem festival, which is kept by the Meers very strictly, and transacting business is improper, &c. I know not how far you may be disposed to halt another day, in the expectation that the Upper Scinde draft treaty will be executed, but I have little doubt myself that it will be, and really believe that the objection to business on this particular day is the sole cause of the delay. I myself shall be glad if you decide on halting; for the near approach of the troops to this capital would cause mistrust, and might make the Khyrpore Ameers fly." On the 12th of February, Major Outram wrote, from Hyderabad, in the same strain, to the gallant general. He said: "These fools are in the utmost alarm in consequence of the continued progress of your troops towards Hyderabad, notwithstanding their acceptance of the treaty which they hoped would have caused you to stop. If you come beyond Halla, I fear they will be impelled by their fears to assemble their rabble with a view to defend themselves and their families, in the idea that we are determined to destroy them, notwithstanding their submission. I do hope, therefore, that you may not consider it necessary to bring the troops any further in this direction, for I fear it may drive the Ameers to act contrary to your orders to disperse their troops (or rather not to assemble them, for they were all dispersed yesterday), and thus compel us to quarrel with them." Certainly, in this letter most excellent reasons were adduced for not advancing on Hyderabad. In a subsequent letter, written on the same day, Col. Outram made a more pressing remonstrance, in these words: "I wrote you this morning to say, what a state of commotion they are in in the city, at your continued advance, after the Ameers had subscribed the treaty; I shall try to give them confidence when I see them this afternoon. It now appears that the landing of the light company of the 22nd, yesterday evening, has greatly added to this alarm, as I never heretofore required a European guard; and it is supposed that you purpose suddenly cluppowing the city, while I cut them off from hence. I really wish I was empowered to tell them positively that you do not purpose bringing the troops beyond Halla, if so far; as it is, I can only express to them my hope that you will not do so now that they have complied with all our terms; at any rate, I will pledge that you intend them no harm; but then again, if they do not acquire confidence (not from any want of faith in me, but from seeing that I cannot pledge myself for you, because I cannot state to a certainty that you will not bring on the troops), they would render themselves enemies, by infringing your orders, by assembling their followers. It is very unsatisfactory being unable to give a decided pledge to these people, for they cannot understand any motive for hesitation but deception." In continuation, Col. Outram says: "I send this, though I have nothing particular to communicate, in the hope that it may

reach you before you get to, or at least leave, Halla; and that it may induce you to halt there, or further off, wherever you may be, and to send me authority to say, that the troops shall not come further, until when I must continue in a very unsatisfactory position; but I have great hope that you will have halted on receipt of my information that the Upper Scinde Ameers have also subscribed the treaty (which I sent yesterday), and that it will have become public throughout your camp, that the troops will not advance further." On the 13th of February, Major Outram apprized Sir C. Napier, that the new treaties were signed. He says: "All the Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde accepted the new treaties in public durbar, last night, and applied the seals to the drafts, with the exception of Meer Nusseer Khan, of Khlyrpore, whose brother (who bears his seal) was absent somewhere at the time. I came away, on the promise, publicly expressed, by Meer Nusseer Khan, that he would send his seal to be applied in the morning." Major Outram then says: "I have received your letter of the 11th, in which you remark, that Roostum's flying from Ali Moorad and not to you, proves, in the first place, that he was a free agent; and in the second, that he is imbecile. He has always been consistent in his story, and brings forward strong proofs; and, indeed, it appears notorious that he was, in the first place, actually surrounded by Ali Moorad's sentries, and his own people removed from him, and that Ali Moorad afterwards caused him to fly, to avoid, as he (Ali Moorad) led him to believe, a worse evil. He, not perceiving Ali Moorad's object, namely, to prevent the interview which you purposed having with Meer Roostum until he saw your proclamation here the day before yesterday, his observations on which I send you; on the other hand, that he did not go to your camp, under the influence of the lies which had been told him, perhaps, says *less for his imbecility than for our own credit*, which our proceedings in this and neighbouring countries since 1838, have brought to a *very low ebb*, I am ashamed to confess." Now, it could not be forgotten, that, in the conferences which Major Outram held with the Ameers on the 8th, 9th, and 12th of February, Meer Roostum constantly affirmed, that he had been compelled, when under a false impression, he had gone to the camp of Ali Moorad, to act as he had done. Nothing was demanded by the Ameers but a full discussion of Meer Roostum's case; a proper investigation of all the facts, and an inquiry into the proofs which Meer Roostum declared he could adduce in support of his allegations. The Ameers hoped that the case would be investigated by the British Government, and that the wrong which Meer Roostum had suffered would be rectified. Major Outram said: "He was confident that Sir C. Napier would strictly inquire into the truth or otherwise of all that Meer Roostum had to allege;" and he doubted not, "that every investigation would be made." Was it not, then, the gallant general's duty, when he received an account of these conferences, to have acted up to the pledge that investigation should take place? But how did he receive the information? by adverting to what was called the voluntary resignation of Meer Roostum. Now, he would contend, that the gallant general was bound to take a different course, and to order a proper investigation of the circumstances. At the time of the resignation, Meer Roostum, through the instrumentality of Sir C. Napier, was completely in the hands of his intriguing enemy, Ali Moorad. It was denied, that this was any thing but a voluntary act on his part. But he (Mr. Sullivan) would shew, by reference to the papers, that the case was very different, and that Meer Roostum was induced to proceed to the camp of Ali Moorad by the persuasion of Sir C. Napier, the ulterior object being his

resignation. That gallant officer, in his letter of December 27th, 1842, to the Governor-General, after some observations as to the best mode of putting an end to the security which the Ameers seemed to feel in their deserts, said : " This conviction opened upon me a system which appears the only one to follow ; making the chief powerful, and holding him under the power of the Government. This made me venture to promise Ali Moorad your lordship's support in having the turban, which your lordship has approved of. The next step was to secure him the exercise of it *now*, even during his brother's life. ~~This~~ I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Meer Roostum to place himself in Ali Moorad's hands." Yes, he was thus, by Sir C. Napier, thrown into his brother's hands, who had a full opportunity to coerce him, and to compel his resignation. Again, what did Sir C. Napier say in his letter to Meer Roostum of January 2nd, 1843? " You know that you offered to come to my camp, and that I advised you to go to your brother's fortress, instead of coming to my camp." Now to him (Mr. Sullivan) it was most evident that, after the gallant general had taken so much pains to persuade Meer Roostum to proceed to his brother's camp, he was solemnly bound to fulfil the pledge given to investigate the complaints of Meer Roostum, with reference to the conduct which Ali Moorad had adopted towards him. Instead of that, they found that, on the 15th of February, he expressed his firm determination to attack Meer Roostum wherever he could find him. The battle of Meeanee followed—after the treaties had been signed ; a battle which would not have been fought, but for the neglect of Major Outram's advice. He would confidently ask the Court if they could say that, but for Sir C. Napier's seizing on Emaumghur, and his deliberately proceeding, march by march, towards Hyderabad, in spite of the representations of Col. Outram, ~~all~~ the bloodshed which had followed might not have been avoided? Had he not shewn, that Sir C. Napier was himself answerable for all the bloody consequences of his military operations? The war was a wanton and a bloody one ; and he could not, and would not, thank Sir C. Napier for carrying on, however efficiently, a most unjustifiable warfare—a warfare most unprovoked. He contended that Sir C. Napier ought never to have marched one man from his camp after he was apprized of the situation in which affairs were placed by the communications of Major Outram. There was no necessity for his sending forward one soldier after he was apprized of the signature of the treaties by Major Outram, nor was he authorized to do so. All these military operations were, he conceived, wanton and unjustifiable ; and, he repeated, he would not give thanks to Sir C. Napier on account of them. He should, therefore, entreat the Court not to allow their records to be stained by stamping with their approbation this monstrous injustice. He should meet the motion with a direct negative, admitting at the same time, to the fullest extent, the gallantry and energy of the officers and soldiers employed in what he must consider unjust and wanton operations.

Mr. *Weeding* was proceeding to address the Court, when

Mr. *Sullivan* expressed a wish that all the proceedings in the Court of Directors on the subject should be laid before the proprietors for their information.

Mr. *Fielder* wished to know whether there were any dissents in the Court of Directors with respect to these resolutions?

The *Chairman* said, it was very unusual to have such an application made. There were no dissents. He should certainly put a negative on a call for the production of the proceedings in the Court of Directors. He would not encourage a practice so very unusual and so very inconvenient.

Mr. *Weeding* could not allow the resolution in commendation of the military genius of Sir C. Napier to pass without declaring his hearty concurrence in it. Had he been aware that the hon. proprietor (Mr. Sullivan), after his former address of four or five hours, would have re-opened the question, he (Mr. *Weeding*) would have come prepared to meet his statements. He had endeavoured, at the last Court, to refute the arguments of the hon. proprietor. (*Hear, hear!*) He had done no more than he had an undoubted right to do; but his arguments did not seem to be relished by some parties. He was speaking of an hon. gentleman behind the bar (Mr. Tucker), who was pleased to say that he (Mr. *Weeding*) had spoken for three hours and said nothing. He had no doubt that in one sense he said nothing. He was quite sure that he had said nothing agreeable to the hon. gentleman, whose opinions differed entirely on this subject from those which he (Mr. *Weeding*) conscientiously entertained. But to return to the motion before the Court. If they looked fairly at the papers, they would find abundant proof that the Governor-General fully approved of the different measures adopted by Sir C. Napier, of which he was from time to time apprized. When he called to the recollection of the Court what had been achieved in Scinde—victories admitted to be equal to any that were ever gained by the British arms in India—and when he pointed to the mercy that had been displayed, he could not help saying (and he certainly did not wish to make use of an offensive expression) that the opposition of the hon. proprietor seemed to proceed from an imagination of a very morbid kind. An attentive perusal of the Parliamentary papers had satisfied him that Sir C. Napier was to be praised no less for his humanity than for his military skill. He sought to mitigate the horrors of war and to shorten the duration of it; and this he did by the strict discipline which he enforced in his army, and by anticipating events in the progress of his military achievements. He wrote to the Governor-General, that “he kept up a very strict discipline,” so that his soldiers should commit no excesses; that the people of the country who were favourable to us should not be molested and turned against us by marauders from his camp. This discipline, which was a protection to the people of the country, conduced, also, to the preservation of his own army—of that notable band of warriors who fought and won the battle of Meeanee with such fearful odds against them as ten to one, but for which they were well trained and fitted by the vigilance and care of their illustrious general, by his enduring patience and intrepid example. After emerging from the desert, where, he writes, “we have hardly any baggage or convenience with us; all carriage is given up to food and water, and I have also nearly all the details of the camp to execute myself;” after emerging from the desert under these disadvantageous circumstances, he writes word,—“We have not a sick man in camp, neither soldier nor camp-follower.” The industry which accomplished this was not relaxed by confidence in his own abilities—it pervaded every movement. The indulgence which he shewed to those who were in authority under him was not abated by the consciousness of his own superiority. After the battle of Hyderabad, on the very day of the battle, he writes to the Governor-General,—“It gives me great satisfaction to say that some prisoners have been taken; and though the number is small, it is still some advance towards a civilized mode of warfare; for I cannot help thinking that the desperate resistance generally made by wounded Belooches has arisen from their own system of warfare, which admits of no quarter being given in action. We are at present employed in collecting the wounded Belooches

within our reach, in order to render them medical assistance." Here his humanity was uppermost. On the very day of the battle, when he had scarcely sheathed his sword in the scabbard, the care of his wounded and subdued enemy was his first consideration. This circumstance alone should have disarmed the hon. proprietor's mawkish opposition. The same humanity prevailed throughout. His object was to prevent bloodshed. The care with which he provided for the defence of his rear and of his flank positions, when he made up his mind to enter the desert, affords eminent proof of his discretion, skill, and judgment. The provident view with which he looked around him was conspicuous in all his operations. These circumstances shew him to be fitted for counsel as well as for action—for the cabinet as well as for the field. Like his great exemplar, the captain of the age, "*tam Marte quam Mercurio*" bespoke his character, and for which he deserved the warmest thanks of the Court. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Marriott* said, he would give his decided opposition to this motion. It had been objected to an hon. proprietor that he had spoken for three hours and had said nothing. This, however, could not be alleged of the hon. mover, who, if he had spoken for three hours, had said a great deal; for he had, in bringing the Scinde question forward, made out a most unanswerable case. It appeared to him, that the gallant general was bent on war. That was the *animus* by which he was inspired. Major Outram, the political agent, was evidently sick and tired of war. He said so himself; and he (Mr. *Marriott*) believed him. His was a moral sickness—*agrotat magis animo quam corpore*. Thus, Major Outram wrote to Sir C. Napier, from Khyrpore, on the 22nd of January, 1843: "I am positively sick, and doubtless you are tired, of these petty intrigues—brother against brother, and son against father; and I am sorry that we should be in any way the instruments to be worked upon by such blackguards; for, in whatever way we act, we must play into the hands of one party or the other, unless we take the whole country to ourselves." This was the very thing that Sir C. Napier wished to be sanctioned. He wanted "the whole country for ourselves." In the gallant general's letter of the 3rd of July, 1843, he alluded to the charge against him, that his "continued march upon Hyderabad, in despite of the advice of Major Outram, had forced the Ameers to war." Such would appear to have been the fact, notwithstanding the observation contained in his letter of July 13, 1843, "that he had discovered" (before he sent Major Outram's notes of that officer's interview with the Ameers) "that there was a party resolved to support the Ameers through thick and thin." He (Mr. *Marriott*) gave all due praise and honour to the troops for the bravery which they had displayed. He could, however, go no further, because it appeared to him that too great a thirst for military glory had led to these victories and conquests for which they were asked to return thanks.

Mr. *Fielder* said he should give his support to the motion. The resolution was limited to the military question. That question alone was before the Court, unconnected with political considerations. They were asked to thank Sir C. Napier for what he had done as a warrior—not for any proceeding of a political character. If he could regularly do so, he would move the thanks of the Court to the Directors for their conduct on this occasion.

Mr. *Twining* said, he came to the Court that day with a very sincere desire to concur in the motion of thanks proposed by the hon. Chairman; and he did so with a very strong feeling that the ground taken by the hon. Chairman, that of carefully avoiding every point that could lead to political discussion, would have

insured and preserved unanimity. (*Hear, hear!*) He was very sorry that the hon. proprietor (Mr. Sullivan), who had originated the previous debate on the question of our policy with respect to Scinde, had thought it necessary to oppose this motion. He had hoped that all parties would have availed themselves of the opportunity of throwing aside their political feelings, and would have cheerfully joined in doing that which the proprietors had gladly done on so many former occasions—in giving thanks to the gallant general, who, by his military skill, aided by the talent of his officers and the bravery and energy of his troops, had achieved such glorious and important victories. (*Hear, hear!*) He entirely agreed in the view taken of the subject by the hon. Chairman and those who wholly separated the military from the political question. (*Hear!*) They were called on, he conceived, to applaud, and to offer their thanks for, those great and successful military operations in which the gallant general had so highly distinguished himself. So well had he conducted them, that he had accomplished all the objects that had been undertaken; and, for his skill and energy, it should not be forgotten, he had already received the thanks of the country. (*Hear, hear!*) He believed that his worthy friend (Mr. Marriott) who had just spoken, and who thought that Sir C. Napier's thirst for military glory had caused the war, was entirely mistaken in his opinion. He (Mr. Twining) could state, from very good authority, that Sir C. Napier was not swayed by any such motive. He believed that there was not an officer in the army more anxious to promote the general welfare of India, or more opposed to unnecessary warfare, than was Sir C. Napier. But, when circumstances rendered it inevitable, then he displayed his utmost skill—then he put forth his best energy—then he made every exertion that was necessary—for the purpose of terminating hostilities as soon as possible. (*Hear, hear!*) On every occasion, Sir C. Napier had manifested that rare military skill, combined with those feelings of humanity which, he thought, formed the leading characteristic of the English soldier. (*Hear, hear!*) No military man had ever received a higher compliment than Sir C. Napier did from that great commander whose military career was commenced in India—whose glories shone brightly throughout the Peninsular war, and were crowned and consummated at Waterloo. (*Hear, hear!*) Never was there a speech made in Parliament more comprehensive, or more easily to be comprehended by all, than that in which the Duke of Wellington declared his opinion of Sir C. Napier's abilities. (*Hear, hear!*) He (Mr. Twining) offered his humble support to this motion, which, he had no doubt, would be carried by a great majority of that Court, who concurred in the view taken of the subject by the hon. Chairman. He had no doubt that they would cordially concur in this well-earned vote of thanks to Sir C. Napier, and the gallant officers and soldiers whom he had led to victory. (*Hear, hear!*) He should vote for the motion with the greatest satisfaction; the more particularly because there was nothing in the proceeding, there was nothing in the resolution, that indicated, on the part of that Court, or of the Court of Directors, any feeling that at all encouraged a desire for the extension of territory or of political power. He believed, that, however strong the majority in favour of the resolution might be, it did not shew the existence of any ambitious feeling on the part of the gentlemen on the other side of the bar, with whom it had originated, or on the part of those on his (Mr. Twining's) side of the bar, who approved of it. It was merely a vote of thanks for specific military services, and he, for one, most heartily concurred in it. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Sullivan.—I fully admit the military talents of Sir C. Napier. My objec-

tion is, that he had in his hands the option of peace or war, and he determined on war.

Sir R. Campbell condemned the original policy, which, in his opinion, had led to these latter events in Scinde; but he supported the motion because he was convinced that Sir C. Napier felt himself perfectly justified, under his instructions and from the information which he had received, in pursuing the course he had adopted.

Sir Jeremiah Bryant said, the question before the Court was merely one of thanks to the army of Hyderabad, for great and signal services. He concurred with the hon. Chairman in considering the motion as divested of all connection with political matter; and therefore, he should give to it his hearty assent. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought that the commander of the army which had achieved such victories was well entitled to this mark of respect. (*Hear, hear!*) He conceived that there was scarcely a man in that Court who could suppose that this war was precipitated by the mere wish and solely to gratify the desire of Sir C. Napier. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought, on the contrary, that no act was more decidedly authorized, and, when done, more approved, than the battle of Meeanee by the Governor-General of India. (*Hear, hear!*) For Sir C. Napier's military character, for his energy, promptitude, decision, and courage, he felt the highest respect. These qualities, however great, they had it from the highest authority, he only shared in common with others of his family. But that which most peculiarly distinguished him was, the faculty which he possessed of making those whom he employed on arduous occasions, part, as it were, of himself; (*hear, hear!*) of finding a Napier for every important occasion. (*Hear, hear!*) Witness, at the battle of Hyderabad, the conduct of Lieut. Smith, of the Bombay artillery, whose noble sacrifice of life had been so feelingly alluded to by Sir C. Napier. That circumstance had already been quoted in another place, by one (Sir R. Peel) whose talents and abilities were well calculated to do justice to the subject. They must all admit, that such an heroic action as that of Lieut. Smith deserved the highest praise; but they could not sufficiently extol the generous and emphatic terms in which Sir C. Napier pointed out his gallant conduct, his intrepid bravery, to the admiration of his surviving fellow-officers, and for the approbation of his country. (*Hear, hear!*) The conduct of the entire army, European and native, proved that they were every way worthy of such a gallant commander. (*Hear, hear!*) The artillery and her Majesty's 22nd regt. led the attack. The re-appearance of that regiment in India, commanded by a kindred spirit, was productive of the greatest satisfaction. The native infantry regiments, the 12th and 25th, nobly seconded the attack of the 22nd; and he was delighted to find Sir C. Napier speaking of their efforts in the highest terms. "British officers," said he, "could not shew greater gallantry in leading their men into action, than did the Queen's and Company's officers on this day, and the troops well maintained their reputation;" and great was the reputation which they had justly gained in many glorious fields. (*Hear, hear!*) The sepoy was a noble soldier (*hear, hear!*), and would ever reward the confidence of his officer by courage, energy, and self-devotion. (*Hear, hear!*) But he hoped that no more would ever be required from him than was required from the British soldier. Let his interests and feelings be attended to, let him be well officered, and there was no difficulty, no danger, that he would not boldly encounter. It afforded him the greatest pleasure to find Sir C. Napier applauding so highly the character of an army composed, for the most part, of those amongst whom he (Sir Jeremiah

Bryant) had passed a considerable portion of his life; and who, he was sure, to quote the words of Sir C. Napier, would, under all circumstances of difficulty and danger, continue "to maintain their reputation." (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Holt Mackenzie* regretted that the Court was not unanimous on this occasion. It was not his intention to say one word on the policy in which this war originated. He looked upon the question to be wholly of a military character. He confessed that he found no difficulty whatsoever in separating the political from the military question in this case. He held it to be impossible to read the Parliamentary Papers and not to see that the resolution of the Governor-General was to make war. (*Hear!*) If they looked to the Governor-General's letter of the 19th of November, 1842, they would find that he there declared, that it was absolutely necessary to compel the Ameers to observe the treaty they had entered into with us. Again, in his letter of November 24, 1842, his determination was still more decidedly manifested. The Governor-General there said: "But, really, of negotiation there should be but little. We make a demand we believe to be just and expedient, and we are prepared to enforce it." Was not Sir C. Napier here called upon to apply the force under his command to the attainment of a particular object? No such thing as bargain or compromise between the two parties was spoken of; but, a positive demand having been made by one party, was, if refused, to be enforced by the other. This led to all the military operations that followed. Sir C. Napier was under the necessity of acting in conformity with his instructions; and he (Mr. Mackenzie) felt no hesitation whatsoever in giving him thanks for the manner in which he had discharged his military duties. (*Hear, hear!*) He deplored most deeply the acts which naturally flowed from the policy that had been determined on, but he considered (and a careful perusal of the papers would fully sustain his opinion) that the instructions of the Governor-General left Sir C. Napier no option as to his operations. He was ordered to advance on the Indus, whether the Ameers agreed to our proposition or not. On the 13th of December, 1842, the Governor-General wrote to Sir C. Napier in these terms: "Whether they submit or not to the terms of the new treaty, I think it most desirable that you should require the immediate dispersion of the forces, whatever they may be, which they have collected, and insist upon your requisition to that effect being complied with, supporting it by the movement of your army." Here he was distinctly ordered to disperse the forces of the Ameers under all circumstances. He was employed as the instrument to proceed with those military operations which were necessary to carry into effect the wishes of the Governor-General; and he would not allow any blunder that Sir C. Napier might have made in his civil capacity to close his eyes against the great military glory that he had acquired (*hear, hear!*); reserving to himself, at the same time, or rather to the Court, a full right to consider the policy in which those proceedings had originated, and, if necessary, to censure and condemn it. (*Hear, hear!*) The Court, while awarding thanks to Sir C. Napier for his military exploits, was not precluded from condemning any blunders, if such there were, that, as a civil functionary, he might have committed. (*Hear, hear!*) But that, in his mind, formed no ground for refusing to thank him for his acknowledged military services. (*Hear, hear!*) He would look, as an illustration, to the case of the Duke of Wellington, in connection with that illustrious commander's conduct at the Congress of Vienna. Many men condemned those proceedings; many men believed that it was wrong to declare war against France; but, whoever thought, when the question of thanks to the

noble duke was proposed, of advancing against that proposition the part which the noble duke took at the Congress of Vienna? (*Hear, hear!*) Whoever thought for a moment that any blunders which might have been made there were to be arrayed against thanking the noble duke for the warlike glories that he had achieved? (*Hear, hear!*) He spoke thus explicitly because he, to a certain extent, participated in the sentiments expressed by his hon. friend (Mr. Sullivan), who, some weeks ago, brought before the Court the policy of these proceedings, and was ably supported in his view of the case by an hon. and gallant officer. He did, however, hope that his hon. friend, strong as his opinion was on the subject, would yet consider the effect, in a general point of view, which his opposition to this motion was likely to produce. (*Hear, hear!*) Such an opposition was calculated to enlist, in a very high degree, the sympathy of the whole army on behalf of the brave general who was thus slighted. No army would place a high value on the thanks that might be voted to them, when they found that the general who gallantly headed them—that the brave man who led them on in the midst of danger—that the hero who nobly shared all their perils—was censured and treated slightly. (*Hear, hear!*) Not merely as a general did Sir C. Napier deserve their warmest thanks; there never was an action in which the commanding officer displayed more of the personal gallantry of the brave soldier than was shewn throughout the day by Sir C. Napier, at the battle of Meeanee. (*Hear, hear!*) Three times our troops, gallant as they were, fell back, and three times were they led on to victory. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought it was understood that the man who led them upon that occasion was Sir C. Napier. (*Hear, hear!*) But he felt that an apology was due to the Court for saying one word upon the merits of that gallant officer; they were already recorded in words which he was sure Sir C. Napier would like to have inscribed on his tomb, by the great master of war (*hear, hear!*), who, not only in this country, but in Europe, was by far the highest authority on military matters (*hear, hear!*), and who, he rejoiced to say, had, with a generous spirit, thrown his ample shield around this gallant officer. (*Hear, hear!*) He had nothing further to say, than to express his hope that that Court would see that those who, like himself, condemned the policy that led to this war, (*hear, hear!*), and deplored the political and civil acts previously, of which Sir C. Napier had had the conduct, might, without any sacrifice of principle, or danger of encouraging a bad precedent, still support the motion of the hon. Chairman. (*Hear, hear!*) It was alleged that Sir C. Napier was led on by a desire of military glory; if he thought that Sir C. Napier had, for the sake of military glory, acted unjustly, and had made an unjust war, he must condemn him; but he would ask whether a military man was not to be influenced by military glory? (*Hear, hear!*) What was this vote for? To increase a desire for military glory amongst the troops in India; so that the sepoy might return to his native village, glad that he had shared in the military glory of this great man. (*Hear, hear!*) And he could not mention sepoys without again calling on hon. gentlemen to think what would be the effect upon them of any stigma being cast upon Sir C. Napier. (*Hear, hear!*) It was well known by many of the hon. gentlemen within the bar, that the sepoys were the most strongly attached to their leaders of any soldiers in the world. (*Hear, hear!*) He remembered visiting once a settlement upon the Ganges, and meeting with an old soldier, who was living upon some land which had been given to him by the Government as a reward of service, and he remembered how the old man still went back and spoke of the service he had seen under the great Coote.

(*Hear, hear!*) He believed there was not a man who had acted in Scinde who would not be proud of having been the follower of Napier. (*Hear, hear!*) He thought, then, that nothing could be more disadvantageous to the sepoys in India, than that Sir C. Napier should not share in the vote of thanks. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Marriott* explained.—What he said was, that a too great thirst of military glory had been permitted to prevail.

Mr. *Sullivan* was extremely anxious to explain.—He had endeavoured to impress it on the Court, that Sir C. Napier had received no authority from the Governor-General to attack the Ameers after Major Outram had informed him that they had signed the treaty, and conceded all demands. He, therefore, said, that all Sir C. Napier's acts were without the sanction of the Governor-General, and he, for one, could not give him his thanks.

Mr. *H. Mackenzie*.—I think I said his orders were to disperse the troops of the Ameers.

Mr. *Sullivan*.—He had dispersed their troops.

Gen. *Galloway* said he was not in the habit of addressing the Court, but upon a subject such as this he could not give a silent vote. He understood that the motion was for a vote of thanks to Sir C. Napier for his military conduct alone. He was not going to enter into the question whether the policy that had been observed towards Scinde was right or wrong. Sir C. Napier appeared in the Court at that moment only as a military man and leader of the British army (*hear, hear!*); and in that point of view only did he look at his conduct. He did not say whether he could or could not justify every act of Sir C. Napier in his civil capacity; but this he said, that if ever there was a British general who had displayed the talents of a great and eminent man, that individual was Sir C. Napier. (*Hear, hear!*) He was sorry to hear that there was any difference of opinion in this Court upon such a subject as this; he thought that they had discussed the question of policy before, and the only question now before the Court was with respect to the military operations in Scinde. He concurred in the view taken by the hon. Chairman of what had been done, and he hoped that the members of that Court, in voting upon this question, would clearly distinguish between what was military service and what was the political part of it. (*Hear, hear!*) He maintained that, while the object of a military operation was entirely of a political character, the way in which that object was executed was entirely of a military character. (*Hear, hear!*) The object of the movement was political; but the movement itself was military. (*Hear!*) That was the distinction he drew; and, therefore, though he might condemn the object, he might admire the way in which the army was moved; and if he saw that the army had been moved in a masterly military style, the officer who moved it was entitled to his thanks. (*Hear, hear!*) Upon those grounds, and that upon no occasion whatever where a man was at the head of a military force in India had he displayed more talents or courage than Sir C. Napier, he most heartily, and willingly, and joyfully joined in the vote of thanks to that gallant officer.

The vote was then put, and agreed to by all present, except the mover and seconder of the amendment, and two other proprietors.

The vote of thanks to the officers, and the vote testifying the approbation of the Court at the bravery displayed by the troops, were then put separately, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. *Sullivan* then gave notice, that at the next Court he should move "That there be laid before the Court of Proprietors copies of all minutes of proceedings of the Court of Directors, together with all opinions that may have been recorded by individual Directors, on the affairs of Scinde;" also that he should present a petition from the natives of Calcutta, that the motion which was considered in December, 1842, with reference to natives being admitted to offices connected with the administration of justice, should be again taken into the consideration of the Court.

The Court then adjourned.

Correspondence relating to the Claim of Capt. Paterson, read to the Court, March 20th.

East-India House, 30th December, 1843.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Court of Directors to forward, for the purpose of being laid before the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, a copy of a resolution passed unanimously at a General Court of the East-India Company, held on the 20th instant, in favour of the claim of Captain John Paterson to be "admitted to the annuity of £200, agreeably to the regulations for granting compensation to the late maritime service."

The Board are already in possession of the papers connected with the claim of Captain Paterson, which are referred to in the said resolution, and the Court, concurring in the opinion therein recorded, have directed me to state, that it would be very gratifying to them if, upon a review of the circumstances of the case, the Commissioners for the affairs of India give their sanction to the resolution of the General Court being carried into effect.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) JAMES C. MELVILL, Secretary.

The Hon. W. B. BARING, M.P., &c.,

India Board.

India Board, 17th January, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by the Commissioners for the affairs of India to reply to your letter of the 30th ult., transmitting the copy of a "resolution passed unanimously at a General Court of the East-India Company, held on the 20th instant, in favour of the claim of Captain John Paterson to be admitted to the annuity of £200, agreeably to the regulations for granting compensation to the late maritime service."

The Board have reviewed the claim of Captain John Paterson to this annuity; and, as they think that his case comes within the strict letter of the regulations under which similar grants have been made, they desire me to transmit the sanction necessary to give effect to the resolution in question.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. B. BARING.

JAMES C. MELVILL, Esq., &c.,

East-India House.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(From the Indian Mail.)

ARRIVALS REPORTED IN ENGLAND.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. George William Bacon.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. William J. Turquand.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Lieut. colonel Charles Graham, c.b., artillery.

Capt. Robert H. Miles, 1st N.I.

Capt. John S. Gifford, do.

Brev. capt. Charles A. Morris, 29th N.I.

Lieut. Gerald A. F. Hervey, 3rd N.I.

Lieut. William G. Prendergast, 8th Lt. Cav.

Lieut. Walter W. D. Vogle, 9th N.I.

Lieut. Charles S. J. Perrot, 29th N.I.

Lieut. Harman B. Hopper, 31st N.I.

Lieut. James Money, artillery.

Surg. A. McKenzie Clark, retired.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. col. George Grantham, 31st L.I.

Lieut. col. John D. Stokes, 7th N.I.

Major Matthew Poole, 5th N.I.

Capt. Arundel Barker, 1st Eur. reg.

Capt. Fred. C. Hawkins, 10th N.I.

Capt. Robert Cannan, 40th N.I.

Lieut. David Brown, do.

Lieut. William S. Davis, 15th N.I.

Lieut. Robert Ogilvie, 33rd N.I.

Lieut. Frederick Vigne, 6th N.I.

Lieut. Albert H. A. Hervey, 40th N.I.

Lieut. Charles A. Order, engineers.

Ensign Spencer Cameron, 37th grenadiers.

Ensign Edmund Cheetham, 48th N.I.

Assist. surg. William P. Molle.

Assist. surg. C. Macleod.

Vet. surg. Thomas Aston, artillery.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. Henry H. Hobson, 20th N.I.

Capt. Edward Walter, cavalry.

Capt. George F. Sympton, 1st Eur. reg.

Capt. Frederick Mayor, 6th N.I.

Capt. Henry C. Morse, 8th N.I.

Capt. James Whitmore, 11th N.I.

Capt. Arnold R. Wilson, 14th N.I.

Capt. Alfred Shephard, 24th N.I.

Lieut. Detley Eicke, 11th N.I.

Lieut. Thos. W. W. Whittard, 15th N.I.

Lieut. Pellew M. Briggs, 19th N.I.

Lieut. John S. Kemball, 26th N.I.

Surg. D. C. Bell, late inspector gen. of hospitals.

Surg. Benj. P. Rooke, garrison surg., presidency.

Assist. surg. William Collum, 3rd Lt. Cav.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Commander Henry C. Boulderson, I.N.
Lieut. Roderick Mackenzie, I.N.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. David Pott, 47th N.I.
Brev. capt. J. Harriott, 9th Lt.Cav., April 1.
Lieut. Arthur H. C. Sewell, do.
Lieut. Laurence Hill, engineers, overland, Mar.
Lieut. Thomas Latter, 67th N.I., overland.
Surg. James F. Steuart, overland, April 1.
Assist. surg. Thomas A. Wise, overland.

Madras Estab.—Capt. Alexander Doria, 5th N.I., overland, April.
Capt. William Garrow, 9th N.I., overland, and *via* Ceylon.
Capt. E. Clutterbuck, 38th N.I., on the *Worcester*.
Lieut. Charles J. Allardyce, 1st Eur. reg.
Lieut. John Stewart, 49th N.I.
Lieut. Henry Frye, 39th N.I.
Lieut. Randolph C. Buckle, artillery.
Lieut. William C. F. Gosling, do., May.
Ens. John Wood, 2nd Eur. reg., April.
Ens. Henry Hickman, 34th Lt.I.
Ens. William Fraser, 44th N.I.
Assist. surg. John E. Mayer.

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. Henry Lye, 13th N.I.
Riding-master F. Eagan.

MARINE.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Whiston H. Powell, mate, pilot est.; Feb.
Bombay Estab.—Commander Henry A. Ormsby, I.N., April 1.

RESIGNATION OF THE SERVICE ACCEPTED.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles.

MILITARY.

Madras Estab.—Capt. Charles H. Best, artillery.
Lieut. Francis W. L. Gordon, 26th N.I.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. Charles H. White, invalid estab.
Surgeon Duncan McQueen Gray, M.D.
Surgeon Alexander Christie.
Surgeon Frederick H. Brett.
Assist. surg. Archibald Donaldson, M.D.

MARINE.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Thomas Pitkin, master, pilot estab.
Bombay Estab.—Lieut. Roderick Mackenzie, I.N.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. William A. Pringle, six months.
 Mr. William P. Okeden, one year.
 Mr. Robert W. Hughes, six months.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Lieut. col. Hen. L. White, 56th N.I., six months.
 Capt. John A. Barslow, 37th N.I., six months.
 Capt. Joseph C. Salkeld, 5th N.I., till 31st Dec.
 Lieut. Wredenhall Q. Pogson, 43rd N.I., do.
 Lieut. James Murray, 28th N.I., six months.
 Lieut. Charles J. Robarts, 43rd Lt.I., do.
 Lieut. Henry Carleton, artillery, do.
 Assist. surg. Paul F. H. Baddeley, do.

Madras Estab.—Capt. John W. Rumsay, 44th N.I., two months, in order to proceed overland, July.

Madras Estab.—Capt. Jas. C. G. Stuart, 42nd N.I., three months.
 Lieut. Mowbray Smith, 1st Lt. Cav., six months.
 Lieut. George S. Mardall, 16th N.I. do.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. Francis C. Darke, 47th N.I. do.
 Capt. Edward Skipper, 7th N.I., two months.
 Capt. Thomas Foulerton, 1st N.I., till 20th Aug.
 Brev. capt. Frederick Ayson, artillery, four months.
 Lieut. James H. Burke, engineers, six months.
 Lieut. H. E. Pattullo, 1st Eur. reg., six months.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Commander Thos. G. Carless, I. N., six months.

APPOINTMENTS AT HOME.

The Rev. Henry Boys, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, to be an assistant chaplain on the Bengal Establishment.

Mr. Robert Charles Bruce to be a volunteer for the pilot service on the Bengal establishment

Mr. Alfred Tubb Windus to be a volunteer for the Indian navy.

To be Cadets of Infantry.—For Bengal: Mr. Henry Wylie Norman and Mr. Frederick Proctor Bailey.—For Bombay: Mr. Henry Travers Maclean.

To be a Veterinary Surgeon.—Bengal: Mr. John Siddall.

To be Volunteers for the Pilot Service.—Bengal: Mr. Geo. Alex. McKerrel Cox, Mr. Joseph Obbard, and Mr. Edmund Dennis Browne.

Mr. William Pale has received the newly-created appointment of professor of civil engineering at the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay.

Chronicle.

Parliamentary.—*Gwalior.*—Mr. Macaulay has given notice of a motion respecting the late proceedings in Gwalior, to come on after Easter.

Juggernaut.—Sir R. Peel has stated in the House of Commons, that instructions have been sent to India, prohibiting the presence of police at the processions of the idol.

Dr. Morrison.—In the House of Commons, on the 26th of March, Sir G. Staunton moved for a Committee of the whole House, to address the Crown in favour of the widow and family of the late Dr. Morrison, on the ground of his eminent public services in China, which was seconded by Sir J. C. Hobhouse. Sir R. Peel admitted the services of Dr. Morrison and his lamented son, and regretted the difficulty of acceding to the proposal, which would constitute a most embarrassing precedent. The cases were very numerous in the civil service where strong claims were brought before the Treasury, which there were no funds for meeting. In the present instance, Mrs. Morrison had been provided for to the extent of £200 a year for herself, and £125 a year for her five children; her eldest son had received an appointment of £300 a year, with a prospect of increase to £600, and an appointment was promised to the second son when of an age to receive it. On the whole, as compared with the surviving families of other eminent public servants, this had been favourably dealt with; but still, if not restrained by public duty, he would have been glad to accede to further provision.

Miscellaneous.—It is understood that John Shepherd, Esq., will be Chairman, and Sir H. Willock Deputy-chairman, of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company for the ensuing year.

The Queen has been pleased to appoint the following Consuls; viz., Francis Coleman Macgregor, Esq., at Canton; George Balfour, Esq., at Shanghai; Robert Thom, Esq., at Ningpo; Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Esq., at Bagdad.

Rawson William Rawson, Esq., has been appointed Treasurer of the island of Mauritius.

The Rev. Dr. Oliffe, Roman Catholic bishop, has sailed from Liverpool for Calcutta.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, Roman Catholic bishop, has sailed from Plymouth for Hobart Town, accompanied by two priests and a Trappist monk.

It is said that a proposal made to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company for strengthening the Indian army, by the addition of a captain to each regiment in the service, has been determined upon.

The New Zealand Company, in consequence of the late catastrophe at Cloudy Bay, have for the present suspended all operations as a colonizing body, and have sought the protection and interference of the Colonial Office, in order that their rights to land may be investigated and determined.

The Pasha of Egypt is about to commence boring for water in the desert between Cairo and Suez, which he expects to find sweet at the depth of 1,000 feet. The necessary apparatus is preparing in this country.

A splendid piece of plate, value four thousand guineas, is about to be presented to the Pasha of Egypt by the East-India Company.

Major Turner and Dr. Foley, at present in England, are candidates for the office of "Home Agent" to the "Bengal Military Fund."

In consequence of its having been discovered that some Russians had been engaged in the opium-trade on the frontier district near Kiachta, the Emperor has ordered that the ukase published in 1841 against the sale of opium to the Chinese shall be strictly enforced, and that all offending parties shall be tried by court-martial.

Her Majesty's Government have refused her pension to the widow of the late Lieut.-col. Fawcett, who fell some months since in a duel with his brother-in-law, Lieut. Munro, of the Royal Horse Guards.

The long-projected East-India Bank has been abandoned, Government having refused to recommend a charter or letters-patent, conferring limited liability on the shareholders.

In the New Royal Exchange, space is to be especially allotted for an East-India and China walk.

A Treasury order directs the Custom House to require, from and after the 1st of January, 1845, a certificate of production for all tin imported into the United Kingdom from the British possessions in India.

In consequence of the complaint made as to the mode of valuing British goods liable to the payment of duty on importation into Java and the Netherlands, Government have instructed the Governor-General to amend the present practice, by providing a quarterly tariff of prices regulating the duties on cotton and woollen goods, to be made up by the Government officers conjointly with four accredited merchants.

The amount of bills drawn by the Hon. East-India Company in the month ending 5th March, 1844:—Bengal, £115,579; Madras, £22,469; Bombay, £995. Total, £139,044.

A meeting of the Van Diemen's Land Company was held on the 25th March, at which a report was read stating that the prospects of the concern are improving as respects an increase of tenancy, though the depressed state of the Australian colonies leaves the directors still burdened with an immense stock, for which they are unable to find purchasers. Under such circumstances, no dividend can be declared, and it is only in hope of a change, which may bring about a better state of things, that the shareholders continue to support the company.

The subject of steam communication has been for the last few weeks under the consideration of an official committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, nominated by Lord Ripon:—Mr. J. A. Smith, M. P.; Mr. J. E. Tennent, India Board; Capt. Beaufort, Admiralty; Mr. J. Stephen, Colonial Office; Mr. Mason, India-Office; and Mr. Parkhurst, Post-Office; and there is little doubt that their labours will result in a well-organized monthly intercourse with India, embracing the different presidencies, Ceylon, and ultimately China. Among numerous plans submitted, has been one by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, proposing that the mail shall leave London on the 6th of each month, reaching Suez on the 20th, Aden on the 26th or 27th (thence despatching a branch mail for Bombay), Ceylon on the 6th or 7th of the following month, Madras on the 10th or 11th, and Calcutta on the 14th or 15th, or in forty days from England. The return mail to leave Calcutta on the 20th or 21st, reaching Aden, touching at Madras and Ceylon, on the 9th of the following month.

there taking up a mail from Bombay, and proceeding so as to reach Suez on the 16th, and London, *viâ* Marseilles, on the 29th, or in forty days from Calcutta. In anticipation of a contract being obtained, based on the foregoing plan, the Peninsular and Oriental Company have purchased the *Great Western* steamer conditionally; and in order to place themselves in a condition to carry out comprehensive intercourse with as little delay as practicable, the directors have proposed to issue (at par to their present shareholders) scrip certificates, representing 4,000 shares at £50 each; deposit £2. 10s., and after six months to be paid in calls of £5, at intervals of not less than three months. The French government have established a line of steamers, consisting of the following vessels, between Marseilles and Alexandria; viz. *l'Egyptus*, *l'Osiris*, *le Caire*, and *l'Alexandria*, of 220 horse-power each. These vessels are to leave Marseilles on the 4th of each month, touching at Malta on the 7th, and arriving at Alexandria on the 12th; to leave Alexandria on the 20th, touching at Malta on the 24th, and arriving at Marseilles on the 28th.

In consequence of some profitable enterprises, the Hanseatic traffic with the East Indies and China is about to be materially extended, especially by the shipment of goods the products of the Zollverein states, for the sale of which, and German goods generally, Messrs. Anderson, of Hamburg, are about to establish warehouses at Singapore and in China. It is said that the merchants concerned in the maritime trade of Prussia propose sending out a ship to collect information on the spot relative to Chinese commerce.

Capt. Grover has received accounts from Dr. Wolff, dated the 19th of January, on which day he was to leave Tabriz for Teheran. The Doctor says, speaking of the captives: "This afternoon, a Persian merchant trading to Bokhara called at the British consulate; he was at Bokhara twelve months ago, and saw Samet Khan, in whose house Col. Stoddart formerly lodged. Mr. Benham and myself examined him, and all he knew was, that both are in prison. He was told by Samet Khan, that when once a person is imprisoned in the ark (castle), one does not know whether he is dead or alive. All these reports are so far favourable, as they unanimously contradict the account of Saleh Mahomet, which was believed by Col. Shiel and the Government at home."

Mr. Burford has painted, and is exhibiting at his Panorama, a View of the Island and Bay of Hong-kong, the "Island of Crystal Streams," the *first* permanent settlement obtained by the British in the Celestial Empire. The view, which is painted from drawings taken by Lieut. F. J. White, Royal Marines, in 1843, is taken from a situation in the harbour which embraces a very considerable extent, including the new town of Victoria, the principal edifices seated on little eminences, backed by a range of high hills, of different characters and colours; the main-land of China, with the town of Kow-loon; the north passage, leading to Canton; the eastern passage, &c. The fore-ground (or rather water) is filled with trading junks, a large junk from Cochin-China, a mandarin junk (with its portly occupant), opium boats and clippers, all which are contrasted with the stately English men-of-war, and the graceful steamers flying in opposite directions through the crowded harbour. The costumes and characteristics of the scene are admirably preserved, and upon the whole it is one of the most successful efforts of Mr. Burford's magic pencil.

Naval and Military. — Rear-Admiral Sir Thos. Cochrane has been appointed naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies. The *Iris*, 26, Capt. Mundy,

has sailed for the Cape and China. The *Fox*, 42, Capt. Sir H. Blackwood, will proceed to India to relieve the *Thalia*, 42, Capt. Hope.

Some regiments will be withdrawn from the Irish establishment for the purpose of relieving corps in India. The first in turn for service are the 61st, 72nd, 15th, 53rd, and 1st bat. 60th rifles. The 6th dragoon guards and the 10th hussars are to proceed shortly to India; the latter to relieve the 16th lancers, which will then return to England.

Paymaster Holmes, of the 15th hussars, will embark with the next draft for Madras. Lieut. Stopford, of the 22nd regt., and Capt. Layard, of the 26th regt., have arrived from India. Silver medals, for presentation to those who were engaged during the siege of Jellalabad, are being struck off at the Mint. Major Glover and Dr. Chambers, of the 12th regt., have left for the Mauritius. Major Fawkes and Ensign Woodham, of the 27th regt., will shortly embark for the Cape, with a detachment. Capt. Gillman and Ensigns Dundas and Littlehales, of the 12th regt.; Capt. Bringhurst and 32 men of the 90th regt.; 1 sergeant and 80 men of the 91st regt.; a detachment of the 95th regiment, and 24 men of the St. Helena regt., are under orders for embarkation. Two officers and 50 men of the 51st and 58th regts. are on board the convict ship *London*, for Van Diemen's Land; and 2 officers and 50 men of the 58th and 80th regts. are on board the convict ship *Blundell*, for Norfolk Island.

The provisional battalion at Chatham consists of the depôts of 2nd Queen's, 3rd bufs, 4th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 22nd, 25th, 28th, 29th, 31st, 39th, 40th, 46th, 50th, 51st, 55th, 57th, 62nd, 63rd, 78th, 80th, 84th, 86th, 94th, 98th, and 99th—making a total of 3,947 men. Twenty of these depôts have not yet completed their required strength, still wanting 729 men; the 31st appears to have 105 supernumeraries; the 80th, 94 supernumeraries; and the 98th, 104 supernumeraries. These troops will embark for India during the approaching season.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

War-Office, March 1.—3rd *L. Drags.*—Serg. Maj. J. Rathwell, riding-master, cor., v. Brunt, app. to Royal Horse Guards.

29th *Foot.*—Ens. H. R. Cowell, lieut.; G. W. Taylor, ens., v. Cowell; Lieut. E. G. Hallowell, adj., v. Smith, dec.

78th *Foot.*—Assist. Surg. W. Bowie, from 92nd F., assist. surg., v. Allman, dec.

Brevet.—Lieut. Col. E. Hay, F.I.Co.'s depôt at Warley, to have temporary rank of colonel.

March 15. 18th *Foot.*—J. G. Fraser, asst. surg., v. Cowen, promoted in 98th foot.

95th.—Lieut. W. Minchin, from 41st, lieut., v. Hicks, who ex.

St. Helena Regt.—Capt. J. Piggott, from 26th, capt., v. Skinner, who ex.

March 22. 7th *Drg. Grds.*—Lieut. J. H. Gray, from 14th lt. drg., lieut., v. Robinson, ap. to 2nd drg.

3rd *Lt. Drgs.*—Cor. E. B. Cureton, from 16th lt. drg., lieut. without purchase, v. White, dec.

14th *Lt. Drgs.*—Lieut. B. W. Ramsey, from 2nd drg., lieut., v. Gray, ap. to 7th drg. grds.

15th *Lt. Drgs.*—Cor. A. Blandy, lieut. without purchase, v. Ede, dec.

3rd *Foot.*—To be captains, without purchase: Lieut. H. Blair, v. Stewart, killed in action; Lieut. J. Speedy, v. Magrath, died of his wounds. To be lieutenants, without purchase: Ens. R. W. Woods, v. Maude, ap. adj.; Ens. F. N. Dore, v. Speedy. To be ensigns, without purchase: F. G. Syms, v. Woods, pro.; E. S. Charlton, v. Dore, pro. To be adj.: Lieut. F. F. Maude, v. Blair, pro.

9th Foot.—Lieut. F. L. Bennet, from 13th, lieut., v. Williams, who ex.

13th Foot.—Lieut. W. W. Williams, from 9th, lieut., v. Bennet, who ex.

18th Foot.—F. B. Tritton, ens., v. Mostyn, ap. to 27th foot.

21st Foot.—Major R. T. R. Pattoun, lieut. col., v. Walker, dec.; Brvt. major J. C. Peddie, major, v. Pattoun; Lieut. G. Frend, from 31st, capt., v. Peddie.

27th Foot.—Ens. O. Langley, lieut., v. Hutton; Ens. T. Mostyn, from 18th foot, ens., v. Langley.

28th Foot.—Lieut. H. F. Wakefield, from 40th, capt., v. Lugard, whose pro. on 29th Oct. 1843 has been cancelled.

29th Foot.—Ens. H. G. Walker, lieut., v. Moore, dec.; Ens. E. T. Scudamore, from 71st regt., ens., v. Walker, pro.

31st Foot.—Major H. C. Van Cortlandt, lieut. col., v. Churchill, killed in action; Brvt. major J. Spence, major, v. Van Cortlandt; Lieut. E. Lugard, capt., v. Spence.

39th Foot.—Gentl. Cadet G. F. C. Bray, ens., v. Bray, died of his wounds.

50th Foot.—Lieut. H. Needham, capt., v. Cobban, killed in action; Ens. E. J. Chambers, lieut., v. Needham; W. Du Vernet, ens., v. Chambers.

86th Foot.—Lieut. W. H. Woodgate, capt., v. Rattray, dec.; Ens. and adj. J. Boyd to have rank of lieut.; Ens. J. Jerome, lieut., v. Woodgate; Ens. F. R. Creed, lieut., v. Stuart, dec. To be ens.: G. W. Robinson, gent., v. Creed; J. R. Stuart, v. Jerome.

OBITUARY.

The Rev. Samuel Dyer.—This gentleman, a missionary to the Chinese at Singapore, died at Macao, on the 24th October.

Mr. Dyer had gone with other missionaries of the London Society to hold a conference at Hong-kong. Towards the close of his residence there, the seeds of fever had been introduced into his system; but the disease did not discover itself until after his arrival at Canton. By the attentions of Drs. Parker and Marjoribanks the fever was reduced, but it left him very weak. The only step which appeared as likely to benefit him was to commence his voyage to Singapore. The ship *Charlotte*, in which he was passenger, touched on its way at Hong-kong and Macao, and during that time he gained some degree of vigour; but while detained in Macao roads, he had an alarming relapse. He was immediately carried on shore, but, though medical assistance was promptly procured, his remaining strength rapidly declined; and on the morning of the 24th October he died. His funeral took place on the evening of the same day, and his remains rest in immediate proximity to those of Dr. Morrison and his recently departed son.

Mr. Dyer was well known as an amiable, humble, and devoted Christian, and as a laborious and zealous missionary. He left England and came to the Straits in the year 1827; and during the sixteen years which have elapsed since (with the exception of the time occupied by a short visit to England)—first at Penang, then at Malacca, and last of all at Singapore, he exerted himself for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Chinese inhabitants of the three settlements. Not contented with the usual course of missionary effort, he applied himself to the compilation of vocabularies of the Chinese language, to the illustration in various ways, of difficult points in that language,—but principally to the construction of punches and matrices for the casting of two founts of Chinese type, large and small. It was to this last important object that he devoted himself with peculiar energy and success. A great proportion of those Chinese characters which are most usually met with in the classics and other generally read works have been cast from punches and matrices prepared by Mr. Dyer, and

founts of his larger size of type have been sent to various mission stations, and have been admitted to be the most correct and the best adapted to Chinese taste of any that have ever been prepared. During the last eighteen months constant additions have been made to these; and a new fount, of a smaller size, commenced and vigorously proceeded with, and the appearance of these is equally beautiful with the large. He had great experience in this department, in the acquirement of which he devoted much manual labour. Though he was greatly assisted by pecuniary contributions from those who took an interest in the work, he also contributed largely himself out of his own private funds. When in addition to this it is mentioned that he had constantly the superintendence of a pretty extensive printing and binding establishment, and also of a foundry, in which founts of Siamese, Malay, and English, as well as of Chinese types were cast, it will be admitted that his life was far from being either idle or useless. These operations, multifarious as they were, did not hinder him from engaging in direct missionary labours; and his very accurate knowledge of the colloquial dialect which prevails most in the Straits (the Hok-kien, or Fuh-kien), enabled him to communicate to the heathen the truths of the Gospel. — *Abr. from the Singapore Free Press.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

- Feb. 23. At Boulogne, the lady of C. G. Udney, Esq., Bengal civ. serv., son.
- 26. At Hampstead, the lady of S. B. Bell, Esq., barrister, son.
- 27. At Brighton, Lady Georgiana E. C. Grey, son.
- March 4. At Queen Street, Mayfair, the lady of Harry Thornton, Esq., son.
- At Weston-super-Mare, the lady of T. W. Goodwin, Esq., Madras civil service, son.
- 5. At Sussex Gardens, the Hon. Mrs. Lambart, twin daughters, still-born.
- 7. At Heath Hall, near Wakefield, the Hon. Mrs. Smyth, daughter.
- At 11, St. Bernard Crescent, Edinburgh, the lady of James Stevenson, Esq., late superintending surgeon, Madras establishment, son.
- At Stretton, Wolverhampton, the lady of Lieut. Gen. Monckton, son.
- At Naples, the lady of F. H. Medhurst, Esq., son.
- 8. At Kent Terrace, the lady of John Dangerfield, Esq., daughter.
- 11. At Bow, Middlesex, the lady of Wm. Collingwood, Esq., of the East-India House, daughter.
- 12. At Calverton, Bucks, the Hon. Mrs. Percival, daughter.
- 14. At Castlebar, Mayo, the lady of Alex. Magnay, Esq., 69th regt., son.
- 16. At Upper Belgrave Street, the Marchioness of Hastings, daughter.
- At Brighton, the lady of R. T. Goodwin, Esq., 16th regt. Bombay N. I., daughter.
- 17. At Parsonstown, the lady of Sir Edward Syngé, Bart., daughter.
- 18. At Montague Street, Russell-square, the wife of John Shaw, Esq., son.
- 20. At Southwick Crescent, the Hon. Mrs. A. Kinnaird, daughter.
- At York Terrace, Regent's Park, the Hon. Mrs. C. Scarlett, daughter.
- At the Castle, Parsonstown, the Countess of Rosse, son.
- 21. At Brighton, the lady of the Hon. C. H. Tracy, son.
- At Edinburgh, the lady of W. P. Andrew, Esq., E. I. Co.'s service, son.
- 25. At the Ryalls, Devonshire, the lady of Major Daubeney, c.b., 55th Foot, son.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 24. At St. Mary's, Champagné, son of late Gen. Sir J. Champagné, to Catherine Mary, daughter of R. T. Garden, Esq., of River Lyons, King's County.

Feb. 27. At St. George's, S. M. Montgomerie, Esq., of Garboldisham-hall, to the Hon. Georgiana Foley, daughter of the late, and sister to the present, Lord Foley.

March 5. At St. Marylebone, T. D. T. Dyer, Esq., 30th regt. M.N.I., to Mariannette Rosabella Eliza, widow of the late Capt. F. W. Humphreys, Madras army.

9. At St. James's, Westminster, Henry H. Griffin, Esq., barrister, to Ellen, widow of the late William Shedden, Esq., of Glasgow.

— At St. Mary's, Paddington, Hickman Kearney, Esq., to Selena Molesworth, daughter of late Major-gen. Molesworth, Madras army.

11. At St. George's, H. E. Butler, son of late Hon. H. Butler, to Frances Penelope, only child of Thomas Rawson, Esq., of Nidd-hall.

— At St. James's, Piccadilly, Alfred Massey, Esq., of Lakenham, to Augusta Martin, widow of F. T. Matthews, capt. 21st R.N.B. fusiliers.

14. At Edradynate, Capt. Robert Scott, Hon. E.I.C.'s late naval service, to Margaret, daughter of James S. Robertson, Esq., of Edradynate.

19. At St. George's, William Honeywood, Esq., son of the late Sir J. C. Honeywood, Bart., of Evington, to Barbara Henrietta, daughter of James White, Esq., of Pilton House.

Lately. At Dublin, the Rev. Meade Nisbett Stone, A.M., assist. chaplain to the E. I. C., Madras, to Kate, daughter of late Daniel Egan, Esq., Cork.

DEATHS.

Feb. 25. At Stepney, Mrs. Charlotte Stanger, daughter of the late Capt. John Fox, E. I. Co.'s service.

March 2. At New Grove, Mile-end, W. Simons, Esq., late of the East-India House.

— At Brooks, near Dumbarton, William Alured, son of Major W. E. A. Elliott, 29th regt. M.N.I.

3. At Brixton, Mary, relict of late W. Barnfield, Esq., formerly of Calcutta.

4. In the Strand, Walter James, son of R. Twining, Esq.

— At Louth, Lieut. col. O'Reilly, c.b., late 41st regt.

— At Cork, Jane Bland, wife of Capt. Custance, Queen's Bays.

5. At Torquay, Maria Harriott, daughter of Major-gen. H. Roberts, c.b., of Milford Lodge.

6. In the Strand, two days after his brother, Clement, the infant child of R. Twining, jun., Esq.

8. At Lees Court, Feversham, C. M. Lushington, Esq., late Madras civil serv.

10. At Cheltenham, Major G. H. Hutchins. late Bengal army.

13. In London, Major gen. Sir Octavius Carey, c.b., K.C.H.

— At Bath, George Dick, lieut. gen., and senior officer in the Bengal army.

16. At Aboncourt, H. W. Poole, late major 36th regt. M.N.I.

17. At Chester, Major gen. William H. Beckwith.

— At Reading, Arthur Smith, 4th regt., son of Dr. P. Smith.

18. At Clarendon House, the Dowager Countess of Clarendon.

— At Bramford Park, by a fall from his horse, Lord W. Hill, third son of the Marquess of Downshire.

22. At Greenwich, Anna Maria, widow of the late Right Hon. George Tierney.

25. At Langhorne, Col. John Frederick Browne, c.b., late lieut.-col. commanding 28th Foot.

26. At his residence in Russell-square, in the 86th year of his age, General Robert Bell, Hon. E. I. Co.'s service. He was the senior officer of the Madras army, and connected with a disagreeable part of its history. He was appointed in 1779; was major-general (artillery) in 1810, lieut.-general in 1819, and general in 1837.

Lately. At Paris, Major Close, 9th Lancers, a distinguished officer in India.

— At Rockview, Charles Heatly, Esq., late lieut. 50th regt.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

FEB. 27.—*Australasian Packet*, Sydney, Downs; *Gunga*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Irvine*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Rosanna*, Mauritius, Downs; *Wave*, Angra Peguena, Cork; *Athenian*, Bengal, Dover.—28. *Dumfries*, China, Liverpool; *Adam Lodge*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Duchess of Kent*, Bengal, Dublin; *Thetis*, Bengal, Dover.—29. *Guardian*, Bengal, Downs; *Delhi*, Bengal, Liverpool.—MARCH 1. *Earl Grey*, Bengal, Downs; *Elephanta*, Manilla, I. of Wight.—2. *Stratford*, Mauritius, and *John Tomkinson*, China, Downs; *Nestor*, Mauritius, Cork, crew disabled by scurvy.—4. *Fortitude*, Singapore, Downs.—5. *Cleopatra*, China, St. Katherine's Docks; *Anne Milne*, Bengal, and *Reaper*, Bengal, Downs.—6. *Sappho*, China, Dover; *Rival*, Angra Peguena, Liverpool; *Mary*, China, Downs; *Merlin*, Bengal, Clyde.—7. *Tory*, Madras, Hastings; *Albatross*, Mauritius, Downs; *Promise*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Whitby*, Moulmein, Hastings.—8. *Cookson*, Bengal, Bristol; *Sir Robert Peel*, Manilla, Cork; *Passenger*, China, Downs; *Westbrook*, Singapore, Plymouth.—9. *Hopkinson*, Manilla, Eastbourne; *Thomas Hoult*, Cape, Dover.—11. *John William Dare*, Bengal, Portland; *Mary Catherine*, China, Dover; *Jane*, Mauritius, Margate; *Agrippina*, Mauritius, Dover; *Commerce*, Angra Peguena, Liverpool; *Amelia Mulholland*, Mauritius, Cork; *Challenger*, Angra Peguena, Liverpool; *Champion*, Mauritius, Liverpool; *Eliza Leishman*, Mauritius, Greenock.—12. *Claudine*, China, Downs; *Fama*, New South Wales, Wight; *Peru*, Mauritius, Liverpool.—13. *Euphrates*, China, Downs; *Mary*, Mauritius, Clyde.—14. *Ann*, New South Wales, Portsmouth; *Rambler*, Bengal, Dover; *British Princess*, Angra Peguena, Cork; *Canning*, Ichiboe, Bristol.—15. *Culder*, Madras, Downs; *Margaretha*, Batavia, Dartmouth; *Gulnare*, Africa, Liverpool.—16. *Beulah*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Cambridge*, Bengal, Swanage; *Thomas Hughes*, Coast of Africa, Beaumaris; *Collingwood*, Hobart Town, Dover.—18. *Neptune*, Bengal, Bristol; *Dorothea*, Bengal, *Luscar*, Ceylon, Downs; *Caroline*, Mauritius, Wight; *Surry*, Manilla, Start.—21. *Mary Mac-kie*, Mauritius, Downs (for Leith); *Eliza*, Africa, Liverpool.—23. *Meg Merriles*, Mauritius, Salcombe; *Elizabeth*, Mauritius, Downs; *Woodstock*, Mauritius, Liverpool; *Clutha*, Moulmein, Falmouth.—25. *Viscount Sandon*, China, Downs; *Apprentice*, Mauritius, Cork; *Cowship*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Malcolm*, Manilla, Cowes; *Barbara*, Mauritius, Liverpool; *Robert Benn*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Isabella Wood*, Ceylon, Downs.—26. *Dickey Sam*, Mauritius, Downs; *Frances Lawson*, Angra Peguena, Plymouth; *Aberfoyle*, Bombay, Portsmouth.—27. *Argyra*, Ceylon, Downs; *Queen of England*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Harmonie*, Batavia, Cowes.—28. *London*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Glenmore*, Batavia, Falmouth.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—FEB. 27. *Royal Tar*, *Diligentia*, and *Marie Julie*, Batavia; *Amphitrite*, Ascension.—28. *Thomas Lee*, Bengal.—MARCH 4. *Poictiers*, Cape, Madras, and Bengal; *Anna Robertson*, Cape and Madras; *Lady Rowena*, and *Arab*, Bengal; *Ida*, Bombay; *Derwent*, Mauritius; *Thomas Snook*, Cape; *Lady Gray*, Hobart Town; *Georgetown*, and *Royal Saxon*, Sydney.—5. *Pekin*, and *Martha*, Madras.—6. *Thomas Blyth*, Mauritius; *Woodman*, Bombay.—14. *Harriett*, Cape.—16. *Roseberry*, Bombay and Hong Kong; *British Empire*, Madras and Bengal.—17. *John Edward*, Bengal.—20. *Portly*, Bordeaux and Mauritius; *Scindian*, Bengal; *Worcester*, Madras; *Dale Park*, Port Philip; *Blundell*, Norfolk Island and New South Wales; *Fortitude*, Cape.—21. *John Panter*, Algoa Bay.—23. *Druid*, Singapore; *Agostina*, Launceston.—26. *City of Poonah*, Madras and Bengal; *John Hullett*, Mauritius; *Achilles*, Cape of Good Hope; *Lady*, China; *Eliza Scott*, St. Helena; *Chance*, Bombay.

From Liverpool.—FEB. 24. *Ripley*, Bengal.—MARCH 4. *Gentoo*, Ceylon and Madras.—6. *Heroine*, Singapore.—8. *Camaieu*, Bengal; *Alecto*, Bombay.—14. *Earl of Harewood*, Madras.—15. *Briton*, Sydney; *Princess Royal*, Bengal.—16. *Penang*, and *Sanderson*, Hong Kong; *Harrison*, Bengal; *Cleofred*, and *Satisfaction*, Cape of Good Hope.—19. *Lysander*, Bombay; *Hope*, Aden.—21.

Mary, Cape.—22. *Brooke*, Cape.—26. *Orisca*, Hong Kong; *Mary Ridley*, Calcutta; *Chimera*, Mauritius.

From Workington.—MARCH 5. *Ann Falcon*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.

From Portsmouth.—MARCH 5. *Colombo*, Mauritius and Bombay; *Vigilant*, Cape; *Richmond*, Algoa Bay.—6. *Sidney*, China; *Anna Robertson*, Cape and Madras; *Poictiers*, Cape, Madras, and Bengal.—16. *Surge*, China; *Pekin*, Madras and Bengal.—18. *Sumatra*, Ceylon.—23. *London*, Hobart Town; *Spectator*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.

From Mumbles.—MARCH 18. *Heroine*, Singapore.

From Ramsgate.—MARCH 18. *Toronto*, Cape.

From Kingstown.—MARCH 5. *Greenlaw*, Hobart Town.

From Plymouth.—MARCH 5. *Amazon*, Bengal.

From Falmouth.—MARCH 6. *Lord Stanley*, Aden; *Inchuman*, Bombay.—18. *Eclipse*, Cape.

From Bristol.—MARCH 6. *Earl of Liverpool*, Singapore and China.—7.

Charles, Cape.—27. *Peru*, Bordeaux and Mauritius.

From Corl.—MARCH 18. *Royal Saxon*, New South Wales.

From Troon.—MARCH 14. *Naparrina*, Wilson.

From Leith.—MARCH 20. *Fleetwood*, Mauritius.—22. *Monarch*, Bombay.

From the Clyde.—MARCH 7. *Herald*, Batavia and Singapore.—13. *Scotland*, Bengal.—14. *Lyra*, Cape.—21. *Sane Blain*, Madras and Penang; *Athol*, Bombay.

From Newport.—MARCH 16. *Royal Admiral*, Aden.

From Shields.—MARCH 21. *Emma*, Aden.—24. *Rota*, Batavia.

From Bordeaux.—MARCH 14. *Bolivar*, Bombay.

From Inverkeithing.—MARCH 6. *Monarch*, Bombay.

From Jersey.—MARCH 5. *Damon*, St. Helena.

From Guernsey.—MARCH 5. *William*, Cape.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

Per Oriental, from Southampton, on the 1st of March.—Alexandria: Mr. Leslie, Miss Clemons, Mr. Bell, Mr. Cay, Mr. Tucker, Mrs. and Miss Tucker, Mr. Manson, Mr. Hardy, Miss Ross, Mr. Davis and servant, the Hon. F. Bruce, Capt. Jackson, C. J. Dowson, Esq., Mr. Pope, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Hulme, Mr. Hulme, jun., and 3 Misses Hulme, Capt. Stafford, Mr. Hodgson, Mrs. Clarkson, Mr. Mercer, F. G. Klennhen, Esq., A. Timmin, Esq., Mr. Stuart, H. A. Stern, Esq., Mr. Anderson, Mrs. Airey and infant, Mr. Harman, Mr. Shelley, M. Martin, Esq., Mr. Douglas, Mrs. Baxter, a Maltese seaman, and Miss Ross's servant.—Aden: Mr. Crawford, Mrs. Crawford, Mr. Bumbach, Miss Willoughby, Miss Nasymth, Mrs. Ward and servant, Mr. Scott, Mr. Hunter, Mrs. Thomas, Miss Edgell, Mr. Bloomfield, Mr. John Martin, and Mrs. Stuart.—Malta: Mr. Haselden, and Assist. surg. Braybroke.—Madras: Mr. Fullerton, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Adey, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Stewart, Mr. Crump, Mr. Hemery, Major and Mrs. Duke, and Lieut. Anderson.—Calcutta: Mr. Wellington, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Smith, Mr. N. Bennet, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Boustead, Mr. Bunny, Mrs. Hume, Mr. Buckland, Mr. Davis, Lord James Brown, Capt. Leech, Mr. Bostock, Capt. Hill, Mr. Law, Mr. Hotham, Mr. Jackson, Dr. Wise, Mr. Leighton, Mr. and Mrs. Boys, two children, and nurse.—Ceylon: Col. McDonald, Mr. Kershaw, Capt. Garrow, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Coull.

Per Poictiers, to Cape of Good Hope, Madras, and Bengal:—Mrs. Taylor and child; Mr. Morgan and party; Lieut. and Mrs. Alexander; Dr. Cole; Ens. V. Arbuckle; Messrs. Waddington, Paxton, Pearce, Oldfield, Hankin, Skibbeard, Jeffries, Newall, Penson, Hammersley, Gilmore, Davidson, Bathgate, Bailey, Raittheson, H. Bowles, Christian, Spankie, Tulloch, Watson, Harrington, De Tessier, and Sullivan.

Per City of Derry, to China:—Mr. and Mrs. Layton, daughter, governess, and 3 servants; Mr. and Mrs. Bowra and child; Miss Bowra; Mr. Just; Miss Ray.

Per Surge, to China:—The Hon. Mr. Stirling, lady, 3 children, and servant; Mr. Taylor and son; Miss Jarvis; Mr. S. Rochford.

